

CRANFIELD UNIVERSITY

FITRIANI

**PRE-DEPLOYMENT TRAINING OF UN WOMEN
MILITARY PEACEKEEPERS: A CASE STUDY
ANALYSIS OF THREE SOUTHEAST ASIAN
COUNTRIES**

CRANFIELD DEFENCE AND SECURITY

PhD THESIS Academic Year 2015-16

Supervisor: Professor Ron Matthews

“This thesis is submitted in partial fulfilment of the requirements for the Degree of
PhD”

© Cranfield University 2016. All rights reserved. No part of this publication may be
reproduced without the written permission of the copyright holder

ABSTRACT

The purpose of this study is to examine the role and impact that uniformed women play in UN peacekeeping operations, and to further establish how appropriate pre-deployment training (PDT) supports the performance of women in operational zones. The research questions posed are ‘whether women make a difference to peacekeeping operations’ and ‘to what extent PDT enables them to do so’. To answer these questions, the thesis takes a two-pronged approach. Firstly, a literature search evaluates the nature of uniformed women’s participation in UN peacekeeping missions, their contribution to effective peacekeeping and the UN policies supporting women’s participation in its missions. The main resources accessed for the literature research are the UN and contributing countries’ official policies, publication and reports. Secondly, primary data were acquired through field research on the training needs of three Southeast Asian countries, namely Indonesia, the Philippines and Country A. Across these sample states, empirical research data was gathered through in-depth semi-structured interviews with 37 female peacekeepers, 17 trainers and seven decision-makers.

The literature reveals that women participate in UN peacekeeping missions in two ways, those that form part of a contingent and others that act as individual military experts, observers or staff officers. Women make a difference by allowing a UN mission to have greater reach to the local community, especially to the female population in segregated communities, including the survivors of sexual- and gender-based violence. The field research also reveals that the three Southeast Asian country case studies provide different PDT to their personnel, although the UN provides standardised training materials. Interview data from all three countries indicate that women and men receive combined PDT training, with the majority of the respondents arguing that there is no need for segregated gender training. However, they endorse differentiated training for specialist skills, such as for mentoring teams by same sex members to discuss biological and logistical issues in deployment, including, for instance, the best strategy for ensuring continuity in the supply of women’s sanitary requirements. Not all the three sample countries support uniformed women deployment on par with male peacekeeper deployment, and rarely support women holding leadership positions, due to discrimination in military education access, limitations on human resources and apprehension at putting women into dangerous positions. Such constraints limit the roles that women can play in UN field missions.

Key words: Women, Gender, UN Peacekeeping, Pre-Deployment Training

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I wish to thank my supervisor, Professor Ron Matthews, without whom this thesis would never have seen the light of day. I am forever grateful for his ceaseless trust in me. I would also like to thank Tim Riddle and MBDA for the generous financial support for this doctoral research. Appreciation is also given to my thesis panel, comprising Professor Karen Carr and Doctor Teri McConville, whose feedback proved invaluable in completing this thesis. For the endorsers of my PhD journey, whom wrote recommendation letters that allowing me to enrol, Professor Haryadi Wirawan, Professor Christoph Shuck and Mr Mufti Makaanim. I thank you all for your support. I am very grateful to Professor Christopher Bellamy and Dr Roger Darby who acted as my examiners in my *viva voce*. Their feedback was invaluable for the improvement and readability of this thesis.

I express gratitude to the people who supported my fieldwork in Asia and also data collection at the UN agencies. Commander Sasi from the Armed Forces of Country A, and her team were of tremendous help, and a blessing. I would also like to thank Brigadier General Anto Mukti Putranto, Colonel Hendy Antariksa, Colonel Taufik Budi Santoso, Lieutenant Colonel Santy Karsa Tarigan and Commandant Hasan Abdullah from the Indonesian Armed Forces and Colm Downes from the British Council for their support in assisting my fieldwork in Indonesia. My thanks to Professor Meynardo Mendoza, Professor Lourdes Rallonza, Madam Joy Sobremonte and Madam Teresa Santos from Ateneo de Manila University who hosted me in the Philippines. My gratitude to Rear Admiral Cacayan, Colonel Ancan, Colonel Batara, Colonel Maxima Ignacio, Navy Captain Luzviminda Camacho and Major Sergeant Apostol from the Armed Forces of the Philippines, and Under Secretary Gettie Sandoval from the Office of the Presidential Adviser on the Peace Process, who were very kind to welcome me in the Philippines, may God bless them. Thanks also to Lieutenant General (Rtd) Satish Nambiar, Major General (Rtd) Mono Bhagat, Major General (Rtd) Apurba Kumar Bardalai and Colonel (Rtd) Siva Methil from the Indian Armed Forces, Commander Seema Dhundia from the India Central Reserve and Dr Laxman

Behera from Institute for Defence Studies and Analyses, for their collective provision of insights from India, the country that deployed the first all-female peacekeeping unit. I would also like to say thank you so very much to Madam Smita Mitra, Madam Shrijna Dixon, Madam Tara Sarathy and Madam Rebecca Tavares from UN Women, Victor George from UN DPKO, Major Erna Nuraeni and Major Ratih Pusparini from the Indonesian Army, Major Rachel Grimes from the British Army, Lieutenant Colonel Lena Kvarving from the Norwegian Air Force and Lieutenant Colonel (Rtd) Sharon Suico from the Philippines Air Force for their inspiration. Lastly, thanks to all my survey respondents, for their time, trust and for sharing their experiences. I have tried my best to translate your narratives into academic English. I sincerely hope I have managed to accurately capture and convey your meaning in this study's text.

My deep appreciation, also, to my family, friends and colleagues, all of whom supported me on this doctoral journey, thank you. Without you all, this thesis would never have been completed. Most importantly, I am grateful to my family, Papa Iik, Mama Tanti, Nigel, Aryo, Anggi and Bella, who all became my reason for finishing the thesis, so I can provide a good future for them. Thanks to my PhD compatriots: Ava, Adhi, Alban, Angel, Catherine, Curie, Evan, Kathrin, Lena, Maddalena, Randy, Sezszy, Yere, Yukika and Yoes; my brainy team, Andin, Andrew, Boba, Gigin, Handian, Irene, Lia, Meta, Verra and Vivi; and my strategic team: Keoni, Ratri, Kate, Polina, Asih and Alam. A big vote of gratitude for Tania Schnuppe, who coached me on aspects of my thesis. Lastly, my gratitude to Dr Michael Raska, whose encouraging words at the start of my PhD journey kept me going.

For the lovers of knowledge in international relations, gender, peacekeeping and military studies who stumble upon this academic work, I hope you will find it helpful. Please reach out to me, and provide feedback at fitribintang.com. I am open to receiving your comments and advice.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

Chapter 1 Making the Case for UN Women Peacekeeping Forces	1
1.1 Introduction	1
1.2 Making the Case: The Importance of Studying the Role and Impact of Women in Peacekeeping	1
1.3 Where are the Women?	4
1.4 Women in Conflict	6
1.5 How Do Women Become UN Peacekeepers?.....	12
1.6 Study Aim.....	15
1.6.1 Enabling Objectives.....	15
1.7 Research Questions	16
1.8 Contribution to Knowledge	16
1.9 Conceptual Model	17
1.10 Study Outline.....	20
Chapter 2 Examining (In)Security Through a Gender Lens	25
2.1 Introduction	25
2.2 The Underpinning Scholarship on Security: Classical vs Copenhagen School of Security Studies	25
2.3 Feminist Contribution to Security Studies	29
2.3.1 Feminist Perspectives	30
Liberal Feminism.....	31
Radical Feminism	32
Marxist and Socialist Feminism	33
Psychoanalytic Feminism	34
Global, Multicultural and Postcolonial Feminism.....	36
Eco-feminism	37
Postmodern Feminism	38
Feminist Internationalism	39
2.3.2 Appropriate Feminism Theory	41
2.4 UN Gender Focus	42
2.5 Discourse on UN Peacekeeping: Areas of Interest.....	45
2.6 Literature on Women and Gender in UN Peacekeeping Missions.....	47
2.7 Importance of Training in UN Peacekeeping Missions	51
2.8 Assessing Effectiveness of Gender Training.....	56
2.9 Developing an Assessment Model	59
2.10 Confirming the Research Lacuna	63
Chapter 3 Research Methods, Methodology and Design.....	75
3.1 Introduction	75
3.2 Nature of Research Methods, Methodology and Design.....	75

3.3	Research Philosophy	77
3.4	Research Methods	79
3.5	Research Strategies	81
3.6	Methodological Choices	86
3.7	Time Horizons	87
3.8	Research Techniques	87
3.9	Ethical Considerations	88
3.10	Research Design	89
3.11	Triangulation to Validate Research	91
3.12	Research Process	93
3.12.1	Sample Size	94
3.12.2	Interview Procedure.....	96
3.12.3	Interview Questions	97
3.12.4	Acknowledging Research Limitations and Bias.....	98

Chapter 4 UN Peacekeeping: Purpose, Process and Progress..... 103

4.1	Introduction	103
4.2	Rationale of Peacekeeping.....	103
4.2.1	Seeds of Peacekeeping in the 19 th Century.....	105
4.3	UN Peacekeeping Developments, 1945-1990	107
4.3.1	Creation of the Blue Helmets	109
4.4	Development of Post-Cold War UN Peacekeeping Missions	113
4.5	Proliferation of the Blue Berets	117
4.6	Motivations behind Blue Beret Contributing Countries.....	120
4.7	Policing the Peacekeepers... ..	124
4.8	Gender, as a Means for Inclusive Security in UN Peacekeeping	128

Chapter 5 The Case for ‘Gender-Sensitised’ UN Peacekeeper Training..... 139

5.1	Introduction	139
5.2	Overview of UN Commitment on Gender Issues.....	139
5.2.1	UN Handling of Gender Related Issues	140
5.3	Overview of UN Policy on Gender in Peacekeeping Operations.....	143
5.4	Gender-Based Violence as a Point of Entry for UN Peacekeeping.....	145
5.5	UN Frameworks on Women, Peace and Security	147
5.6	UN Peacekeeping: The Strategic Need for Gender Balancing.....	149
5.7	Emergence of Women in Peacekeeping	152
5.8	(Lack of) Women’s Participation in Peacekeeping Leadership	158
5.9	Importance of Pre-Deployment Training	162
5.10	UN Imperative for Gender-Sensitised Training	164
5.10.1	Co-Ed Gender in Peacekeeping Pre-Deployment Training.....	166
	First Generation Gender-Integrated UN Pre-Deployment Training Modules.....	167
	Second Generation Gender-Integrated UN Pre-Deployment Training Module.....	171
5.10.2	Special Female Peacekeeping Pre-Deployment Training	176
5.11	Assessing Pre-Deployment Gender Training Material.....	179
5.12	Summary.....	180

Chapter 6 Training Needs Assessment – Case Studies of Indonesian, Filipino and Country A Women Peacekeepers.....	188
6.1 Introduction	188
6.2 Fieldwork Approach and Limitations.....	189
6.3 Analytical Framework	191
6.4 Policies Supporting Women in Country Case Studies - Inputs.....	192
6.5 Women’s PDT - Activities	203
6.6 Deployment of Women Peacekeepers - Outputs.....	215
6.7 Women’s Impact on Effective Peacekeeping - Outcomes	222
6.8 Gap – Discrepancy between Ideal <i>versus</i> Actual Outcomes	226
6.9 Training Needs Assessment.....	231
6.10 Summary of Findings	237
Chapter 7 Conclusions and Policy Recommendations.....	247
7.1 Introduction	247
7.2 Summary.....	247
7.3 Conclusions	254
7.4 Future Research	264
BIBLIOGRAPHY.....	267
APPENDIX 1: INTERVIEW QUESTIONS.....	310
APPENDIX 2: LIST OF INTERVIEWS	322
APPENDIX 3: SCHEDULE OF UN SFMOC	324
APPENDIX 4: SUGGESTED TIME ALLOCATION FOR SGTM	326
APPENDIX 5: SUGGESTED TIME ALLOCATION FOR CPTM	327

LIST OF FIGURES

Figure 1.1 Percentage of Women amongst All Peacekeepers Deployed by Indonesia, the Philippines and Country A	4
Figure 1.2 Women Peacekeepers Deployed by Indonesia, the Philippines and Country A in Comparison with the ASEAN Average (1999-2014)...	14
Figure 1.3: Basic Logic Model Facilitating an Impact Analysis of Women Peacekeepers on UN Peace Missions	18
Figure 2.1 Training Needs Assessment Model.....	58
Figure 2.2: Kirkpatrick's Four Level Evaluation of UN PDT for Women Peacekeepers.....	60
Figure 2.3: Impact Analysis Model of Women Peacekeeper Pre-Deployment Training for UN Missions.....	62
Figure 3.1: Research Onion	76
Figure 3.2: Research Design Pathway (Shaded)	90
Figure 3.3: Women Peacekeeper Training: Triangulation to Validate Findings...	92
Figure 3.4: Women Peacekeeper Training Research programme	94
Figure 4.1: Four Phases of International Intervention.....	116
Figure 4.2: Map of UN Peacekeeping Missions in 2014.....	121
Figure 4.3 Implementation of Gender Perspective in Peacekeeping Missions ...	132
Figure 5.1: The United Nations System Highlighting UN Women's Relations to the UN Department of Peacekeeping (UN DPKO)	143
Figure 5.2: Women in UN Peacekeeping Operations, Number and Percentages of Total Personnel Worldwide	157
Figure 5.3: UN Peacekeeping Operations Authority, Command and Control Structure, with Special Focus on the Military Chain of Command..	159
Figure 5.4: UN Peacekeeping Training Phases	163
Figure 5.5: Selected Slides from SGTM 5D	169
Figure 5.6: Selected Slides from SGTM 16A	170
Figure 5.7: Selected Slides from CPTM Unit 4 Part 1b	174
Figure 5.8: Selected Slides from CPTM Unit 4 Part 2	175

Figure 5.9: Selected Slides from STM on Protection of Civilians and Prevention and Response to Conflict-related Sexual Violence	176
Figure 5.10: Selected Slides from Special Female Military Officer Course	178
Figure 6.1: Logic Training Needs Assessment Model	191
Figure 6.2: Logic Training Needs Assessment Model – Inputs	193
Figure 6.3: Logic Training Needs Assessment Model – Activities.....	204
Figure 6.4: Logic Training Needs Assessment Model – Outputs	216
Figure 6.5: Relative (Wo)Men Peacekeeper Deployment.....	217
Figure 6.6 Uniformed Women Peacekeeper Deployment.....	217
Figure 6.7: Logic Training Needs Assessment Model – Outcomes	222
Figure 6.8: Logic Training Needs Assessment Model – Gap	227
Figure 6.9: Logic Training Needs Assessment Model – Training Needs Assessment	231

LIST OF TABLES

Table 3.1: Sample Sizes of the Country Case Studies.....	95
Table 3.2: Population of Women Peacekeepers and Sample Size Ratios	95
Table 4.1: UN Peacekeeping Missions, 1945-87	111
Table 4.2: Top Ten UN Peacekeeping Country Contributors, 1991-2010 (per cent of total peacekeepers)	118
Table 5.1: UN DPKO and DFS Gender-mainstreaming Guidelines and Action Plans.....	149
Table 5.2: Reported UN Peacekeeper Incidents of Sexual Exploitation and Abuse	158
Table 5.3: Standardised Generic Training Modules.....	167
Table 5.4: Core Pre-deployment Training Materials.....	172
Table 6.1: Comparative Analysis of Attitudinal Barriers Facing Women Peacekeepers - Inputs	201
Table 6.2: Comparative Evaluation of Women’s Pre-Deployment Training - Activities.....	213
Table 6.3: Comparative Evaluation of Women Peacekeeper PDT Outputs.....	218
Table 6.4: Differentiated Deployment Roles of (Wo)men Peacekeepers	223
Table 6.5: Comparative Evaluation of Women Peacekeepers Expected and Actual Roles on Deployment Table	228
Table 6.6: Women Peacekeepers Receiving PDT Gender Training	232
Table 6.7: Effectiveness of PDT for Women Peacekeepers on Deployment.....	232
Table 6.8: Differentiated PDT between (Wo)men Peacekeepers.....	235
Table 6.9: Improvements to Women Peacekeeper’s PDT.....	236
Table 6.10: Summary of Comparative Country Case Study Findings	238

LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

AFP	Armed Forces of the Philippines
ASEAN	Association of Southeast Asian Nations
C34	UN Special Committee on Peacekeeping Operations
CC	Contributing Country – <i>plural</i> – CCs
CEDAW	Convention on the Elimination of all Forms of Discrimination Against Women
CIMIC	Civil-Military Coordination
CPTM	UN Core Pre-Deployment Training Materials
CSW	Commission on the Status of Women
DOMREP	United Nations Mission of the Representative of the Secretary-General in the Dominican Republic
ECOSOC	United Nations Economic and Social Council
FPU	Formed Police Unit deployed by the United Nations
GPOI	Global Peace Operations Initiative
IPTC	Indonesia Peacekeeping Training Centre
Kodam	<i>Komando Distrik Militer</i> – Indonesia district military command
LGBT	lesbian, gay, bisexual and transgender
MINURSO	United Nations Mission for the Referendum in Western Sahara
MINUSCA	United Nations Multidimensional Integrated Stabilization Mission in the Central African Republic
MINUSMA	United Nations Multidimensional Integrated Stabilization Mission in Mali
MINUSTAH	United Nations Stabilization Mission in Haiti
MONUC	Mission de l'Organisation des Nations Unies en République démocratique du Congo – United Nations Mission in the Democratic Republic of Congo renamed to MONUSCO in 1 July 2010
MONUSCO	<i>Mission de l'Organisation des Nations Unies pour la Stabilisation en République Démocratique du Congo</i> – United Nations Organization Stabilization Mission in the Democratic Republic of the Congo
NAP	National Action Plan of UN Security Council Resolution 1325
NATO	North Atlantic Treaty Organization
OAS	Organization of American States
ONUC	<i>Opération des Nations Unies au Congo</i> – United Nations Organization in the Congo (July 1960 – June 1964)
OSCE	Organization for Security and Co-operation in Europe
PC	Peacekeeping Centres – <i>plural</i> – PCs
PCC	Police Contributing Country – <i>plural</i> – PCCs
PDT	Pre-deployment training
PKO	Peacekeeping Operations
PNP	Philippines National Police
POC	Philippines Peacekeeping Operations Centre
POCD	Peace Operations Centre Directorate of Country A
Polri	<i>Polisi Republik Indonesia</i> – Indonesia Police Forces

POTI	Peace Operations Training Institute
RoE	Rules of Engagement
SEA	Sexual exploitation and abuse
SFMOC	Special Female Military Officers Course
SGTM	Standardised Generic Training Material
SGBV	Sexual- and gender-based violence
STM	Specialised Training Material
TCC	Troops Contributing Country – <i>plural</i> – TCCs
TNI	<i>Tentara Nasional Indonesia</i> – Indonesia Military Forces
UK	United Kingdom
UN	United Nations
UN DPKO	United Nations Department of Peacekeeping Operations
UN DFS	United Nations Department of Field Support
UN ITS	UN Integrated Training Service
UNAMA	United Nations Assistance Mission in Afghanistan
UNAMID	United Nations–African Union Mission in Darfur
UNAMIR	United Nations Assistance Mission for Rwanda
UNDOF	UN Disengagement Observer Force in the Israel-Syria ceasefire line
UNDP	United Nations Development Programme
UNEF	UN Emergency Force
UNFICYP	United Nations Peacekeeping Force in Cyprus
UNIFIL	United Nations Interim Force in Lebanon
UNIPOM	United Nations India-Pakistan Observation Mission
UNISFA	United Nations Organization Interim Security Force for Abyei
UNMIK	United Nations Interim Administration Mission in Kosovo
UNMIL	United Nations Mission in Liberia
UNMIN	United Nations Mission in Nepal
UNMIS	United Nations Mission in Sudan
UNMISS	United Nations Mission in the Republic of South Sudan
UNMIT	United Nations Integrated Mission in Timor-Leste
UNMOGIP	UN Military Observer Group in India and Pakistan
UNOCI	United Nations Operation in Côte d’Ivoire
UNOSOM	United Nations Operation in Somalia
UNPOL	United Nations Police
UNPROFOR	United Nations Protection Force in Croatia
UNSC	United Nations Security Council
UNSCOB	UN Special Commission on the Balkans
UNSCR1325	UN Security Council Resolution 1325 on Women, Peace and Security
UNSMIS	United Nations Supervision Mission in Syria
UNTEA	United Nations Temporary Executive Authority in West New Guinea
UNTSO	UN Truce Supervision Organization
UNYOM	United Nations Yemen Observation Mission
US	United States

Map of Southeast Asia



Source: *United Nations, Map, No. 4365 Rev. 1, March 2012.*

Chapter 1

Making the Case for UN Women Peacekeeping Forces

1.1 Introduction

This chapter offers an overview of a scientific research journey concerning uniformed women in UN peacekeeping missions, looking specifically at pre-deployment training (PDT) to assist women peacekeepers in the provision of security in the field. The chapter covers several important aspects in the pursuit of this study: firstly, it offers arguments that make the case for women to participate in peacekeeping missions; secondly, it emphasises the low numbers of women involved in the public sector, compared to men, particularly as security actors, both in the military and police forces; and thirdly, it highlights that the lack of women in the security sector becomes a problem when conflict occurs, not least because women tend to be portrayed as victims, and in need of protection, rather than being able to protect themselves, and others. The chapter highlights that the overarching aim of this study is to assess women's roles in UN peacekeeping operations, with the research findings hopefully contributing to a review and improvement in women's pre-deployment training. A conceptual model of the key PDT issues is applied to the empirical data, with the purpose of addressing the research questions posed in this chapter. A study outline brings this opening chapter to a close.

1.2 Making the Case: The Importance of Studying the Role and Impact of Women in Peacekeeping

The focus of this academic enquiry is on the role of women in the pursuit of security. The study seeks to address a number of unanswered questions that are often unseen in the mainstream of security studies. What is the contribution of women in the security sector? Why is their number significantly lower than those of men? Why is the integration of women in the security sector important? What are the roles of nation-states and international organisations in increasing the numbers of women in the security sector? What does the increase in women in the security sector mean for post-conflict areas, for the nation-state and for international society in general?

Women account for half the world's population, yet occupy less than half the positions in the private sector, even less in the public sector, and less still in the security sector. If security is truly inclusive, then high-level research is necessary to establish the reasons behind the exclusion of women, and to look for ways and means to raise their profile. Arguably, one of the best ways of achieving the latter is through highlighting the roles of women in the security forces and facilitating their development through special-skill training.

This thesis seeks to explore the role of women in the security forces, and especially in the United Nations (UN) Peacekeeping Operations, both as a way of actively engaging them in security creation and as a means of changing the dynamics of conflict. This can be achieved by strengthening the role that women play as peacekeeper, especially by viewing their role not only as security-makers, but also as support mechanisms for the women victims of conflict, as well as empowering the female population in the areas of peacekeeper deployment. However, it is important to understand how, and under what circumstances, women peacekeepers can contribute to peace operations, because this understanding will assist the UN authorities to increase the numbers of women involved in peacekeeping missions, as well as making the presence of these women more meaningful. The strategy of increasing the numbers of women peacekeepers is part of a gender-balancing approach to foster diversity and equality of access. From its establishment until today, the UN Department of Peacekeeping Operations (UN DPKO) is facing serious problems in increasing the proportion of women amongst total peacekeepers to meet the policy target of 20 per cent by 2020.¹ Across 2009 and 2011, the number of policewomen grew by only 3 per cent and by just 0.3 per cent for military women.² However, the challenge lies in the contributing countries' low numbers of women in their military forces. Moreover, despite the UN's multi-dimensional activities, peacekeeping is still military heavy, as evidenced by the fact that as per October 2015, some 85 per cent of UN peacekeepers were uniformed, and 73 per cent were military.³ Meanwhile, the strategy of making women peacekeeper presence more meaningful is part of the UN gender-mainstreaming approach to foster female leadership and involvement in decision-making, but arguably it is presently done

through window dressing or tokenism, a facade for female inclusiveness.

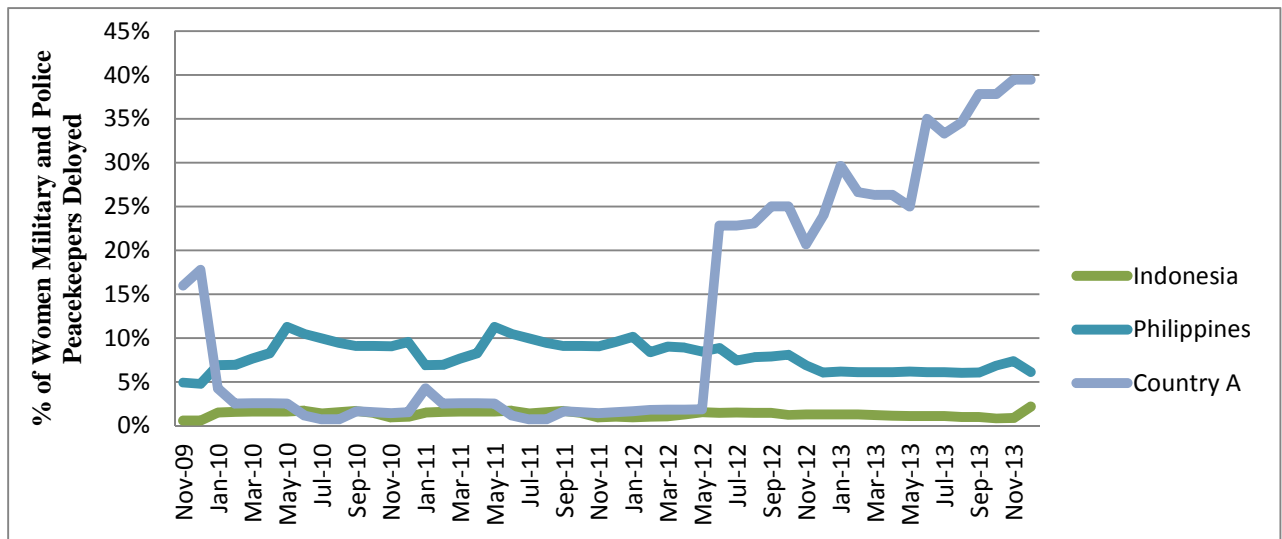
This study's academic contribution is positioned from the perspective of feminist security studies, focusing on the emergent literature on gender in international relations studies, particularly in the field of international peacekeeping. The study aims to verify that women can contribute to security via the security forces, rather than only from the traditional role of women as the victims and the protected, or via their supportive role through clerical work. This research is timely and relevant because of the year 2020 UN goal to increase the numbers of women participating in peacekeeping operations. The world is currently witnessing an increasing trend of globalisation, with more actors involved in the international dynamics of conflict, where there exists not only conflict between nations, but also involvement of international organisations, such as the UN, to maintain peace through 'boots on the ground'.

The empirical case offered by this study focuses on the role of women peacekeepers from Indonesia, Philippines and Country A.⁴ The reason why Indonesia is an interesting case study is because it contributes the highest numbers of peacekeepers to UN PKOs amongst the Southeast Asian countries; ranked 18th in the world in April 2014, but deploying far fewer women peacekeepers in percentage terms compared to the Philippines and Country A.⁵ What is puzzling is that according to the Democratic Index assessment, Indonesia has a higher democracy level and higher GDP compared to the Philippines and Country A.⁶ The Philippines, meanwhile, deploys the highest percentage of women amongst all its peacekeepers compared with Indonesia and Country A.⁷ Democracy and economic welfare ideally enable Indonesia to allow higher women participation in society, including the security sector, but this is not the case as UN PKO deployment statistics show that Indonesian women are not engaging in international security to the same degree as their male counterparts.

This PhD thesis will examine Indonesia, Philippines and Country A's efforts to train and deploy women as part of their UN peacekeeping operations. The Philippines offer a case study of female participation in a leadership position, as the country has deployed the first woman Head of a mixed contingent (compared to India that have deployed

female commandants leading all-female peacekeeping units since 2007) and the first women contingent in Southeast Asia. Country A offers lessons learnt from its success in contributing the highest percentage of female peacekeepers in Southeast Asian since 2012 (see Figure 1.1), including invaluable experience of female deployment in failed states. This three-country comparison will provide salient lessons for other developing countries eager to participate in UN PKOs, from both their successes and failures. The three case studies of Southeast Asian nations aim to provide comparisons in terms of similarities and differences on how to recruit, train and deploy women peacekeepers on UN missions.

Figure 1.1 Percentage of Women amongst All Peacekeepers Deployed by Indonesia, the Philippines and Country A



Source: *UN Troops and Contributors Archive*, November 2009-December 2014.

1.3 Where are the Women?

According to World Bank 2012 data, women accounted for fifty per cent of the global population, but only half have access to jobs, compared to 77 per cent of the male population.⁸ Female participation is even lower in the governance sector, with only 21 per cent of women occupying positions as national parliamentarians,⁹ and just 17 per cent as government ministers.¹⁰ Yet, female participation in public roles is increasing compared to a decade ago,¹¹ except that, arguably, in defence and the security sectors (including institutions that manage and provide security for the state and its people, i.e. the police and military forces)¹² they remain a male domain. Data on women in the

security forces worldwide are not yet available, and only a few countries care to calculate the presence of women in their forces, making it difficult to assess the rate of women participation as well as their welfare in terms of equal pay for equal employment, career track and retention. Nira Yuval-Davis emphasises that women fulfil vital roles in the defence and security sector, but often do not contribute on an equal basis to that of the men.¹³ This is because the sexual division of labour in defence and security is often more rigid and more focused on physical power than in the civil sector. History records that there have been women warriors since ancient times, and there are women currently serving in conflict, but men still outnumber women as armed forces personnel, and women are historically rendered suitable only as cooks, nurses and as aides of war, i.e. those positioned as civilians, rather than as fighters. There is a low advocacy supporting women to obtain equal work in the defence and security sectors compared to support for women entering politics and economics. This likely reflects society's uneasiness about accepting women into the security environment, most often because women are stereotyped to fill domestic roles tied to housekeeping and child rearing.

Female and male stereotypes reflect the differing roles, expectations and aspirations associated with the term gender; hence, it is a matter of situational culture.¹⁴ Meanwhile the more universal biological difference between males and females is termed sex.¹⁵ Gender is based on cultural perception, and thus will change over time, place and situation; biological sex, by contrast, exhibits relatively more stable characteristics. Gender's biological perception affects women and men during their daily lives in pursuit of jobs and security. Women are often perceived to rule the domestic/household realms due to their perceived biological ability to give birth, rather than the gathering and hunting of food; hence, they are valued less in the business and security domains compared to males. This is reflected in the 16-30 per cent lower wages that women receive compared to men, an imbalance coined as the 'motherhood penalty'.¹⁶ Such differentials can also be extended to the broader security context. More than 100 million women worldwide are held to be 'missing' due to inadequate care, particularly amongst girls, and sex-selective abortion; and, worryingly, this is occurring in times of peace, not war.¹⁷ During conflict, where the rule of law is non-existent, and legal enforcement

cannot not be found, the security of women declines from bad to worse. An example for this is Liberia when it experienced 14 years of second civil war between 1999 and 2003 has witnessed a 40 per cent increase of rape and sexual assault against women and girls because there was no law stating such actions are illegal.¹⁸ Even more concerning is that intermediary force personnel deployed to observe peace agreements in the post-war period took advantage of the absence of law by perpetrating rape, such as in early 1992 in Mozambique and in 2015 in the Central African Republic.¹⁹

1.4 Women in Conflict

Women and girls endure specific experiences in conflict linked to their 'secondary' status in societies. The UN Beijing Platform for Action acknowledged that even though entire communities suffer the consequences of armed conflict and terrorism, women and girls are particularly affected because of both their status in society and their sex.²⁰ The Platform also recognised that women do not enjoy equal status in any society, and when discrimination against them exists in peacetime, it is exacerbated in conflict. Gender stereotypes are evidence that combat forces are generally male-dominated, reinforced by the long-standing societal attitude that men are the warriors, and women are the protected. In the long term, this stereotype of weak-women categorises them as meek and vulnerable, deemed unsuitable to protect themselves along with the things they cherish, making them dependent on male protection. In the face of continuing armed conflicts in many parts of the world that are predominantly internal, the victims are disproportionately civilian and female, with no military training.²¹ Countries in conflict generally deploy men to conduct military action, while women are normally positioned in supporting roles, such as caring for the sick, undertaking clerical administrative duties and for the servicing of male 'pleasure'.²²

In conflict, where often the rule of law is not enforced, women's lives become devalued, over and above the normal discrimination endured in peacetime. Examples of gender persecution in times of war can be evidenced by the research conducted on women in armed conflict. In the 1994-1995 Rwanda genocide, around 500,000 women were raped,²³ in the Bosnian conflict that occurred in 1992-1995 more than 50,000 women were sexually assaulted and used as a means of ethnic cleansing,²⁴ and similarly in India

during the 1990-1999 Kashmir conflict, some 7,000-16,000 women were the subject of sexual abuse perpetrated by both militant groups and security forces.²⁵ However, it should be recognised that sexual violence is not only directed towards women and girls, but also to men and boys. However, due to women's ability to give birth, their position in society becomes more fragile and the discriminatory impact is more long lasting. Child bearing, and the nursing of children, 'politicises' a women's body, making it the subject of ownership by the state, the warriors and society in general. When a woman is raped, she is invariably seen as impure, and when she is pregnant with 'the enemy's child', she is viewed as a fellow perpetrator of violence. This form of violence generates fear and reduces women's active participation in conflict. Therefore, they flee for safety as refugees. Hence, the majority of war victims are women and children, constituting 80 per cent of the number of refugees worldwide.²⁶ These statistics suggest that in conflict, women are often perceived and positioned as victims rather than fighters.

Arguably, international norms perceive women as 'weak'. The Fourth Geneva Convention (1949) regulates the protection of civilians in times of war, and includes an additional passage that states... "women shall be especially protected against any attack on their honour, in particular against rape, enforced prostitution or any form of indecent assault" (Art. 27, para 2, C. IV; Art. 75 and 76, P.I). This statement exists due to the experiences of World War II, where women of all ages, as well as children, were subjected to inhumane acts including rape in occupied territories, brutal treatment, mutilation and enforced prostitution. Yet two decades after World War II the status of women in conflict did not seem to have changed, as the UN in 1974 was obliged to adopt and enforce the Declaration on the Protection of Women and Children in Emergency and Armed Conflict. The Declaration proposed by the UN Economic and Social Council argues that women and children are often the victims of war, civil unrest and other emergency situations, suffering "inhuman acts and consequently suffer[ing] serious harm." While international norms provide 'protection', it is difficult for women, even the strong ones, to be seen as able to provide security and protection. This reality recognises that countries push men to enter defence and security roles, while women are discouraged. In effect, such international norms keep the numbers of women participating in security and defence sectors relatively small, except in specific

departments, such as intelligence, where women are needed to undertake undercover work to blend in with society.²⁷

Women have experienced active participation in war, but only by helping behind the frontlines. They have acted as canteen-keepers, nurses and comforters, with little acknowledgement. Women's capabilities and roles in war only gained momentum in World War I when they were needed to increase or replace the numbers of troops in action. For instance, the Germans deployed almost 70,000 women to replenish male postings, the British forces sent around 80,000 female military units and nurses, whilst Russia deployed smaller numbers of women in combat, when compared to non-combat roles.²⁸ Women participating in World War II showed an increase of more than five-fold for the British, with 450,000 women sent to combat, still only accounting for less than ten per cent of its armed forces; Germany despatched 300,000 women, who served as army reservists: 20,000 women in the navy and 130,000 in the air force, while the Soviet Union had some 1 million women in the armed forces and resistance movements, which is equal to eight per cent of the country's total armed forces.²⁹ Since the First World War, women have been accepted on the front-line, though they still fail to be acknowledged as heroes by the modern military.

In times of conflict, states have mobilised both men and women equally, with women's images reconstructed so that they perform effectively in various combat positions to fill the demand for fighting positions. However, when peace arrives, the contribution of women is forgotten as part of a 'cultural amnesia'.³⁰ One example is Eritrea, where women fought together with men in the War of Independence against Ethiopia since the 1970s. When independence was gained in 1993, conscription was still kept for both male and female; however, the women who joined military service for the compulsory 1.5 years were not allowed to train for combat roles.³¹ Many other developing countries impose different barriers, stopping women from entering high-rank military positions by limiting access to their defence academies, a prestigious institute that until recent times was male-only. For example, Pakistan only started to accept female cadets in its national basic military academy in 2003,³² Serbia in 2007,³³ Colombia in 2009,³⁴ India in 2010,³⁵ Nigeria in 2011³⁶ and Indonesia, as late as 2013.³⁷ In times of peace, even

developed states provide less recognition and access to senior positions to women soldiers, slowing down their career promotion. Signs of gender equality have only just begun. For example, Canada only allowed women to serve in its submarines in 2000, and appointed women to command a major warships in 2009; Australia appointed its first real admiral in 2011; the US awarded its first close quarters combat valour to women in 2005, as well as appointing its first four-star general, in 2008; and the UK highest ranked woman army officer still stands at only Brigadier level, and the Royal Navy appointing its first female warship commander only in 2012.³⁸ The continuing social norms and policy barriers limiting women from engaging in full security and defence sector roles, lead inevitably to fewer training opportunities, with all the negative consequences that ensue.

The percentage of women formally trained to deal with conflict in state militaries ranges from between 0.3 per cent (Bangladesh) to 24.3 per cent (Finland).³⁹ Similarly, female police forces range from 0.4 per cent (Italy) to 30 per cent (Rwanda).⁴⁰ The small number of women compared to men serving in national armed forces means that there is only a small number of women able to serve in international peacekeeping missions, such as those organised by the UN. In the first three decades of UN peacekeeping operations, only 20 out of 6,250 military peacekeepers were women.⁴¹ In the 1980s, female UN peacekeepers amounted to just 1 per cent of total peacekeeping personnel, growing to 1.63 per cent one and half decades later.⁴² Even up to the latest 2011 World Peacekeeping report written by Lee Katz, he mentions the UN difficulties in seeking more women officers, from foot soldiers to high-ranking officers.⁴³ The UN's reason for recruiting women peacekeepers is less pro-equality than it might seem. Arguably, the UN's reputation has been tarnished after the 1992 report on peacekeeper sexual abuse was published in Mozambique, and soon after similar concerns were voiced in Cambodia, Somalia and Bosnia and Herzegovina.⁴⁴ The predominantly male profile of the UN secretariat and its peacekeeping missions have created challenges to UN credibility, notably the organisation's mishandling of sexual abuse and harassment cases, generally dismissing them unless spotlighted by media attention.⁴⁵ Therefore, as a counter-balance to the UN's apparent lethargy on gender issues, it has been aggressively trying to recruit more women since the 1990s.

According to research by Bertolazzi, the reason why female participation in UN peacekeeping operations is limited is due to sexual harassment, gender discrimination and biases.⁴⁶ The UN organisation's main purpose has always been to maintain international peace and security; however, this goal has been undermined by peacekeeper misconduct.⁴⁷ Between 2004 and 2006 there have been 316 UN peacekeepers worldwide investigated for sexual abuse and misconduct, resulting in the dismissal or sending home of 144 military, 17 police and 18 civilian officers.⁴⁸ Due to these sexual exploitation cases, often, if not almost always, perpetrated by men, the UN has devised new strategies to remedy its credibility. In 2005, UN Secretary General Kofi Annan instituted, firstly, mandatory training courses for peacekeepers to address sexual exploitation and abuse in UN peacekeeping operations, and, secondly, also policies to speed up the training of more women peacekeepers.⁴⁹ Women have been involved in UN peacekeeping operations since 1957, but only after the cases of sexual abuse perpetrated by male peacekeepers has their role finally been recognised and considered important.

At the meeting of the UN Transitional Assistance Group in Windhoek in 2000, efforts were made to ensure that the principles of gender equality were embedded in peace operations, leading to the launch of the 'Namibia Plan of Action'. The Plan required the UN to request member states "to increase the number of women in their militaries and civilian police forces who are qualified to serve in peace support operations at all levels", and that the "terms of reference, including eligibility requirements, for all heads of mission components and their personnel should be reviewed and modified to facilitate the increased participation of women."⁵⁰ Also in 2000, the UN Security Council subsequently passed UNSC Resolution 1325,⁵¹ endorsing the participation of women and the associated inclusion of a gender perspective that recognises the special needs of women and girls in all peacekeeping and peace-building measures. The Plan of Action calls for the mainstreaming of gender perspectives in peace operations and peace processes, while Resolution 1325 demands an increase in women numbers and an expansion of their role in conflict management, conflict resolution, and the pursuit of sustainable peace.

The first UN all-female police unit was sent by India in 2007 to meet the needs of Liberia, where peacekeepers are alleged to have traded food-aid for sex with a teenager.⁵² The head of the new unit, Commander Seema Dhundia, stated that the women selected to be in her unit have had extensive martial experience in insurgency, are adept in sports and have basic communication skills, making them ideal for peacekeeping work.⁵³ However, it is unclear whether martial training is the norm in peacekeeper pre-deployment training in general. In an interview with Commander Dhundia in April 2015, she formulated the pre-deployment training herself with combined material from the UN DPKO, India Centre of UN Peacekeeping and her field research to Liberia prior to deployment.⁵⁴ In the case of Indian female peacekeepers in Liberia, self-defence training and computer classes were run for local women to empower them to improve their lives. The interview with Commander Dhundia also revealed that India contingents provided yoga and meditation courses for the local population to increase interaction and, therefore, trust with the local population.⁵⁵ Following the footsteps of India, the Philippines entrusted a woman, Navy Captain Luzviminda Camacho, to lead its peacekeeping unit in Haiti across 2013-14. Commander Dhundia led her 125 all-female unit, while Captain Camacho led 155 mixed troops.⁵⁶ From the interview with Captain Camacho, she said that the Philippine's Peacekeeping Operation Centre conducted the training, and she, as well as the members of her contingent, were selected by the institution through a fair and rigorous process, as the country only sent its best personnel overseas.⁵⁷ The state of policy on women security, the degree in which women are allowed to participate in national security and the armed forces, as well as supporting women's deployment internationally are interesting issues to examine. It is also fascinating to learn how certain countries provide pre-deployment training for their women peacekeepers, given the wide understanding that peacekeeping deployment can be dangerous. There is perhaps a wind of change with regard to the deployment of women in traditionally male military roles.

UN efforts to increase the number of women peacekeepers were intended to reduce the vulnerability of local women in conflict and post-conflict areas of UN mission deployment, highlighting the unique contribution of women peacekeepers in community

outreach and trust building.⁵⁸ The UN's determination to increase women peacekeepers was applauded. However, with their relatively small numbers, it means that their impact is still limited. For example, increased numbers of women in peacekeeping operations in Liberia have been found to be successful as they encouraged local women to become involved in security training, with some gradually joining the Liberian police force, yet contrastingly, the UN is still criticised for its inability to stop the scourge of rape in the many areas of this mission.⁵⁹ This study argues that if women are positioned as equals, and trained as such, then they have the ability to protect themselves and others, increasing security and performing the same role of warrior/protector as their male colleagues. Accordingly, international organisations, like the UN, should be at the forefront of gender equality programmes, especially in the security domain.

1.5 How Do Women Become UN Peacekeepers?

Given official UN recognition of the importance of women in peacekeeping operations, research is essential to trace how member states support their women citizen entering the security and defence forces, and deploying them in national contingents for UN peacekeeping missions. Similar research should also be conducted from the UN side, as to whether the international organisation has provided sufficient demand for women from member countries and training for women peacekeepers so that its gender policies are appropriately operationalised. Accordingly, this study seeks to research the three biggest UN peacekeeping contributing countries in Southeast Asia. The first country case study is Indonesia. Aside from the fact that the author is an Indonesian and could obtain access to the Indonesian Peacekeeping Training Centre, the country has the highest number of peacekeepers deployed, but also the lowest percentage of women peacekeepers within the total number of peacekeepers. From the UN PKO sex-segregated statistics, compiled since November 2009 to December 2014, it is known that Indonesia on average deploys 25 women out of 1,800 peacekeepers or a little more than one woman for every 100 peacekeepers deployed.⁶⁰ It is interesting to investigate the underlying cause of this relatively small number of women in Indonesian peacekeeping missions, and to examine the country's efforts of increase the women's participation rate. At the opening of Indonesia Peacekeeping Training Centre in 2012, Indonesia has been publicly requested by the UN Secretary General Ban Ki Moon to

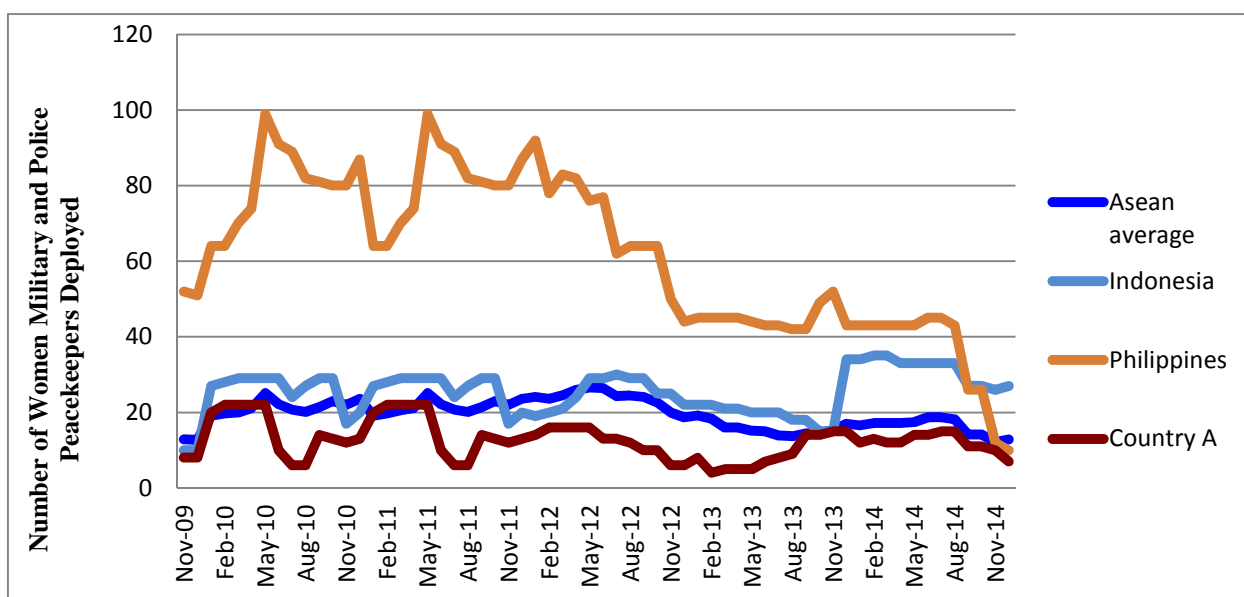
increase its women peacekeepers.⁶¹ The UN Secretary General especially highlighted the importance of women peacekeepers in supporting women survivors of sexual violence, who find it difficult to report to male UN peacekeepers and officers due to fear, shame and trauma.

Aside from improving the role of peacekeepers to provide security for all, the existing research on UN peacekeeping operations finds that women peacekeepers play a significant role in educating local women and raising their involvement in the creation of security in post-conflict areas.⁶² These findings will be tested in the case studies of Indonesia, the Philippines and Country A through interviews with women peacekeepers that are in training, some of whom have returned from deployment to provide training, at the respective countries' Peacekeeping Centres (PCs) located in West Java, Tarlac and Country A's capital city. The data from Country A are anonymised – including the locations where interviews took place, because the country is experiencing political instability, and thus there is greater sensitivity to data emanating from the defence community. Throughout this thesis personal identification of respondents is anonymised to grant interviewees the freedom to discuss their experience and how gender affects the interaction of uniformed personnel in their own country and in UN deployment.

The research also looks at the role of women in the security sectors in of the Philippines and Country A. The Philippines maintained its position in the top ten “Best place for women to live” for seven consecutive years across 2009-2013.⁶³ It ranked better than New Zealand and Switzerland in terms of women empowerment, and is the only country in Southeast Asia to hold such admirable rankings. According to the report compiled by the World Economic Forum, women in the Philippines have enjoyed greater economic participation, improved job opportunity and increased wages; they also head the region's rankings in terms of political empowerment.⁶⁴ The country has also shown similar achievement in its international involvement in sending uniformed women to join the UN peacekeeping missions. Compared to other Southeast Asian nations in ASEAN, including its most populated country in the region – Indonesia, the Philippines provides a higher contribution of women peacekeepers in numbers compared to Indonesia since the UN began to present sex-segregated data in 2009.

Nevertheless, after the Philippine peacekeeping troops were attacked in the Golan Heights, bordering Israel and Syria, at the end of August 2014, the number of women peacekeepers deployed experienced a drastic decline due to the Philippines' decision to withdraw from UNDOF, see Figure 1.2, below.⁶⁵ Meanwhile, despite its contribution of only a small number of peacekeepers, since mid-2012 Country A has provided the highest percentage of women peacekeepers in Southeast Asia, which is at stable at over 20 per cent, as shown in Figure 1.1 (located in p.4).

Figure 1.2 Women Peacekeepers Deployed by Indonesia, the Philippines and Country A in Comparison with the ASEAN Average (1999-2014)



Source: *UN Troops and Contributors Archive*, November 2009-December 2014.

The case studies of Indonesia and the Philippines illustrate the enabling factors at play, which allow countries such as the latter, with relatively small populations, to provide higher numbers of women peacekeepers. Going beyond simply numbers, the purpose of this study is to elucidate the recruitment and training policies in place to support the Philippines in deploying women peacekeepers on UN missions. Meanwhile, Country A's policies and efforts in recruiting and training to enable an all-women peacekeeping unit to be deployed is a further important feature to be explored. This country provides the highest percentage of women peacekeepers amongst its total peacekeepers. Thus there may be policy lessons to be learnt from Country A for possible emulation by other UN contributing countries. The empirical research is undertaken in order to seek an

understanding of the reasoning behind countries sending their women personnel to fulfil peacekeeper roles in faraway lands. This is particularly important when women are deployed individually or in very small groups; that is, with specific roles and not as part of a deployed battalion or sub-unit. The latter is often more dangerous for these women, who receive less support than those deployed as part of a formed unit. The fieldwork interviews will explore the rationale and practice behind the contributing countries' training and deployment of women peacekeepers in support of the UN agenda of gender-mainstreaming and balancing.

The empirical research will gather data on how the sample countries policies have supported the active participation of women in the security sector in the pursuit of international stability and peace. The data will assist in analysing, firstly, the country policies enabling women's participation in the national security forces that allow greater international participation and, secondly, the pre-deployment training provided for women peacekeepers to support their roles and impact on UN missions.

1.6 Study Aim

The purpose of this study is to examine the role and impact of women in UN peacekeeping operations, and to further establish whether and how appropriate pre-deployment training can improve the performance of women in operational zones.

1.6.1 Enabling Objectives

To achieve the above study aim, a number of enabling objectives have been set:

- I. Evaluating the policy and practice of UN peacekeeping missions and the nature of women's participation in them.
- II. Examining the concept of women making a difference to effective peacekeeping.
- III. Tracing the major UN policies supporting women's involvement in peacekeeping operations over the five decades from 1957 to 2014.
- IV. Analysing the pre-deployment training of UN Peacekeeping troops.
- V. Analysing pre-deployment training for peacekeepers in the three country case studies of Southeast Asia, namely Indonesia, Philippines and Country A.

- VI. Assessing the effectiveness of pre-deployment training in enabling women peacekeepers to perform at work.
- VII. Drawing conclusions and propose policy recommendations towards improving women's pre-deployment training.

1.7 Research Questions

The central questions at the heart of this study are:

- Whether women make a difference to peacekeeping operations?
- Whether peacekeeping pre-deployment training enables them to do so?

These questions are addressed from the standpoint of 'impact'. A series of subsidiary research questions are answered to more closely define the nature of this impact, and how it is perceived from the various stakeholder perspectives. The stakeholders are: firstly, the UN and case study Contributing Countries (CCs) decision-makers (these refer to the officials responsible for making the decisions to deploy personnel, especially on who can be deployed, and where and when); secondly, the peacekeeping trainers; and, thirdly, the women peacekeepers themselves. The subsidiary questions are:

- Is training adequate for women to effectively undertake their duties in the field?
- Does women's peacekeeping training differ from that of their male colleagues?
- If so, in what ways does it differ?
- What are the expected roles of women peacekeepers, and are these roles actually undertaken?
- Do women make a difference, particularly with respect to the caring of women survivors of sexual assault?

In response to these questions, two hypotheses are proposed: firstly, women make a difference in assisting sexually traumatised female survivors of conflict; and, secondly, Pre-Deployment Training (PDT) does support women peacekeepers to be more effective in their work.

1.8 Contribution to Knowledge

This study's originality derives from the empirical fieldwork aimed at identifying and

analysing the role and impact of women military in international peacekeeping operations. The empirical fieldwork covers peacekeeping training centres in Indonesia, Philippines and Country A. As such, the research findings will offer an original contribution to knowledge, because they will be based on the only contemporary database on the deployment and effectiveness of women peacekeepers deployed on UN missions.

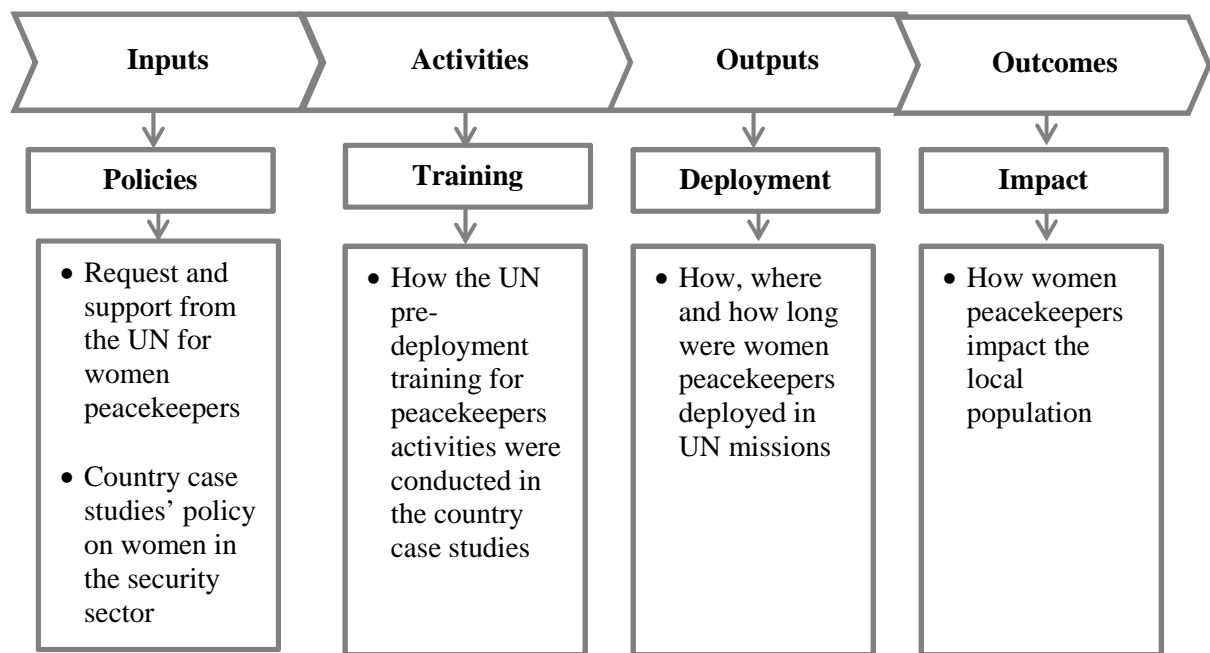
1.9 Conceptual Model

This study will analyse the role of women in UN peacekeeping forces and the training effectiveness in supporting those roles by pursuing the study process illustrated in Figure 1.2, below. The analytical model used in this study is adapted from the logic model (alternatively known as ‘result chains’), because it is considered as the clearest model to outline how the sequence of inputs, activities and outputs establish certain impacts or outcomes.⁶⁶ The underlying construction of this logic model follows the ‘if-then’ (linear causal) relationship between one unit and another.⁶⁷ The model outlines the flow of activity, providing a framework to reveal whether the inputs have actually provided value and effectiveness by measuring the outputs and outcomes. The logic model has been widely utilised for programme evaluation, especially for training evaluation, and of particular relevance in this regard was its use by Rosemary Harrison and Sharon Foreman.⁶⁸ Harrison focused on business training, while Foreman’s attention was on the pharmaceutical industry.

According to the author’s research, Harrison’s model has yet to be applied to evaluating the effectiveness of peacekeeping training. In this thesis, the author attempts to build upon Foreman’s adaptation of the logic model, as illustrated in Figure 1.3, below. To apply the logic model to obtain an understanding of the impact of women peacekeepers in UN peace missions, the author will use Donald Kirkpatrick’s method of evaluation.⁶⁹ Kirkpatrick sought to measure training effectiveness through participant reaction, learning, behaviour and results (also known as the four levels of evaluation). This process is useful in devising the interview questions for data gathering, and is included in Annex A of this thesis. The logic model is combined with the Training Needs Assessment (TNA) framework, to examine the outcomes of the training, as illustrated in

Figure 1.3. The TNA framework analyses the information gathered to determine whether the training is fit-for-purpose, and also whether UN peacekeeping training can be improved, especially for women. This framework will be further elaborated in the Chapter 2, Subsection 2.9, Developing an Assessment Model.

Figure 1.3: Basic Logic Model Facilitating an Impact Analysis of Women Peacekeepers on UN Peace Missions



Source: Adapted from Paul Gertler, Sebastian Martinez, Patrick Premand, Laura Rawlings and Christel Vermeersch, *Impact Evaluation in Practice*, (Washington DC: World Bank, 2011), pp. 24-6.

The first stage of the research seeks to evaluate policy. This means the research examines how far the UN's and contributing countries' policies, especially those of the three country case studies, have enabled women to obtain equal access to education, in order for them to effectively participate in public roles. In turn, this will support them to enter into security sector employment, particularly in peacekeeping operations. This study will trace the equal opportunity policies regarding access to education and jobs, as well as the adequacy of recruitment, training and retention programmes for women. More broadly, such an approach includes countries' social acceptance of women working in the security sector, as well as government support on equal opportunities to access education, training and jobs, also including the government's provision of security for all by all – including women.

The second stage of this research programme examines the UN pre-deployment training for peacekeepers, seeking to trace the changes that were undertaken on the training modules and standard methods of delivery since the first UN peacekeeping operation deployed in 1947, and until the most recent data became available in 2014. Hence, a most interesting part of this study is examining whether UN pre-deployment training modules and training delivery standards have been modified to calibrate to the needs of the member states. Such alterations to UN pre-deployment training standards needs to be acknowledged since this research will assess pre-deployment training impact, especially on women peacekeeper duties, and the efficiency in which their delivery is improved by training. As peacekeepers are normally posted to the host country's peacekeeping training centre, rarely sending their would-be peacekeepers to a training centre abroad, there may be differences in the training standards that might affect the outcomes of pre-deployment training.

The third stage of the study observes women's engagement in the process of security creation through their participation as UN peacekeepers deployed in a conflict or post-conflict area, and the effectiveness of their pre-deployment training. This part of the research focuses on women's roles in deployment: what are their rules of engagement, and whether and how these rules are properly followed? The dynamic of pre-deployment training will be explored to understand how women received training in the male-dominated security sector environment. Preparation for deployment will be examined to establish how women peacekeepers interact with the male-majority peacekeeping forces and trainers. The study will also look at how effective the pre-deployment training is in supporting women peacekeepers in deployment, including their assigned roles and interaction with international colleagues and the local population. This stage will also investigate whether there is any unique contribution made by women peacekeepers compared to their male colleagues.

The final stage of the study examines the impact of training to enable women peacekeepers to better assist women in the local community, including how they assist sexual-based violence victims and the local care organisations. It is anticipated that

women peacekeepers will become role models for the protection of women in the conflict and post-conflict areas, as well as safeguarding the specific needs of the local female population that might be side-lined in the security creation process. Moreover, there is a need to establish whether pre-deployment training has prepared women for peacekeeping roles despite their home country often perceiving them as the lesser sex. For the UN forces, it is essential that the women military contribute to the fulfilment of the peacekeeping operation's mandate, but the importance of women goes beyond the peacekeeping objectives, and will include achieving the UN's agenda for gender balancing and women empowerment.

1.10 Study Outline

This first chapter has provided the background of gender studies within International Security, and focused on women in UN Peacekeeping Operations. The chapter also posited an aim, research questions and a hypothesis, prior to integrating two study frameworks to act as the analytical model; that is, the logic model and training needs assessment. Following this introduction to the nature and process of this study, Chapter Two will provide a critical evaluation of the literature on the role of women in peacekeeping under the rubric of security. Thereafter, Chapter Three will offer a critical assessment of the spectrum of research methods from which a research design appropriate to the selected country case studies, and the mechanics of data acquisition, will be constructed. Figure 1.3 will be elaborated in Chapter 3 to provide a framework to analyse whether the training for women peacekeepers has provided the desired impact in the pursuit of providing security for all, including local women in deployment areas. The model will provide the means to analyse national policies to support women's involvement in UN peacekeeping, the training given to them prior to deployment, the effectiveness of their work, especially in assisting the victims of sexual abuse, and will assess whether the existing pre-deployment training has effectively supported women peacekeepers in their work. Chapter Four identifies, explains and analyses the key issues that lie behind UN peacekeeping operations, including their history and development especially after the sexual abuse allegations by the peacekeepers themselves that forced the case for reform. Chapter Five then seeks to examine how the UN adopted a gender perspective in its peacekeeping pre-deployment

training. Chapters Four and Five have set the stage for the Chapter Six analysis of empirical data obtained from the fieldwork conducted in Indonesia, the Philippines and Country A. The concluding Chapter Seven offers conclusions and policy recommendations, including suggestions of for further research.

References and Notes

¹ This deadline is shifted from 2014 to 2020 due to the UN was not able to achieve it. Sahana Dharmapuri, 'Not Just a Numbers Game: Increasing Women's Participation in UN Peacekeeping', *Providing for Peacekeeping*, No. 4, (New York: International Peace Institute, July 2013), p. 3 and United Nations Department of Public Information, 'At Indonesia Training Centre, Secretary-General Says Peacekeepers 'The Very Front Line of Our Work For Peace', Symbol Of Hope When Conflicts Rage', SG/SM/14176-PKO/303, 21 March 2012, <http://www.un.org/News/Press/docs/2012/sgsm14176.doc.htm> accessed 15 April 2014.

² UN News Centre, 'Global Effort Leads to Increase in Female UN Police Worldwide', *UN News Centre*, 16 June 2011 and Sahana Dharmapuri, 'Core Issue Stall Women's Participation in UN Peacekeeping', *Global Observatory*, 13 March 2013.

³ There were 89,879 UN troops; 1,819 UN military observers; 105,609 uniformed personnel; and 124,142 total number of peacekeepers. Peace and Security Section of the United Nations Department of Public Information, "UN Peacekeeping Operations Fact Sheet: 31 October 2015", DPI/1634/Rev.174, November 2015.

⁴ The reason of Country A's detail information is anonymised is because, at the time the researcher conducting field study and writing of this thesis, the country was experiencing a political instability that may put individuals contributing to this research (be it the contact persons or the respondents) in a risk.

⁵ UN Peacekeeping Statistics, 'Ranking of Military and Police Contributions to UN Operations: Month of Report: 30-Apr-14', http://www.un.org/en/peacekeeping/contributors/2014/apr14_2.pdf accessed 15 May 2014.

⁶ According to the Democracy Index 2013, Indonesia ranks 54, while India and the Philippines rank 33 and 66, respectively. Indonesian Gross Domestic Product (GDP) is also higher than the other two countries. According United Nations Statistics, for 2013, India ranks 10, Indonesia ranks 16, while Country A ranks 30 and the Philippines ranks 40. See, The Economist, *Democracy Index 2013: Democracy at a Standstill, A Report from the Economist Intelligent Unit*, (London: EIU, 2014), pp. 4-5 and United Nations, 'National Accounts Main Aggregates Database: GDP and Its Breakdown at Current Prices in US Dollars', <http://unstats.un.org/unsd/snaama/dnltransfer.asp?fid=5> accessed 1 March 2015.

⁷ UN Peacekeeping Statistics, 'Ranking of Military and Police Contributions to UN Operations: Month of Report: 30-Apr-14', http://www.un.org/en/peacekeeping/contributors/2014/apr14_2.pdf accessed 15 May 2014.

⁸ See World Bank, *World Development Indicators*, for Population ratio (female), Labor participation rate (female and male), 2012. Accessed at <http://data.worldbank.org/indicator>

⁹ Inter-Parliamentary Union, *World Parliament Average*, July 2013. Accessed at <http://www.ipu.org/wmn-e/world.htm>

¹⁰ UN Women, *Women in Politics: 2012*, http://www.ipu.org/pdf/publications/wmnmap12_en.pdf accessed January 2015.

¹¹ See Inter-Parliamentary Union, *Women in Parliament Data*, at <http://www.ipu.org/wmn-e/world.htm>

¹² According to UN Security Council General Assembly report A/62/659-S/2008/39, 23 January 2008, security sector is a broad term often used to describe the structures, institutions and personnel responsible for the management, provision and oversight of security in a country, therefore covers defence, law enforcement, corrections, intelligence services and institutions. But in this thesis, the term of

defence and security sector is mainly used to refer to the police and military forces, unless stated otherwise.

¹³ Nira Yuval-Davis, *Op. Cit.*, pp. 93-94.

¹⁴ Ann Oakley, *Sex, Gender and Society*, (London: Temple Smith, 1972), p. 16. For more recent discussion on gender and sex, see Mary Holmes, *What is Gender? Sociological Approaches*, (London: Sage Publications, 2007).

¹⁵ *Ibid*, Mary Holmes, pp. 89-90.

¹⁶ Katrin Elborgh-Woytek, *et. al.*, 'Women, Work, and the Economy: Macroeconomic Gains from Gender Equity', *IMF Discussion Note*, September 2013, p. 9.

¹⁷ Amartya Sen, 'Missing Women: Social Inequality Outweighs Women's Survival Advantage in Asia and North Africa', *British Medical Journal*, 7 March 1992, Vol. 304, pp.587-8 and Amartya Sen, 'Missing Women – Revisited', *British Medical Journal*, 6 December 2003, Vol. 327, pp. 1297-8.

¹⁸ 'LIBERIA: No Impunity for Rapists, Vows President-Elect', *IRIN News*, 5 December 2005.

¹⁹ Colum Lynch, 'U.N. Faces More Accusations of Sexual Misconduct', *Washington Post*, 13 March 2005 and Nick Cumming-Bruce, 'Peacekeepers Accused of Sexual Abuse in Central African Republic', *The New York Times*, 29 January 2016.

²⁰ Report of the Fourth World Conference on Women, Beijing, 4 to 15 September 1995 (United Nations publication, Sales No. E.96.IV.13, 1996), chap. I, resolution 1, annex I and II, paragraph 135.

²¹ See, UN, Women, Peace and Security: Study submitted by the Secretary-General pursuant to Security Council resolution 1325 (2000), (United Nations publication, Sales No.E.03.IV.1, 2002), pp.1-2

²² Helena Carreiras, *Gender and the Military: Women in the Armed Forces of Western Democracies*, (Oxon: Routledge, 2006), pp.7-8.

²³ United Nations, *Report on the Situation of Human Rights in Rwanda* submitted by Mr. René Degni-Segui, Special Rapporteur of the Commission on Human Rights, E/CN.4/1996/68, 29 January 1996, p.7.

²⁴ Swanee Hun, *This Was Not Our War: Bosnian Women Reclaiming the Peace*, (China: Duke University Press, 2004), p.49.

²⁵ Damilola Agbajobi, 'The Role of Women in Conflict Resolution and Peacebuilding' in Richard Bowd and Annie Chikwanha (Eds.), *Understanding Africa's Contemporary Conflicts: Origins, Challenges and Peacebuilding*, Monograph 173 of Africa Human Security Initiative, Addis Ababa, September 2010, p.245.

²⁶ Women Refugee Commission, *Refugee Girls: The Invisible Faces of War*, (New York: Pearson, 2009), p.1. Similar data is also put forward by Refugees International, quoting statistic from UN Refugee Agency, 'Helpful Fact and Figures', <http://www.refintl.org/get-involved/helpful-facts-%2526-figures> accessed on 3 April 2013.

²⁷ For example, in the UK, women made up 37 per cent of intelligence agency staff (MI6, MI5). 'UK Spy Agencies Recruiting More Women', *BBC News*, 27 May 2016.

²⁸ Françoise Krill, 'The Protection of Women in International Humanitarian Law', *International Review of the Red Cross*, No. 249, December 1985 and Nancy Goldman and Richard Stites, *Great Britain and the World Wars*, (West Port: Greenwood Press, 1982), pp. 24-29.

²⁹ Alexander Gillespie, *A History of the Laws of War: Volume 1: The Customs and Laws of War with Regards to Combatants and Captives*, (Oxford: Hart Publishing, 2011), pp. 56-7.

³⁰ The term is used in p.34 in Sule Toktas, 'Nasionalisim, Militarism and Gender Politics: Women in the Military', *Minerva: Quarterly Report on Women and the Military*, Vol. XX, No. 1, Summer 2002, pp.29-44.

³¹ Ian Brimacole, 'Women at war: How roles are changing', *BBC News*, 18 February 2010, accessed at <http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/hi/africa/8519755.stm> and Amnesty International, 'You Have No Right to Ask – Government Resists Scrutiny on Human Rights', 18 May 2004, accessed at <http://www.amnesty.org/en/library/info/AFR64/003/2004/en> June 2013.

³² '40 Female Cadets joining Pakistan Military Academy Next Month', *Pakistan Times*, 24 September 2006

³³ Biljana Pekusic, 'Women take to the sky with Serbia's Army', *Southeast European Times*, 11 April 2011

³⁴ '7 Latin American Countries That Allow Female Soldiers Into Combat', *The Huffington Post*, 25 January 2013 accessed at http://www.huffingtonpost.com/2013/01/25/latin-america-women-combat_n_2552353.html June 2013.

-
- ³⁵ Shishir Prashant, 'India Military Academy ready to welcome women', *Business Standard* (India), 13 June 2010
- ³⁶ Chris Agbambu, 'Women Now to Go to NDA', *Nigerian Tribune*, 15 Februari 2011.
- ³⁷ Markus Junianto Sihaloho, 'Indonesian Army to Welcome Female Cadets for First Time', *Jakarta Globe*, 22 March 2013.
- ³⁸ Canada National Defence Archive, 'Women in the Canadian Forces', accessed from <http://news.gc.ca/web/article-eng.do?nid=579569> August 2013; 'Navy Appoints First Female Admiral', *ABC News*, 15 December 2011; Matthew S. Muehlbauer and David J. Ulbrich, *Ways of War: American Military History from the Colonial Era to the Twenty-First Century*, (New York: Routledge, 2014), p. 515; BBC News, 'Royal Navy's First Women Warship Commander Sarah West Takes Up Her Post', 22 May 2012 and Sean Rayment, 'Army's Most Senior Female Officer Quits Amid Cuts Anger', *Telegraph*, 30 June 2012.
- ³⁹ Geneva Center for the Democratic Control of Armed Forces, DCAF Backgrounder: Gender and Security Sector Reform, October 2009, p. 2
- ⁴⁰ Kristin Valasek, 'Security Sector Reform and Gender', *Gender and Security Sector Reform*, (Geneva: DCAF, OSCE/ODIHR, UN-INSTRAW, 2008), p.7 and UN News Centre, 'More women officers needed to meet peacekeeping challenges of UN Police, officials say', *UN Press Release*, 21 November 2013, accessed at <http://www.un.org/apps/news/story.asp?NewsID=46555&Cr=women&Cr1=peacekeep#.UvRXOD16VF8>
- ⁴¹ Francesco Bertolazzi, 'Women with a Blue Helmet: The Integration of Women and Gender Issues in UN Peacekeeping Missions', *UN-Instraw Working Paper*, 2010, p.12.
- ⁴² United Nations, 'Women in Peacekeeping: A Growing Force' and 'Statistical Report on Female Military and Police Personnel in UN Peacekeeping Operations, March 2010', accessed at http://www.un.org/News/dh/photos/large/2013/March/CSW/womenpeacekeeping_graph.jpg and http://www.un.org/en/peacekeeping/documents/gender_sces1325_chart.pdf April 2013
- ⁴³ Lee Michael Katz, 'World Peacekeeping: Do Nation-States Have a "Responsibility to Protect"?' in CQ Researcher, *Issues in Peace and Conflict Studies*, (California: Sage Publication, 2011), p. 8.
- ⁴⁴ Olivera Simic, *Regulation of Sexual Conduct in UN Peacekeeping Operations*, (Berlin: Springer, 2012), pp. 33-5
- ⁴⁵ For a comprehensive article on this, see Elizabeth F. Defeis, 'The United Nations and Women - A Critique', *William & Mary Journal of Women and the Law*, Volume 17, Issue 2, Article 5, 2011, pp.395-433.
- ⁴⁶ Francesco Bertolazzi, *Op. Cit.*, p.14.
- ⁴⁷ See UN Charter, Article 1, 'Chapter I: Purposes and Principles', Charter of the United Nations, accessed via <http://www.un.org/en/documents/charter/chapter1.shtml>, October 2014.
- ⁴⁸ Lee Michael Katz, *Op. Cit.*, p. 8.
- ⁴⁹ United Nations General Assembly, 'A comprehensive review of a strategy to eliminate future sexual exploitation and abuse in United Nations Peacekeeping Operations', (A/RES/59/300), New York: United Nations, 30 June 2005 and United Nations, 'UN Security Council Resolution 1325 on Women, Peace and Security', (S/RES/1325), New York: UN, 31 October 2000.
- ⁵⁰ Windhoek Declaration and Namibia Plan of Action on 'Mainstreaming a Gender Perspective in Multidimensional Peace Support Operations', 2000. UN Document number S/2000/693
- ⁵¹ UN Press Release, 'Security Council, unanimously adopting resolution 1325 (2000), calls for broad participation of women in peace-building post-conflict reconstruction', 31 October 2000.
- ⁵² UN New Office, 'In First for UN Peacekeeping, All-female Police Unit Arrives in Liberia', 30 January 2007, accessed from <http://www.un.org/apps/news/story.asp?NewsID=21391&Cr=#.VPVefbOUemE> on March 2015 and Lee Michael Katz, *Op. Cit.*, p. 8.
- ⁵³ Marsha Henry, 'Peacexploitation? Interrogating Labor Hierarchies and Global Sisterhood Among Indian and Uruguayan Female Peacekeepers', in Paul Amar (ed.), *Global South to the Rescue: Emerging Humanitarian Superpowers and Globalizing Rescue Industry*, (Oxon: Routledge, 2013), p. 22.
- ⁵⁴ Interview with Commander Seema Dhundia in Dwarka City, India, 21 April 2014.
- ⁵⁵ *Ibid.*
- ⁵⁶ UN New Office, 'India's all-female UN police unit serves as inspiration for Liberian women', 20 November 2009, accessed from <http://www.un.org/apps/news/story.asp?NewsID=33027#.VPVefbOUemE> on March 2015 and Camille Diola, 'AFP honors first female UN peacekeeping commander', *The Philippine Star*, 15 October 2014.

-
- ⁵⁷ Interview with Captain Luzviminda Camacho in Pasig, Philippines, 1 September 2015.
- ⁵⁸ Jolynn Shoemaker and Allison Adams-Alwine, 'Women's Leadership and the United Nations in the Global Women's Rights Movement', Karen O'Connor, *Gender and Women's Leadership: A Reference Handbook, Volume 1*, (California: Sage Publication, 2010), p. 313.
- ⁵⁹ *Ibid.*, pp. 313-4; Janet Benshoof, *Women, Peace and Security*, (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2014), p. 93 and Anne Sisson Runyan and V. Spike Peterson, *Global Gender Issue in the New Millennium, 4th Ed.*, (Colorado: Westview Press, 2014), p. 169.
- ⁶⁰ Assessed from the data available for public at UN Peacekeeping Statistics, 'Troops and Police Contributors', <http://www.un.org/en/peacekeeping/resources/statistics/contributors.shtml> accessed June 2015.
- ⁶¹ United Nations Department of Public Information, 'At Indonesia Training Centre, Secretary-General Says Peacekeepers 'The Very Front Line of Our Work For Peace', Symbol Of Hope When Conflicts Rage', Secretary General Speech SG/SM/14176-PKO/303, 21 March 2012, <http://www.un.org/News/Press/docs/2012/sgsm14176.doc.htm> accessed 15 April 2014.
- ⁶² *Ibid.*, pp.2-4.
- ⁶³ 'Women gain as gender gap 'narrows'', *BBC News*, 24 October 2013 and World Economic Forum, *The Global Gender Gap Report, 2013*, (Geneva: WEF, 2013), pp.8-9.
- ⁶⁴ World Economic Forum, *Ibid.*, pp. 21-22. Data from Inter-Parliamentary Union in 2014 shows that there were 79 women out of 368 parliamentarians in the upper house and 6 women out of 30 in the lower house, making women accounted for more than a quarter of the voice in decisionmaking process. Situation as per 1 December 2014, 'Women in National Parliaments', Inter-Parliamentary Union data, <http://www.ipu.org/wmn-e/classif.htm> accessed February 2014. It is important to acknowledged that not all women have the same political alignment in supporting women empowerment, however, their experience as women citizen counts. Even though the number of working men is still higher than working women, in the Philippines, female unemployment is lower than those of male. 'Statistics on Filipino Women and Men's Labor and Employment', Philippine Commission on Women Data, 13 May 2014.
- ⁶⁵ 'Philippine troops 'attacked in Syria's Golan Heights'', *BBC News*, 30 August 2014 and UN Department of Peacekeeping Operation Archival Data of 2014, accessed from http://www.un.org/en/peacekeeping/resources/statistics/contributors_archive.shtml on February 2015.
- ⁶⁶ Paul Gertler, Sebastian Martinez, Patrick Premand, Laura Rawlings and Christel Vermeersch, *Impact Evaluation in Practice*, (Washington DC: World Bank, 2011), pp. 24-6.
- ⁶⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 24 and Donna Mertens and John McLaughlin, *Research and Evaluation Methods in Special Education*, (California: Corwin Press, 2004), pp. 20-25.
- ⁶⁸ Rosemary Harrison, *The Training and Development Audit*, (Cambridge: Cambridge Strategy Publications, 2003), p. 9 and Sharon Foreman, *Kirkpatrick Model: Training Evaluation Practices in the Pharmaceutical Industry*, Doctoral Dissertation from Capella University, Minneapolis, Minnesota, 2008.
- ⁶⁹ Sharon Foreman, *Op. Cit.*, p. 86; Donald Kirkpatrick, *Evaluating Training Programs: The Four Levels*, (San Francisco: Berrett-Koehler, 1994) and Donald Kirkpatrick and James Kirkpatrick, *Evaluating Training Programs: The Four Levels (3rd ed.)*, (San Francisco: Berrett-Koehler, 2006).

Chapter 2

Examining (In)Security Through a Gender Lens

2.1 Introduction

This chapter examines the security literature on the role of women in conflict and post-conflict environments. It examines the underpinning scholarship on gender and security, exploring security using feminist-perspective lens. However, understanding that there is no single body of feminist thought, this chapter discusses streams of feminism from the first time feminism evolved to the contemporary situation. The chapter evaluates how these different feminist thoughts influence the global security dynamic of decision-making, both at the country level and the international level. Following this, the chapter examines how gender and security are perceived by the UN, and thus implemented via its policy and operations, including its peacekeeping missions around the world. Then, the importance of training is highlighted, especially as it forms an essential part of effective policy implementation. The chapter concludes by confirming the existence of a research lacuna on the role and impact of women peacekeepers in operational zones.

2.2 The Underpinning Scholarship on Security: Classical vs Copenhagen School of Security Studies

The concept of 'security' means different things to different people. There are many ways to define security, and with each actor self-defining the concept of security, it becomes more of a cottage industry.¹ The concept of security used in this particular research falls into the boundaries of international relations wars. Security studies as a subject of academic inquiry took prominence in the aftermath of World War II with the hope of avoiding any further devastating wars and large scale conflict.² As an extension of political and international relations theory, the security studies focus is mostly state-centric, with the nation state as the main actor having sovereignty, legitimacy, power and authority – this perspective is known as classical security studies.³ Security studies covers the spawning sub-fields of war studies, military studies, intelligence studies and even, disputably, peace studies.⁴ Hence, security studies can be a catch-all subject that

relates to all inquiries into the subject of war, from making it to preventing it. During the Cold War, the dominating concept of security was the strategic relationship among states, defined by military power; an approach endorsed by academia. David Baldwin notes that... “if military force was relevant to an issue, it was considered a security issue; and if military force was not relevant, that issue was consigned to the category of low politics”.⁵ Hence, in the period of 1940s to 1980s, the security studies concept was focused on military power that translates into state power. Paul Williams has noted that power is a combination of hegemony between States, Strategy, Science and the *Status quo*, [and] that is how a state compares its power with another state.⁶ Williams’ four ‘S’s depict how international relations and security studies were mostly concerned about the survival of sovereign actors, i.e. which state has the greatest power or the ways to acquire more power, and, as such, the focus of the studies is limited to the interaction between states and interstate relations.⁷ Thus for some scholars, including Charles Kegley and Jill Steans, security studies is seen as reductionist and ‘excessively narrow’, because the knowledge constructed is limited to the point-of-view of state actors.⁸ This is because in the development of international relations studies, globalisation enables interaction to move beyond inter-state relations, expanding into state interaction with sub- or supra-national actors, or non-state actors with multi-national actors, as, for example, when population in conflict areas is ‘policed’ by multinational peacekeeping operations.

Challenging the state-centric security studies, Barry Buzan argues that a focus on state security is inherently inadequate. Buzan proposed human collective security with five dimensions; these being military security, political security, societal security, economic security and environmental security.⁹ Buzan’s work, along with other international relations scholars emerged from the tiresome state-centric global politics of the Cold War era, and helped to shape the evolving interpretation of security in the 1990s under the banner of the Copenhagen School of Thought, focusing on security in a non-traditional sense. The most notable publication of the Copenhagen School is arguably - *Security: A New Framework for Analysis*, where new terms of ‘securitization’ were proposed, arguing that there are sub- and supra-levels beyond state security.¹⁰ The sub-level of security represents ‘sectors’ or separate parts of the state that deal with specific

issues, e.g. economy, military, environmental, societal and political.¹¹ Meanwhile the supra-level is to see beyond the Cold War bipolarism that was dominated by two states –the US and the Soviet Union– and instead focus on geographical clustering of regions, like the Association of Southeast Asian Nations (ASEAN), the European Union or the Organisation of African Union. The most notable concept from the book, *Security: A New Framework for Analysis*, is ‘securitization’, meaning, the presentation of something as an existing threat to a particular referent object (audience), such as government condemnation of computer hackers as a serious threat to national security, or a local administration that alleges a polluting factory’s activities are dangerous for environmental security.¹² Securitization is the second phase after ‘politization’, meaning the state considers an issue as a matter that requires public debate and public decision-making.¹³ Securitization is not new, however, as Ole Weaver noted two years prior to the *Security* publication, “something is a security problem when the elites declare it to be so”, and when it is accepted by the audience, the issue becomes securitized.¹⁴ Other followers of the Copenhagen School, including Ronnie Lipschutz and Bill McSweeney, have been proposing various frameworks of analysis that follow the similar fashion of avoiding state-centric-ness, such as inter-subjective redefinition of interaction among states, as well as including environmental context and sociological factors of leaders in decision-making, rather than falling into the classic mode of defining national threats.¹⁵ The Copenhagen School brought a new way of looking at security issues, as something that is crafted by policy-makers, rather than a threat that lurks without the realisation of the reference object (the audience – be it a citizen of a town, state, or international community).

Despite the Copenhagen School’s contribution through expanding classical security studies, it also poses inherent confusion due to the numerous frameworks of analysis it offers. Therefore, in his critique of Buzan, Baldwin proposes a series of questions to define what security means when discussing contemporary security studies, including issues such as ‘security for whom’ and ‘which values’ that can be expanded into ‘how much security, by what means, at what cost and in what time period?’¹⁶ Hence, one needs to provide specific definitions when talking about security because it can encompass such a wide array of issues, perceived differently, when using distinctive

angles. To answer these questions, Emma Rothschild's definition is particularly useful to be applied.¹⁷ According to Rothschild, *firstly*, security not only focuses on state security but also on the security of groups and individuals; therefore the level of analysis should be predetermined. *Secondly*, security focuses on the national and also on the international dimension, pointing out that what occurs in one country might affect and influence other countries, like, for example, the French Revolution or British Law at the time of colonialism.¹⁸ *Thirdly*, the security concept widens from the military to politics, economics, social, environmental and human security. Consequently clarity is required as to 'whose security is to be ensured'.¹⁹ Lastly, the political responsibility to ensure security (or, in Rothschild's words, 'to invigilate the concept of security') is extended from nation-states to embrace regional and international institutions, as well as local government.²⁰ With Rothschild's definition of security, not only state sovereignty but also individual sovereignty is recognised. This argument builds on John Stuart Mill's notable quote that "the sovereignty of (an) individual (is) over himself, over his own body and mind."²¹ However, the present research highlights that since the 1990s, in the aftermath of Cold War, there are new ways of looking at security including individual/human security, but the security and sovereignty of women as a group remains unrecognised.

Arguably, women are ignored by mainstream security studies because they are considered as non-serious political actors and under-represented in the political realms (hence unable to politicize issues), as well as in security realms (hence unable to securitize issues). Classical security studies literature side-lines the issue of women and gender in the debate of war and peace, implicitly stating women's welfare and well-being are not part of the security dialogue, despite that in the times of conflict women are expected to support the legitimate call for military action, filling the jobs left by men that go to war.²² In classical security studies, Maurice Davie claimed that "men like war ... the women, as we have seen, prefer men who have given proof of their prowess, they receive the returning warrior with songs of praise".²³ In the more modern version, Martin van Creveld observes that "the real reason we have wars is that men like fighting, and women like those men who are prepared to fight on their behalf".²⁴ Another example, this time bringing in the state as the security provider, Robert Musil

regards the state as a masculine subject, and did not even discuss women.²⁵ Musil's observation is not unexpected, as statesmen, diplomats and military officers working in peacetime, as well as in wars, work in an atmosphere that is conspicuous by the absence of women, and thus have limited consciousness of female issues.²⁶ It is possible that the approach of male-centric security studies is similarly as limiting as the state-centric approach. For example, discussion with women organisations would provide more information on how conflict affects people on the ground facing direct physical danger, such as the threat of armed groups, to at the other end of the spectrum, more subtle issues, such as infrastructure destruction creating shortages of electricity and clean water supply that would kill far more than weapons could.²⁷ To contest the security studies ignorance toward women, feminists have been obliged to incorporate international relations into their analysis of security studies.

2.3 Feminist Contribution to Security Studies

Feminists, according to political anthropologist, Helen Callaway, are people who see the world from the perspective of what women can do; and the specific arguments of feminists is collectively termed, feminism.²⁸ Evelyn Keller further argues that feminism focuses on how gender shapes consciousness, skills and institutions as well as the distribution of power and privileges.²⁹ In arguing for feminism to be acknowledged as a human science, feminists conduct research to change the invisibility of the female experience and to work towards the goal of ending women's unequal social, economic and political position. Ann Tickner argues that a female's definition of security is inevitably different from that of men. Women see security as multi-level and multi-dimensional, and "define security as the absence of violence, whether it be military, economic or sexual."³⁰ It is not to say that all women have a similar point of view but rather it shows how feminists and women are seen as a "homogenous group whose interest is essentially peaceful".³¹ Just as there are different types of people in the world, then so the perspectives of women differ; they actually have different positions when it comes to the topic of war and peace. The problem is that female involvement in protecting the nation has been restrained by the traditional reluctance of the family, and national and international society, so limiting the opportunities for women to make meaningful contributions. As there is a broad spectrum of the different types of

feminism, it is valuable to examine the different strands of how women try to define and create security for all.

2.3.1 Feminist Perspectives

The predominant feminism's point of view perceives existing problems of sexism, sexist exploitation and oppression as requiring a social movement to overcome them.³² Feminism does not imply that men are the enemy, but rather it represents a rallying call against the subordination and marginalisation of women through societal practices. Feminists distinguish between gender and sex; the latter, as mentioned in Section 1.3, refers to how men and women are seen as biologically different, while the former has regard to the role of ideological and material forms attached by society to both sexes.³³ Feminists emphasise that gender does not reflect the personality of men and women, but, rather, is used to justify unequal treatment and social injustice.³⁴ So 'female' and 'male' are not only created by the norms and rules that exist within society but also by the feminine-masculine characteristics that are specific and rigidly enforced. This social construction applies to both sexes, but feminists believe that women are placed in a subordinate position and are therefore disadvantaged.

Feminist perspectives cover various analyses on the causes behind the subordination of women as well as the solutions to eliminate it. Rosemary Putnam Tong in her book *Feminist Thought: A Comprehensive Introduction* described the various streams of feminist perspectives.³⁵ Tong divided feminists into several mainstreams, those are liberal feminist, radical feminist (further split into libertarian and cultural), Marxist and socialist feminist, psychoanalytical and gender feminist, existentialist feminist, postmodern feminist, multicultural and global feminist, eco-feminist, post-modern feminist and into the category of feminist internationalist. Although Tong offered a disclaimer that labelling feminist streams of thought should be discouraged as it oversimplifies the complex historical upbringing and overlapping of methods to solve the problem of women's subjugation, she nevertheless still argued the usefulness of explaining existing feminists' labels as a means of ensuring wider public understanding of the issues at work.³⁶ Similar to Tong's disclaimer, Kimberlé Crenshaw highlighted the concerns of inter-sectionality; that is, the interaction between gender, race and other

social indicators that impact on power interaction, where each feminist has the opportunity to craft her/his arguments ensuring that every feminist has a unique voice.³⁷ Nevertheless, there is a need to adopt a flexible approach towards interpreting the boundaries of existing feminist labels to demonstrate that feminism is not a monolithic ideology; that not all feminists propose the same argument and not all are rooted from the same background. Below are the mainstreams of feminist thought, based on Tong's feminist labels, and spliced with the critique of other feminist arguments and contemporary thoughts.

Liberal Feminism

Modern feminist thought can be identified from the time of the European industrial revolution in the 18th century. It derived from society's higher esteem towards public productive work, rather than the value accorded domestic work that the majority of women undertook. In that era, stereotypes abounded that women were more emotional than rational, and that men were more logical, but liberal feminist refutes these differing perspectives on the basis that if both sexes obtained the same education, women behave like men. The notable liberal feminist thinker, Mary Wollstonecraft, published her notable book published in 1792, *A Vindication of the Rights of Woman*, in which she argued for women's right to obtain education that previously had been barred from them.³⁸ Hence, one of the main streaks of liberal feminist thought is to demand equal access for women in areas that were discriminative or unequal. One century later, liberal feminists, such as John Stuart Mill and Harriet Taylor, began to advocate equal political rights and economic opportunities. Taylor with her *Enfranchisement of Women* argues that... "Concerning the fitness ... of women for politics, there can be no question", proposing that women obtain the vote as part of a right of citizenship.³⁹ Similarly Mill with *The Subjection of Women* that 'catalogued the legal disabilities of Victorian women', he proposed that equal rights for women should apply at home, as well as in public, by eradicating the subordinating relationship and empowering women through voting rights.⁴⁰ From this era of liberal feminism came the principle that women should be able to vote to protect their interests.

In the 20th century, the feminist movement in the Western world switched focus from

women's liberation, generally, to the removal of oppressive gender roles, especially after the end of the World Wars when men returned to the job market and demanded that women return to household chores.⁴¹ Liberal feminism disagrees that there is a sexual difference between women and men, which in turn created a backlash towards feminism, in that the movement was advocating women to be like men, whereas it was simply seeking the removal of gender-based work discrimination, including barriers to equal jobs and wage disparity.⁴² Despite resistance, liberal feminism continues to demand greater acceptance for women in the work, and better working conditions for them, including – but not limited to – paid maternity leaves and affordable child care centres. The progress achieved has done little to stem criticism of liberal feminism, especially from other women groups. Liberal feminism is held to mainly propagate the views of Western women that are privileged, white, educated, heterosexual, pro-liberal, Christian, originating from the advanced countries.⁴³ This obliged women with coloured skin, coming from developing countries and having various economic ideologies and religious backgrounds to demand that they also should be acknowledged as part of feminism. As a consequence, there was a realisation that there is no unitary women's movement and a singular women's issue, but that the issues are all driven by specific time and location bounded discrimination issue factors.

Radical Feminism

This genre of feminism was born in America in the early 1960s and continued into the 1970s. Radical feminism believes that women's oppression is caused by a social structure in which women are systematically dominated and exploited, being termed patriarchy.⁴⁴ This stream of feminism argues that there are inherent differences between women and men. Women are nurturers, as well as cooperative, artistic and philosophical, while men are dominant, egocentric, competitive and pragmatic.⁴⁵ Radical feminists, such as Mary Daly, Phyllis Chesler, Kate Millet, Shulamith Firestone, Monique Wittig and Andrea Dworkin, believe on the radical reordering of society through the championing of sisterhood as well as demanding the sovereignty of a women body.⁴⁶ Sexuality, sexual relationships and body politics are key issues for this particular node of feminist thought, despite radical feminists often disagreeing with each other, and in the process fracturing into radical-libertarian feminism and radical-

cultural feminism.

Radical-libertarian feminism focuses on the concept of femininity, as well as the roles and responsibilities of sexual reproduction that restrict women from becoming a 'wholesome' human being.⁴⁷ This strand of feminist thought disagrees with the assumption that a person's relationship is defined by a person's sex, arguing instead that the patriarchy system imposes rigid gender roles to exploit and restrict women. The concept that radical-libertarian feminists propose for overcoming women oppression is androgyny, exhibiting both the feminine and masculine qualities.⁴⁸ However, androgyny is contested by radical cultural feminists, because according to feminist thought it downplays the 'feminine values' of women. Radical-cultural feminists, including Mary Daly and Alice Echols, argue that there is nothing wrong with femininity but the patriarchy system renders it to be less important than masculinity, as it serves only to enhance women's essential femaleness.⁴⁹ This feminist perspective stresses the nature of women-hood and rejects masculine institutions that are perceived to utilise women for their own benefit, such as through porn and prostitution.

Marxist and Socialist Feminism

The arguments of Marxist feminists derive from the discourses of Karl Marx and Friedrich Engels, who point out that classism in the market economy is the main reason for women's oppression, not the discrimination in the legal system (liberal feminism), and not the sexism in the patriarchy system (radical feminism).⁵⁰ Classism is defined as the set of economic processes that base the mode of production on the benefits one societal receives from excess production. Hence, Marxist feminism views women as a class that is exploited by another class, and this is illustrated in the scholarship of Evelyn Reed, Margaret Benston, Peggy Morton, Marlene Dixon and Wally Seccombe. These writers take a critical view of household roles in a heterosexual marriage, where men enjoy the benefit of women with low, or even none-existent, incentives.⁵¹ This feminism perspective believes that women can exploit other women whenever they have different access opportunities to capital. They further argue that 'bourgeoisie women' are in a similar class with bourgeoisie men, and not united with 'proletarian women'.⁵² An example of this is where wives give away their domestic roles to other

women so that they can go to work. Bourgeois women benefit from other women's lower access to capital, both locally and internationally, spurring international trafficking of women in the 'loving and caring' industries.⁵³ Marxist feminism believes that the oppression of women is not as a result of individual action, but rather as a product of the economic, social and political structure, and therefore the solution it offers is to create a post-capitalist society.

Socialist feminism, however, perceives that women's lives during Stalin's communist years, 1929-1953, were not significantly better than for women under capitalism in Western countries, and hence the need to move beyond classism as the sole factor behind women's oppression.⁵⁴ Socialist feminists, such as Alison Jaggar, Iris Marion Young, Heidi Hartmann and the earlier work of Juliet Mitchell, note that women's subjugation was a result of the mix of classism and sexism in both capitalism and the patriarchy system.⁵⁵ Whereas capitalism oppresses women as workers, sexism oppresses women because of their gender. Yet, the problem of uneven household roles cannot be resolved only by allowing women access to public jobs, because, as socialist feminism argues, this does not offer a solution uncompensated domestic work and the existing gender division of labour.⁵⁶ The prevailing gender division of labour is where men are identified as the primary workers and women as only secondary, forcing women to obtain lower salaries and less prestigious jobs. Socialist feminism offers a two-pronged solution, tackling sexism by 'de-essentialising' the concept of male and female, as well as confronting capitalism, so that women can have equal access to capital.⁵⁷ However, socialist feminism now faces criticism on its lack focus towards the oppression of multi racial and non-hetero sexual women.

Psychoanalytic Feminism

Differing from liberal, radical, Marxist and socialist feminism that perceive the root of women's oppression to be located in the political, economic or social system, psychoanalytic feminism argues that the fundamental explanation of women's ways of acting lies in their psyche. Notable psychoanalytic feminists, such as Dorothy Dinnerstein, Nancy Chodorow, Luce Irigaray and Julia Kristeva, analyse the thinking and feeling parts of women.⁵⁸ This type of feminism expands its analyses away from the

‘gender neutral’ works of Sigmund Freud on personality in the making when growing up and Jacques Lacan on children’s psycho-sexual development. Freud’s theory of penis envy (the argument of female moral inferiority because women’s lack of penis that represents loss of power and therefore seek consolation via vanity and beauty instead)⁵⁹ has caused anger amongst feminists, such as Betty Friedan, Shulamith Firestone and Kate Millet, who dispute that such a theory is social construction of femininity, rather than simply female biology.⁶⁰ Nevertheless, following this criticism of Freud’s penis envy argument, psychoanalytic feminists have built on Freud’s theory of women’s inferiority. Nancy Chodorow, for example, explores how women drawn to mothering and influenced by their own experience of being mothered in their oedipal stage are attracted to men by seeing a mother-son relationship.⁶¹ Chodorow’s work is often quoted to justify women’s nurturing, caring and affectionate nature, who are less avid than men as hunters and killers, and hence criticised by feminists who argue that if women spent the same quality time in the public realm as they do in the emotional ‘space’ then they would be as able as men.⁶² Alfred Adler, Karen Horney and Juanita Williams explore how women feel toward what has been termed the ‘masculinity complex’, where female passivity is not natural but rather a by-product of unbalanced women-men relationships, and where women are not neurotic if they try to overcome inferiority by empowering their actions and thoughts.⁶³

Similar to Freud’s theory of penis envy, Lacan’s theory of symbolic order is also deconstructed by psychoanalytic feminists. Symbolic order is where infants acquire symbolic language from the relationship with their mother and father but the language is masculine, containing the ‘law of the father’, which women cannot completely internalise.⁶⁴ Luce Irigaray opposes Lacan by arguing that women’s existence is already wholesome and that women should be able to create ‘female language’, female sexuality and mime the mimes men impose on women in order to free themselves from being just men’s excess.⁶⁵ Meanwhile, Julia Kristeva agrees with Lacan’s argument that infants learn the language of their parents, but that the infants also employ imaginary language and thus avoid the total father- or mother-identifying self.⁶⁶ The studies undertaken by psychoanalytic feminists provide insights into how human childhood experiences shape boys to see themselves as masculine and girls as feminine.

Feminism research in the field of psychoanalytic behaviour has brought a realisation that gender stereotyping favours men rather than women, suggesting that gender behaviour and identity are shaped by social interaction rather than biological determination.

Global, Multicultural and Postcolonial Feminism

This strand of feminism responds to the generic oversimplified view that women are unified, that they want the same things through the same means. Global, multicultural and postcolonial feminism acknowledges women's diversity, of having different values and goals. The emergence of this feminist thought is due to the pervasiveness of privileged women, who seek to speak and act on behalf of 'all' women.⁶⁷ Some notable global multicultural feminists, such as Bell Hooks, Audre Lorde, Elizabeth Spelman, Maxine Molyneux and Shahra Razavi explore different conditions of women subordinations, and reject the generalisation that there is one solution that fits all women's problems.⁶⁸ The global, multicultural and postcolonial strand of feminism stresses a differentiation of insights, whether she/he is a citizen of developed/developing/underdeveloped country, has/had the experience of being colonised, is linked to any race, ethnicity, age, religion, class, gender identity, sexual identity, marital status, education, occupation, and so on.⁶⁹ This feminist perspective argues that women experience oppression differently, depending on their location and background, both physical and non-physical. The problems faced by British women will be different from the problems faced by Indonesian women, similarly by Moslem women and Christian women, as well as by biologically 'normal' and by handicapped women.

The purpose of global, multicultural and postcolonial feminism is to sensitise the global feminism movement to various local challenges, such as health, economics, politics and security. This strand of feminist thought also provides a bottom up approach to analysing problems faced by women, providing a sense of rights for women whatever their background to explain and present themselves rather than through stereotyped generalisations. However, with global, multicultural and postcolonial feminism pushing women's issues presented by women from differing backgrounds, the resolution of

women's problems becomes a resource prioritisation challenge in determining which women group's issue should be dealt with first. So far, this particular feminist perspective has been successful in identifying the subjugation problems faced by women from diverse backgrounds, but still needs to prioritise which problem to address first.

Eco-feminism

Whilst feminist thought, in general, offers perspectives that explore women's relations with other human beings, by contrast, eco-feminism views human relationships with nature. The term eco-feminist was first coined in 1974 by Françoise d'Eaubonne, who mentioned that there is a direct relationship between oppression on women and oppression on nature.⁷⁰ Karen Warren expands the argument by postulating that patriarchy shapes human behaviour, tending to dominate nature, just as it dominates women.⁷¹ The justification for oppressing women is based on their feminising nature, comparing their role to that of 'mother nature', and in parallel, naturalising women through association with animal terms, such as cows, foxes and bitches.⁷² There is a contentious debate between eco-feminists, arguing whether it is better for women to strengthen their connection with nature, or to reduce it, as a means of reducing societal oppression of women.

Simone de Beauvoir argues that women should transcend their link to nature so as to overcome their second sex status in comparison with men. For Beauvoir, the reproductive capability of women is the major factor constraining their ability to participate in men's activities.⁷³ Meanwhile, Mary Daly proposes the need to reinforce women's link with nature, as a means of maintaining traditional traits associated with women – caring and nurturing – being that they are the products of biological and psychological experience.⁷⁴ The problem, according to Daly, has regard to the undervalued relationship between women and nature, as well as the assumed inferiority of nature and women in front of men, so the solution would be for women to appreciate more their natural self.⁷⁵ There are also global eco-feminists, such as Maria Mies and Vandana Shiva, who both perceive women's closer connection with nature as a result of the diversification of labour. In this context, work to sustain life is paramount; that is the

need to make sure there is sufficient food, clean air and water, while men would likely work in extractive and destructive industries.⁷⁶ Despite its clear line of argument, especially with regard to women's relations with nature, the eco-feminism perspective is difficult to accept, except for people who agree to implement its high degree of activism and lifestyle change.⁷⁷ The challenge for eco-feminism in gaining wider influence is for it to be translated into policy making, but if this happens a debate on governance is required.

Postmodern Feminism

Before elucidating the term postmodernism, it is useful to define the meaning of modern. Modern refers to the philosophical 'Enlightenment Era' of 18th century Europe's age of reasoning, providing a counter-point to the traditional and classical models.⁷⁸ However, modern always faces the danger of being surpassed by more modern; hence to be more precise, modern in political science is limited to the philosophical thought developed just after the end of the Second World War, while postmodern arose from the modernist search for progress and radical questioning underpinning the search for knowledge.⁷⁹ That said, postmodernity has a sense of liberation from the modernists' knowledge status quo, freeing itself from modern science objectivity and practices. The Enlightenment Era's tenets are continuously deconstructed by postmodernism: especially the notion that there is a stable, coherent self; also, that through rational reasoning 'objective, reliable and universal knowledge' can be found; that knowledge represents something real and unchanging; that power does not trump reason, and that language represents the real world our minds observe.⁸⁰ Postmodernists, including postmodern feminists, prefer that every person reflects and builds their arguments individually; there is no single formula, no right or wrong, and everything is acceptable. Hence, postmodernism is difficult to pin down, because the thinkers dislike being labelled with a certain type of genre. For example, Hélène Cixous does not want to have anything to do with the term *feminist*.⁸¹

There is a wide diversity of views as to what constitutes postmodern feminist thought. For instance, Hélène Cixous, Judith Butler and Naomi Wolf are some of the notable feminists in this field, yet each offers differentiated perspectives on the subject-area.⁸²

Cixous disagrees with the binary men-the self/women-the other – meaning that the world revolves around men and that men constructed the world for women, hence women are just men’s other, without agency or ability to define themselves, as well as masculine thinking and writing, and urges women to assert themselves including through writings and publications.⁸³ Butler hypothesises on sex, gender and sexuality are challenging the general view that not all biologically female (chromosomes XX) persons are feminine and want men as their partner, hence not given but rather as performances, whereby one chooses to enact despite there is still societal constraints limiting such action.⁸⁴ Meanwhile, Wolf postulates that women’s desire to be beautiful is a result of an unbalanced power-structure; that the economy and culture makes them vulnerable to outside approval, and this delicate state of mind is used by the market to offer them cosmetic surgery to keep women politically, socially and economically compliant.⁸⁵ With the wide spectrum of discourses, this latter perspective is often referred to as ‘feminism for academicians’, as it plays too much to theory, and is criticised for losing the sense of public commitment compared to earlier feminism. The harshest critics to postmodern feminism come from liberal feminist Martha Nussbaum, when she contradicts the notion that “hungry women are not fed by this (postmodern feminism), battered women are not sheltered by it, raped women do not find justice in it”.⁸⁶ However, such strident criticism does not mean postmodern feminism is unhelpful, on the contrary, it provides a theoretical exercise that seeks to distance social transformation and women’s liberation from oppression.

Feminist Internationalism

In the main, traditional views of feminism tend to take a ‘bottoms-up’ approach, focusing on the oppression of women in the local context and arguing for specific solutions. By contrast, feminist internationalism postulates the application of transnational principles and standards to improve women’s globally disadvantaged situation.⁸⁷ The establishment of the United Nations in 1945 is perceived by women groups as an avenue to solve problems of marginalisation through a ‘top-down’ strategy, persuading states to develop and adopt resolutions and treaties to improve women’s welfare, such as allowing women to keep their nationality after marriage, standardising working condition and endorsing women to vote. Effort by the feminist

internationalism movement provide an international standard of respecting women's rights has received its share of antipathy from states with differing perspectives, spanning from 'liberal' to 'religious' states that would deny those rights because they challenge national culture, tradition and policies.⁸⁸ However, with international lobbies from women's groups and 'peer-pressure' from advanced democratic and developed states, more and more international treaties on women issues have been signed.⁸⁹ This feminist model is not exclusively from the feminist school of thought previously elaborated, but rather a wider perspective, bringing gender inequality from a local social context to the level of the state and international level.

Notable contributors to this perspective include Jean Elshtain, Cynthia Enloe, Ann Tickner, Martha Nussbaum, Christine Sylvester and Laura Sjoberg.⁹⁰ Elshtain and Enloe argue that the masculine international relations realm is the priority, with women simply observing men's policy outcomes. Hence, encouraging women to assert themselves is not only a necessity but also an imperative.⁹¹ The stereotyping of women as the weak and innocent was highlighted by Elshtain when she referred to the oversimplified 'binary' – of women as 'beautiful souls' and men as 'just warriors', contextualising the differences of masculine and feminine as a working framework.⁹² Men are pushed to be brave warriors to protect the less strong women, who in turn are seen as procreators of children. Other types of action, different to the binary, will be considered as unnatural, even sometimes outlawed. Elshtain adopts her term from Hegel, who views women as beautiful souls protecting "the appearance of purity by cultivating the notion of innocence throughout the historical course of the world".⁹³ Tickner is the one that asked where are women in international relations, and began to raise feminism theory in international relations, focusing on the notion of security rather than only military strength.⁹⁴ On the other spectrum of feminist internationalism, Sylvester highlights the importance of feminism by criticising mainstream international relations in the way they locate women's roles in international politics, rather than emphasising the importance of everyday people's experience in the face of war.⁹⁵ Nussbaum explored how sex and sexuality have been enforced as a source of artificial social hierarchy, and how they are used to deny social justice to certain parts of the society, especially the focus on women's abilities and the value of those abilities.⁹⁶

Sjoberg, on the other hand, explores conflict from gendered perspectives, and, thus, arguing on structural inequality, state masculine defence postures, gender-based violence sought to reveal how emotion should be taken into consideration when analysing political interactions.⁹⁷ Sjoberg and Caron Gentry are the first feminists to explore women's violence, noting it is not only a men's game.⁹⁸ Feminists internationalism, including Tickner, Sylvester and Sjoberg, have a rich and wide focus, and, thus, they sometimes contradict each other, and are perceived to be nonspecific, arguably because there are many issues to counter, and there is no one-size fits all solution.

Feminist internationalism provides a global perspective on how women issues are shaped and structured by inequality, internationally. However, as feminism is diverse, feminist internationalism is contradicted by feminist warnings that globalising women issues can be hazardous due to its over-generalising tendency, as argued by Dianne Otto and Isabelle Gunning.⁹⁹ Otto supports the stereotyped women's traditional role of mothering, which is still important for some women, and hence forcing them to participate in the job market might not go down well for all women.¹⁰⁰ While Gunning argues that the 'universal' predicament of women plays down differences amongst women, reflecting only the vocal Western tradition.¹⁰¹ A similar perspective is raised by Chandra Mohanty, who, despite believing in transnational feminism and international solidarity, notes that Western feminism tends to conceal the diversity of women's oppression, which is contingent upon history, geography and culture.¹⁰² Again, as every feminist has their own point of view as to what causes and sustain women's marginalisation, as well as ways to resolve it, differing strands of feminism is a sign that the discourse is still vibrant.

2.3.2 Appropriate Feminism Theory

The previous sub-sections have expounded different viewpoints on the core concerns of women's marginalisation and the belief that such subordination needs to be altered, despite there being disagreement concerning the oppression's root causes and solutions. There is no right or wrong paradigm between one feminist school of thought and another, as the perspectives represent differing views of addressing particular issues. As

feminism comes with different forms and shapes, depending on the nature and causes on the perceived oppression, the question is which type of feminism aligns with this research project, analysing United Nations and selected country endorsement of women peacekeeper recruitment and training. The author perceives that the most suitable feminist perspective applicable for this research is feminism internationalism. Specifically, the author examines the reality in the field using the work of Elshtain's dualism of women's 'beautiful soul' and men's 'just warrior', Tickner's approach of questioning where are the women, what do they do, who do they represent as they are similarly mobilised, but rarely have decision-making roles, and Nussbaum's approach which focuses on women's abilities to overcome artificially the enforced social hierarchy. As the nation-state practices has been apathetic, the lack of women's involvement in the armed forces, obliges international organisations, like the UN, to call for increased female participation, constituting a strong push-factor to raising the importance of equal access and increased opportunity for women in the security sector.

2.4 UN Gender Focus

As discussed in section 1.3 and 2.3, gender is not a physical attribute linked to the human form, rather it is more about perspectives and social construction. In the famous phrase of Judith Lorber, "talking about gender for most people is the equivalent of fish talking about water", it is the taken-for-granted assumption that surrounds human interaction on how women and men behave.¹⁰³ Hence, gender does not refer solely to the assumptions about women, but also towards men. In practice, however, the discourse about gender often raises the issue regarding women's marginalised position in society, where they are not taken into account in decision-making because they are under-represented in the public domain. Therefore, when the discourse about gender-inequality arises, the action commonly taken by states and international organisations, including the UN, is to improve the welfare and political standing of women in society.¹⁰⁴ In 1946, when it was newly launched, the United Nations created a Commission on the Status of Women (CSW) that included the agenda 'Women and Peace'.¹⁰⁵ However the agenda did not attract much attention because the CSW was focusing on women's 'rights', such as access to political rights, removing discrimination in marriage (1946-1962), promoting female participation in development

to obtain economic rights (1962-1975) and campaigning on the decade for women to establish equality, development and peace (1975-1985). In the 1995 Fourth World Conference on Women in Beijing, the UN member states committed to implementing gender-mainstreaming across all areas of societal development in their countries, and two years later, in the UN Economic and Social Council (ECOSOC) meeting, the same decision was implemented into all policies and programmes in the UN system.¹⁰⁶ The report of the UN ECOSOC meeting is the most widely quoted definition of mainstreaming there is:

“Mainstreaming a gender perspective is the process of assessing the implications for women and men of any planned action, including legislation, policies or programmes, in all areas and at all levels. It is a strategy for making women’s as well as men’s concerns and experiences an integral dimension of the design, implementation, monitoring and evaluation of policies and programs in all political, economic and societal spheres so that women and men benefit equally and inequality is not perpetuated. The ultimate goal is to achieve gender equality.”¹⁰⁷

From the definition, the UN has aimed for gender-mainstreaming to bring transformational change to gender power relations. Despite the aim not being directed to creating physical change, gender-mainstreaming is supported by gender balancing; that is, efforts to close the gap in the number of women and men engaging in specific organisational roles, especially in public sector decision-making fields.¹⁰⁸ This entails ensuring equal rights and endorsing equal participation, as well as to evaluating employment barriers to entry and equal pay policy. Before the UN adopted gender-mainstreaming and balancing, women professionals were very few and it treated male and female staff differently. From 1953 until the 1980s, married male staff had been referred to as the ‘head of the household’ while female staff were categorised as dependents not eligible for child allowances and pensions.¹⁰⁹ Women’s solidarity within the UN dwindled because of the intense competition for the few token positions that women could access. Therefore women within the UN fought to change the bureaucratic game by endorsing a policy of a 30 per cent critical mass from each sex group.¹¹⁰ This minimum bench-mark was viewed as useful to change the male-preference bias, ensuring the women’s minority was heard. The critical mass approach also included efforts of gender balancing in UN member states, implemented by the CSW in the 1990s.

The Commission on the Status of Women had to ensure implementation of policy commitment at the national level, but it had only limited resources. Luisa Blanchfield argues that the achilles heel of the UN system at the time was the UN country teams' lack of gender perspectives and programming.¹¹¹ This was arguably due to the limitations the host country imposed on the UN, based on the member nation's tradition or custom of what constitutes ideal gender conditions. For example, the UN would have had a harder time endorsing women's public representation in Saudi Arabia, because prior to the 2013 King's appointment of 30 women to the state advisory body of the Shura Council, women were absolutely non-existent in the Kingdom's political organisations.¹¹² Similar to the conditions at the national level, the gender programme in the UN also faced constraints. In the report by Hilikka Peitila, it was found that the UN systems and structure for gender equality work in the women focused agencies, like the CSW, the United Nations Development Fund for Women (UNIFEM) and the International Research and Training Institute for the Advancement of Women (INSTRAW), were "under-resourced and under-prioritised".¹¹³ However, seeing the importance of having gender sensitivity included at all levels in the UN agenda, efforts to endorse women's issues then began to include the larger UN agencies, such as UN ECOSOC, UN Development Programme (UNDP) and the UN Security Council (UNSC).

Resource constraints compelled the UN CSW to collaborate with other UN commissions to promote the cause of gender-mainstreaming and balancing. Since the mid-1990s, the UN CSW has established working relationships with the UN Commission on Sustainable Development and the UN Commission on Human Rights, as well as participation with other international conventions, such as media, information and technologies to support female empowerment.¹¹⁴ At the same time, the UN CSW is an advocate of protecting women in armed conflict, an issue under the scrutiny of UNSC, especially with regard to women rape and gender-based violence in conflict areas. The continuous advocacy of women in security, led to the UNSC adoption of the 2000 UNSC Resolution 1325 on Women, Peace and Security, becoming the first landmark resolution on women, peace and security.¹¹⁵ The Resolution urges greater

women's participation and the incorporation of gender perspectives. However, this resolution was regarded as too general, and thus the UN Security Council adopted Resolution 1820 in 2008 condemning the use of sexual violence as a tool of war,¹¹⁶ specifying it as a war crime, and enabling perpetrators to be tried in the International Criminal Court. A year later, the UNSC unanimously adopted Resolution 1888 to provide a mandate for peacekeeping missions to specifically protect women and children from rampant sexual violence in conflict, and Resolution 1889 strengthened the participation of women in all stages of the peace process.¹¹⁷ In 2010, the UNSC adopted Resolution 1960 to establish mechanisms for monitoring, analysing and reporting on conflict-related sexual violence, and calling all armed conflict parties to make specific, time-bound commitments to prohibit and punish sexual violence, with monitoring efforts undertaken by the Secretary-General. The UNSC continues to affirm its commitment, and in 2013 adopted, firstly, Resolution 2106 ensuring the accountability of perpetrators of sexual violence in conflict, and stressing women's political and economic empowerment, and, secondly, Resolution 2122 aimed at addressing the persistent gaps in the implementation of the women, peace and security agenda.¹¹⁸ These UNSC resolutions on women and peace suggest that real progress has been achieved, but implementing these resolutions has been challenging due to the sluggish growth of female-participation and the existing scepticism concerning women's contribution to peacekeeping.

2.5 Discourse on UN Peacekeeping: Areas of Interest

As there are plenty of areas to focus on when studying UN security missions, very little research has been undertaken on gender and peacekeeping, which only resurfaced at the beginning of 21st century. Meanwhile, the general (non-gender) literature on UN Peacekeeping ranges across the history of operations within political and international relations theory,¹¹⁹ the widening focus of peacekeeping missions,¹²⁰ and the effectiveness and relevancy of peacekeeping in the post 9-11 world.¹²¹ Some scholars, including Robert Keohane and Stephen Krasner, focus more on how peace missions appear to contradict the classic notion of state sovereignty and how the state's exclusive right to determine policy will often hamper the effectiveness of peacekeeping missions, especially in post-conflict reconstruction where local government might have a different

peace-building agenda.¹²² On the other hand, there are scholars that focus more on the technical side of peacekeeping missions; for example, James Fearon and David Laitin explore who should lead a UN mission, who should fund it and how should coordination of multiple actors best be undertaken.¹²³ If countries that support UN missions have their own interests, who is it that oversees that their actions are fair, that abuses will not be ignored, and how fast the mission can rebuild and hand over the authority to local government.¹²⁴ Alex Bellamy, Paul Williams and Stuart Griffin researched the methods of UN peacekeeping funding, whilst James Fearon and David Laitin were concerned more with ‘mission creep’, where peacekeeping missions expanded their activities beyond original goals; for example, the stretched 1993 UNOSOM II mandate in Somalia that failed to disarm the warlords, and 1995 UNPROFOR inability to deter the Bosnian Serbs attack on Srebrenica because of the lack of sufficient enforcement, as well as the hesitation to expand UNAMIR to prevent the 1994 genocide in Rwanda.¹²⁵ On the other hand, Christopher Bellamy focuses more on peacekeeping as a powerful tool to deal with the new generations of intra-national conflict compared to the previous international conflicts linked to the Cold War.¹²⁶ However, the challenge remains as to whether the UN can overcome the political complexity of obtaining member state consent to deploy peacekeeping forces, especially for peace enforcement and intervention.

Meanwhile, other researchers produced peacekeeping mission case studies, including, but not limited to, Timor Leste (which was considered to be one of the more successful UN missions due to the country’s relatively smooth transition from peacekeeping to peace-building).¹²⁷ Similar cases include the UN mission in Sierra Leone, which was successful in overseeing the ceasefire agreement and handing over authority to a democratic government, despite the oft-held view that the British did a good job in establishing a working government, rather than the UN force *per se*;¹²⁸ by contrast, the UN mission in Kosovo is often cited as a UN failure and has been criticised due to its inability to protect the Albanian minority and numerous corruption allegations;¹²⁹ similarly, the mission in the Democratic Republic of Congo lacked credibility due to its appallingly poor record of civilian protection.¹³⁰ Some scholars have preferred to examine the relative effectiveness of UN peace operations, creating a list of lessons

learned to assist in dealing with different deployment conditions.¹³¹ The difficulty of contrasting effectiveness between one UN mission and another is the numerous environmental variables that exist, including, for example, the mandate of the mission, the number of warring parties and the presence of a peace agreement.

Yet, effectiveness can be measured. Stephen Stedman managed to distil numerous variables and use the peace agreement implementation to measure the ‘success’ of peacekeeping, noting that the interest of major powers and their involvement in the peacekeeping process will enable the mission’s success, or not, as well as setting the peacekeeping goals, including demilitarising politics and demobilising soldiers.¹³² Examining mission case studies from the leadership angle to create a sustainable peace in the deployment country is a novel approach taken by James Dobbins, comparing especially the success of peace operations between UN- and US-led missions.¹³³ Dobbins revealed that the differentiation of leadership resulted in variances in the size of the operations (US-led missions tend to be bigger compared to UN-led ones) and in the level of coercive power (US-led missions bring greater coercive power, compared to UN-led ones); and he proposed that UN intervention provides missions with the most suitable framework for nation-building, the most cost-efficiency and the largest international legitimacy, despite requiring ten to fifteen years to secure mission completion.¹³⁴ Such evidence illustrates that managing a UN peacekeeping mission is not like a walk in the park, and deep study is essential to ensure operational effectiveness can be continuously improved, particularly for the specific area that is only recently emerging – the involvement of women in UN peacekeeping missions, and the organisation’s efforts to improve gender-mainstreaming and balancing.

2.6 Literature on Women and Gender in UN Peacekeeping Missions

As earlier discussed in subsection 2.3, the main concern of feminism is assuaging exploitation and oppression of women; hence, it is not surprising that one of the first issues raised by feminist scholars when investigating UN peacekeeping missions is the sexual exploitation of local women by peacekeepers, influenced by the different power structures existing between the peacekeepers and the women in conflict and post-conflict situations.¹³⁵ Although UN peacekeeping operations have a mandate for

containing conflict, managing stability and providing for post-conflict security, it is difficult to ensure that all peacekeepers follow UN peacekeeping manuals.¹³⁶ This is caused by three factors: first, the peacekeepers lack of discipline; second, the peacekeepers are deployed in areas of conflict or post-conflict, where rule of law does not exist, or cannot be reinforced; thirdly, the peacekeeping mission has not enforced the implementation of the mandated peacekeeping manual.

Scandals concerning peacekeeper sexual abuse reverberated around the globe in early 2000s. The events marred the UN's credibility for conducting peace operations, becoming an entry point for feminist and gender analyses of peacekeeping operations. For instance, Sandra Whitworth (2004) is critical of the masculinity of UN peacekeeping operations, because it perpetuates state militarism, undermining the UN's function as a provider of peace and security, unless women roles and leadership are raised in the missions.¹³⁷ Another study by Whitworth (2005), who conducted empirical research on the UN mission to Cambodia, led to findings that peacekeeper sexual activities increased prostitution and HIV/AIDS cases.¹³⁸ Sarah Mendelson (2005), on the other hand, investigated sexual exploitation by peacekeepers deployed to the Balkans.¹³⁹ Mendelson's research suggests that the UN's management of peacekeeping operations has been indifferent to the cases of sexual exploitation, sometimes denying the issue by mistaking human trafficking as legalised prostitution – all driven by the fear of embarrassing the nations whose peacekeepers were the source of the problem; the solution offered was to implement zero-tolerance of sexual exploitation with penalty and repatriation.¹⁴⁰ In addition, Mazurana, Raven-Roberts and Parpart (2005) undertook important research on how gender shapes analysis of the causes and consequences of armed conflict, as well as how to handle emergency and post-conflict reconstruction. The authors examined UN peacekeeping operations in different countries, including Angola, Bosnia, East Timor, Rwanda and parts of Liberia.¹⁴¹ Mazurana *et al* argue that not all conflicts are the same, and, hence, a one-size-fits-all approach is not recommended, especially as it neglects issues that women in the community face, such as sexual violence as a weapon of war. However, Mazurana *et al* fail to provide in-depth analysis of how this problem should be addressed.

Since the launch of the 2005 UN zero tolerance policy on peacekeeper sexual abuse, studies on peacekeeping operations question who provides oversight of the peacekeepers. Sarah Martin's (2005) work on sexual exploitation and abuse in UN peacekeeping operations suggest that "since the bulk of personnel in peacekeeping missions are men, a hyper-masculine culture *encourages sexual exploitation and abuse* ... producing a tolerance for extreme behaviour".¹⁴² Martin's report mentioned that UN peacekeeping operations in Liberia, Sierra Leone and Haiti were equally prone to such abuse.¹⁴³ In Liberia, the number of women who had experienced physical or sexual violence at the hands of combatants was between 60-70 per cent.¹⁴⁴ There was an effort to blame the high rates of rape and gender-based violence on the fact that such atrocities had occurred long before the peacekeepers had arrived. Thus, when the latter were deployed they benefitted from, firstly, the unstable conflict situation, secondly, their limited posting in the deployment area, and, thirdly, their leveraged position as members of UN peacekeeping operations. Given this situation, incidents where peacekeepers were implicated in sexual assault cases, were mostly "hushed up and the officers sent home".¹⁴⁵ Therefore, violators commonly went unpunished, and victim protection was limited, especially for countries like Liberia and Haiti, where rape is a taboo subject. Hence, women who report sexual cases might lose support from their own family because of the shame. A 2009 study covering female peacekeepers by Adibeli Nduka-Agwu reviewed the impact of Resolution 1325 in providing a larger role for women in peace creation.¹⁴⁶ Her work reveals that after the resolution was implemented there was an increase of 'empowerment' efforts directed towards women to increase their participation in security creation through capacity building and training, providing a slight increase in the numbers of female peacekeepers.

Aside from the issue of women's exploitation by peacekeepers, another issue highlighted by early feminist analysis of UN peacekeeping was women's different responses in the face of crisis, compared to men, with the general stereotype of women being more calm, having a tendency to seek reconciliation, suggesting they are therefore better deployed as peacekeepers.¹⁴⁷ Scholars, like Paul Higate and Marsha Henry, argue that peacekeepers are masculine because deployment is dominated by military men who are trained in combat, and hence there is a disconnect between the roles of sustaining

peace and conducting war.¹⁴⁸ The endorsement of such an oversimplified binary, building from the 1980's Jean Elshtain view of beautiful soul and just warrior, to a more modern thinking of women/body/nurturing/ peace against men/violence/war. Sonja Wölte and Cynthia Enloe have criticised the notion of peacekeepers being an homogenous male group, and not taking into account that there are women peacekeepers as well.¹⁴⁹ Similarly, United Nations supported reports, such as *Women, War and Peace* by Ellen Johnson Sirleaf and Elisabeth Rehn point out that security is gendered, especially in warfare, where women are more prone to become the victims of sexual exploitation, trafficking and are at higher risk of sexually transmitted disease, because health care is not sufficient and trading sex for aid is a means to survive.¹⁵⁰ Other feminists, including Enloe, Tickner, Pettman, Wibben and Sjoberg, repeatedly remark that women's experience and contributions to peace and war have been systematically downplayed by the male-dominated international relations architecture.¹⁵¹ All the above research has, arguably, impacted on the 'managerialist mindset' to improve the quality of UN peacekeepers by 'adding women', assuming that simply adding more women will automatically make peacekeeping operations more gender literate, removing the sexist undertones.

UN peacekeeping has tried to close the gender gap in terms of the female-to-male peacekeeper ratio. Several feminists, including Carrie (2001), Olsson and Tuggestad (2001), have sought to encourage the approach towards gender balancing, of equal numbers of women and men represented in the full range of activities in UN peacekeeping as part of a narrative that women should be able to participate in conflict and post conflict situations.¹⁵² To alter the old way of doing things, the UN began to build an argument as why it is necessary to increase the number of women in peacekeeping. The arguments in support of women in military peacekeeping operations are essential, not least because they assist in achieving the mission goals of improving interaction with the local population. Local women are expected to ask for the help of women peacekeepers, making mixed units more approachable and reflecting more equal gender-roles that will influence the host country to adopt similar policies in the long run.¹⁵³ The presence of women in peacekeeping operations also represents gender equality and non-discrimination in the eyes of the local population, increasing the UN

mission's credibility that would not be there otherwise.¹⁵⁴ If the UN peacekeeping force fails to represent equality, it will negatively impact on the mission, as the local population will speculate that the mission is failing on equality within the mission itself. However, feminists, such as Sheila Jeffrey (2007), Olivera Simic (2010) and Sahara Dharmapuri (2011), argue that adding more women to the mission will not automatically translate into improved effectiveness because gender balancing is more complex than “just add[ing] women and stir[ring]”.¹⁵⁵ This is because, if gender balancing is done only to meet the quota, there would be a backlash based on the argument that the UN recruits women peacekeepers only because of their biological traits, rather than on pursuit of equality, with the women recruits obtaining the necessary skill and capacity to be deployed as peacekeepers. To ensure that women are sufficiently equipped and able to fulfil their role as peacekeepers, adequate training becomes a crucial consideration.

2.7 Importance of Training in UN Peacekeeping Missions

The notable sentence by Dag Hammarskjold, “peacekeeping is too important to be undertaken by soldiers ... but soldiers are the only ones who can do it”,¹⁵⁶ summarises that it would be foolish to deploy untrained individuals into conflict and post-conflict areas, and even those that are trained need to recognize that peacekeeping is different from combat. The difference is that peacekeepers professional are soldiers trained and equipped to interact with the local population.¹⁵⁷ Therefore, peacekeepers are differently programmed soldiers, and training is the only way of inculcating this changed status. However, the UN peacekeeping missions were born to react or tackle international crises, and were implemented in an *ad hoc* fashion as conflicts or other contingencies happen, the United Nations and its member states gave limited attention to the training of peacekeepers.¹⁵⁸ Belatedly, in 1965, the UN General Assembly established a Special Committee on Peacekeeping Operations (C-34) that was tasked to conduct annual reviews of peacekeeping, but only in 1989 did C-34 release a report encouraging UN member states to establish national training programmes for peacekeepers and requested that the UN Secretary General prepare training manuals.¹⁵⁹ This means that for almost three decades of UN peacekeeping operations, there were no UN-wide training standards, and, as such, no skill assessment for peacekeepers from different member

states.

From the perspective of the peacekeeping contributing countries (CCs), the UN applies a voluntary system to source peacekeepers for its missions. This means that the CCs have the upper-hand on deciding the quality of troops and also the contribution of the police force. According to Inam-ur-Rahman Malik, the high compensation paid by the UN compares well with the host country salary, providing an increase in welfare; this being important as many of the CC nations are developing countries.¹⁶⁰ However, in spite of the high contribution of peacekeeping forces from member states, some nations do not have training standards, others do not even provide training at all, making deployment time-consuming due to unqualified personnel.¹⁶¹ Ann Fitz-Gerald posited that in multinational peace support operations, different cultural backgrounds do impact differently on CC's interpretation of UN rules of engagement.¹⁶² Fitz-Gerald argues that common training programmes would help bridge the gaps of military culture. The longer the period CCs deploy their uniformed personnel and the bigger their personnel contribution, the greater the imperative to open national or regional training centres in order to disseminate the UN module and lessons learned, and thus to carry them forward into their next deployment. As peacekeeping forces are deployed under the blue berets, a requirement has evolved for the UN to provide and maintain peacekeeping training standards.

The UN began producing training guidelines for military peacekeepers in 1991 and four years later a section of the C-34 peacekeeping report was focused on training policy and procedures.¹⁶³ However, the training guidelines received much criticism on their inadequacies, including comments from Moser-Puangsuwan on the extensive counter-insurgency training received, rather than people training, and from Barbara Ehrenreich on the need to include instruction on language, building, first aid and multiculturalism to balance the military training and doctrine that the soldiers have been receiving.¹⁶⁴ There was no focus on specific training for UN peacekeeping missions until the 2012 C-34 annual review emphasised the importance of training for specific functions within the mission, including disarmament, demobilisation, reintegration, the rule of law and gender.¹⁶⁵ Yet, despite these reports encouraging more specific training be given to UN

peacekeepers, the level of criticism did not diminish. Alberto Cutillo stated that the C-34 review represented micro-managing by the UN Secretariat, while leaving ambiguity over other crucial issues, such as roles, competency and accountability.¹⁶⁶ The review was adopted by a consensus of member states, but this has not solved the problem of the diversity of training existing in national peacekeeping training centres. An International Peace Institute–Pearson Centre report, *Enhancing European Military and Police Contributions to UN Peacekeeping*, criticised UN training as non-standardised as each troop/police CC was responsible for the training of its own contingents.¹⁶⁷ The audit done by UN Office of Internal Oversight Service also reached the similar conclusion that there was no standardised methodology for evaluating military contingent performance in peacekeeping missions.¹⁶⁸ As each member state has its own training doctrine, this potentially results in policy and operational inconsistency that would undermine the mission.

Moreover, the UN declared that gender training is not an addendum, but a necessity. The UNSC Resolution 1325 adopted in 2000 on Women and Security is the legislative basis for gender training that is defined as providing knowledge on “protection, rights and the particular needs of women, as well as on the importance of involving women in all peacekeeping and peace-building measures”.¹⁶⁹ The UN Department of Peacekeeping followed through the legal requirement by publishing the *Gender Resource Package for Peacekeeping Operations* in 2004 to explain the concept of gender-mainstreaming in a nutshell to peacekeeping personnel.¹⁷⁰ It contains background information, highlights key gender issues in peacekeeping operations and gives advice on practical tools, including a gender assessment checklist and a guide for implementation. In particular, the resource package asserts the requirement for gender training to improve “the effective discharge of the mission’s mandate, reducing both harmful forms of behaviour by peacekeeping personnel and unintended negative effects of mission policies and programmes.”¹⁷¹ The basic training comprises awareness-raising and may be followed up with specialised gender issue training, such as combatting human trafficking.

Conducting gender-awareness or gender-sensitised training is important because it

prepares peacekeepers to respect varying gender-dynamics in the deployment areas that perhaps differs from the peacekeepers' countries of origin. Elizabeth Porter and Anuradha Mundkur argue the necessity of peacekeeper personnel, both men and women, to undergo gender training based on four factors.¹⁷² *Firstly*, since the late 1980s, UN peacekeeping operations have changed from the traditional role of separating warring parties to a more complex interventionist and peace-building objective, and as a consequence missions have had greater impact on the local population. Peacekeepers therefore need to understand the different effects war has the host country population, including on women and girls.¹⁷³ Gender training for peacekeepers enables them to have a positive impact on women by supporting them to improve their condition rather than maintaining patriarchal dominance. *Secondly*, peacekeepers should acknowledge the differing security needs between women and men, and training would be better enable them to provide inclusive security for all, instead of only aiming to provide 'general' security decided by local decision-makers who are invariably male-dominated. *Thirdly*, as women and girls have special needs in security and peace-building, as recognised in UN Security Council Resolution 1325, gender training aims to sensitise and raise peacekeeper awareness so that their ability to respond to gender specific security needs improves.¹⁷⁴ *Fourth* and lastly, through training, peacekeepers would get to know about sexual exploitation and abuse, and learn that the UN has zero tolerance for such conduct because it acts to undermine "the legitimacy and moral authority of the mission".¹⁷⁵ Another reason for the importance of training, according to Rehn and Sirleaf, is to acknowledge that higher numbers of women peacekeepers could become the new role models for local women in their efforts to contribute to reconstruction following conflict.¹⁷⁶ The first UN gender and peacekeeping basic training package was developed by Angela Mackay in 2000 and tested in the Ghana, Turin and Bosnia missions before formal implementation began in the Timor Leste, Ethiopia and Eritrea missions in 2002 and systematically established throughout all mission in 2004.¹⁷⁷ However, having a gender training pack does not automatically offer a solution to the problems faced by local women, because a training pack's instructions need to be understood and implemented. That may take time and achieve only varying degrees of success, as the CCs still need to include gender training in their pre-deployment training programmes, and national trainers should deliver this specialized package.

There are two types of training, one is pre-deployment training (PDT) and the other is in-mission training.¹⁷⁸ The member states, if they want to contribute to the UN peacekeeping mission, need to be responsible for providing training to their military and police forces prior to deployment, while for in-mission training, the peacekeeping personnel receive induction training when they arrive at their mission. The UN has provided a generic training package on Gender and Peacekeeping Operations to member state PDT for their military and civilian police personnel.¹⁷⁹ However, the responsibility to provide gender-awareness training lies in the hands of the CCs, and the UN does not supervise or conduct quality control of the training provided at the national level.¹⁸⁰ Yet, the existence and extent of PDT training is variable. In 2008, the UN has conducted an internal survey of its peacekeepers and found that 24 per cent of the military and 33 per cent of the police forces did not receive any PDT.¹⁸¹ The next review in 2013, revealed some improvement with only 19 per cent of military and 30 per cent police forces not receiving PDT.¹⁸² The UN DPKO Report did not explain why the provision of PDT had improved. While the earlier Report demanded that the UN should provide standardised training material,¹⁸³ the latter explained that the material did exist, though having the training material is different from actually undertaking rigorous training. Nevertheless, the latter Report indicated that 84 per cent of CCs actually employed UN Core Pre-Deployment Training Material (CPTM) and 79 per cent UN Specialised Training Material.¹⁸⁴ The relatively short five-year separation between these reviews, and the urgency for missions to be fully operational in the deployment area, meant that it was unlikely that the missions would have had the time or energy to obtain reviews from all the deployed peacekeepers to conduct comparisons of the effectiveness between the two sets of materials.

Despite the need to conduct gender training, the 2007 overview of UN peace operations showed that the extent of gender training depended heavily on the CCs' policies and priorities, noting that most of the PDT gender training was provided by the 'Northern' or developed countries, rather than by those from the South where the majority of peacekeeping troops originate.¹⁸⁵ Minna Lyytikäinen observes that further investigation is required to assess the reach and degree of implementation of gender training, so that

capacity gaps can be addressed.¹⁸⁶ Gender training is also urgently needed where it impacts the on the behaviour and attitude of mission personnel. Porter and Mundkur argue that research on improving gender training at the national level, including the review of existing pre-deployment training through surveys of returning female peacekeepers on their working environment is essential, but not yet done.¹⁸⁷ To fill these research gaps, this thesis seeks to answer the two research areas that Lyytikäinen, Porter and Mundkur have proposed. It does so by investigating selected CCs' training centres' courses on gender-specific training on PDT programmes. The approach adopted, explained in section 2.8, below, employs Rossett's Training Needs Assessment methodology via the integration of the logic model flow (shown at Figure 2.3 – p. 62) and Kirkpatrick's four-level training assessment methodology and also the unique refinements of analysis by Barbazette (2006).¹⁸⁸

2.8 Assessing Effectiveness of Gender Training

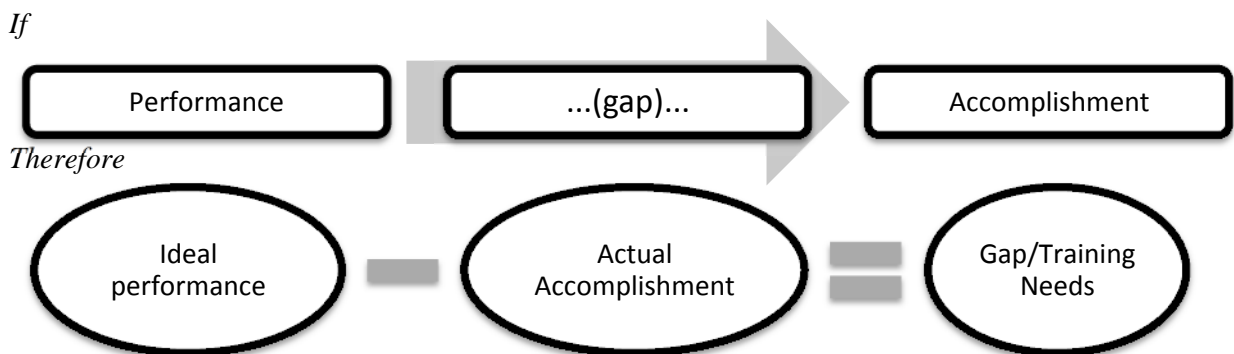
The UN provides the CCs with gender training guidelines and materials on the protection, rights and particular needs of women, as well as on the importance of involving women in all peacekeeping and peace-building measures. To evaluate whether these guidelines and materials are fit-for-purpose, it is critical to assess, develop and continuously improve the training material, and, hence, indirectly, peacekeeping operational excellence. According to the 2007 UN INSTRAW Report, most gender training does not include the evaluation component.¹⁸⁹ To fill the gap, UN Women's Training Centre published a *Gender Equality Assessment Tool* for all UN agencies to carry out an institutional evaluation to ensure the agency's policies, strategies and procedures include gender empowerment and equality in 2014.¹⁹⁰ This assessment tool is based on a participatory gender audit manual provided by the International Labour Organisation in 2007, but the ILO gender audit manual does not provide information on the scholarly reasoning behind the methods proposed.¹⁹¹ As the 2014 UN Gender Equality Assessment was only released less than a year before this research was completed, there was no information on whether this 'tool' has been implemented by UN Department of Peacekeeping Operations. As such, the author chose to construct the literature review on the UN training assessment methodology already practised.

Aside from gender training required for *all* peacekeepers, there is dedicated training for specific peacekeepers as decided by the CCs. For example, Arturo Sotomayor notes that Argentina's centre of peacekeeping training, CAECOPAZ, has established training programme exclusively for women peacekeepers, aiming to appoint the first Latin American female UN force commander.¹⁹² The reason why there are only a few women taking up the headship of peacekeeping missions is perhaps due to the lack of women being selected for military training and deployment, and hence they lack operational knowledge and experience. If this is the case, then offering targeted training for women could provide an empowering solution for women's peacekeeping careers. Eka Ikpe similarly observes that Nigeria created focused driving courses for women, because the country's lack of driving skills hampered its efforts to deploy more women peacekeepers.¹⁹³ This supports the argument that the UN and the CCs should conduct assessments to reveal the existence of women's biggest skill barriers to entering peacekeeping roles. Appropriate training should then improve the situation, supporting an increase in the numbers of women participating in UN peacekeeping operations. In the UN system, pre-deployment training provided *only* for women is not referred to as gender training, but rather as named training after the specific skill being delivered (such as driving); however, the present study categorises the training offered solely to women as part of a gender training programme, because women's skills and abilities are engendered by the system they live in, and efforts to empower women to broaden and deepen their skill-base necessitates gender sensitive training.

The United Nations Peacekeeping authorities have conducted several training assessments using a Training Needs Assessment (TNA) tool developed by Allison Rossett in the late 1980s. The TNA refers to the systematic study of a problem or innovation, incorporating data and opinions from various sources, in order to make an effective decision or recommendation.¹⁹⁴ The assessment made by a TNA provides performance analysis on the training practice implemented. The TNA method enables researchers to seek information on *optimal*, *actual* or current performance, the *feelings* of trainees and other stakeholders, and the *causes* and solutions of the problem from multiple perspectives.¹⁹⁵ The main characteristic of the TNA approach compared to

other evaluation tools, is its narrative feedback from stakeholders, allowing direct assessment of training practices to provide performance discrepancies and training needs in detail. The training needs are identified through establishing optimum performance targets that are then compared against actual accomplishment and anticipated performance, as depicted in Figure 2.1.

Figure 2.1 Training Needs Assessment Model



Source: Top part of the model is from Allison Rossett, *Training Needs Assessment*, (New Jersey: Educational Technology, 1987), p. 49; bottom part is author interpretation.

According to the UN database, the UN has been using the TNA for assessing three of its programmes: firstly, programme management for UN Peacekeeping conducted by the Department of Peacekeeping Operations (DPKO) and the Department of Field Support (DFS) in 2008; secondly, the rule of law and security institution components by the UN Office of the Rule of Law and Security Institutions in 2009; and thirdly, prison officer training conducted by the UN-African Union Mission in Darfur (UNAMID), undertaken collaboratively with the United Nations Development Programme in 2010.¹⁹⁶ The needs assessment undertaken by UN peacekeeping authority has impressively managed to obtain a response of nearly 6000 respondents from 17 peacekeeping operations, with some 64 per cent of them civilian, 11 per cent military and the rest police, using a web-based survey, interviews, and member state surveys and consultation.¹⁹⁷ The TNA undertaken by the UN DPKO confirmed that training required for peacekeeping operations and the cross-cutting skill gaps are “communication, management, leadership and cohesiveness in the mission component, including integration”.¹⁹⁸ However, the UN assessment is undermined to some extent, as women only account for 22 per cent of the respondents, and though gender is included in one of the additional topics for Mission

Specific Induction Training, it is only one out of 11, or less than ten per cent of the topics that the UN specifies are important.¹⁹⁹ Hence, the TNA assessment that the UN undertook only provides a general overview and does not specify particular women peacekeeper needs.

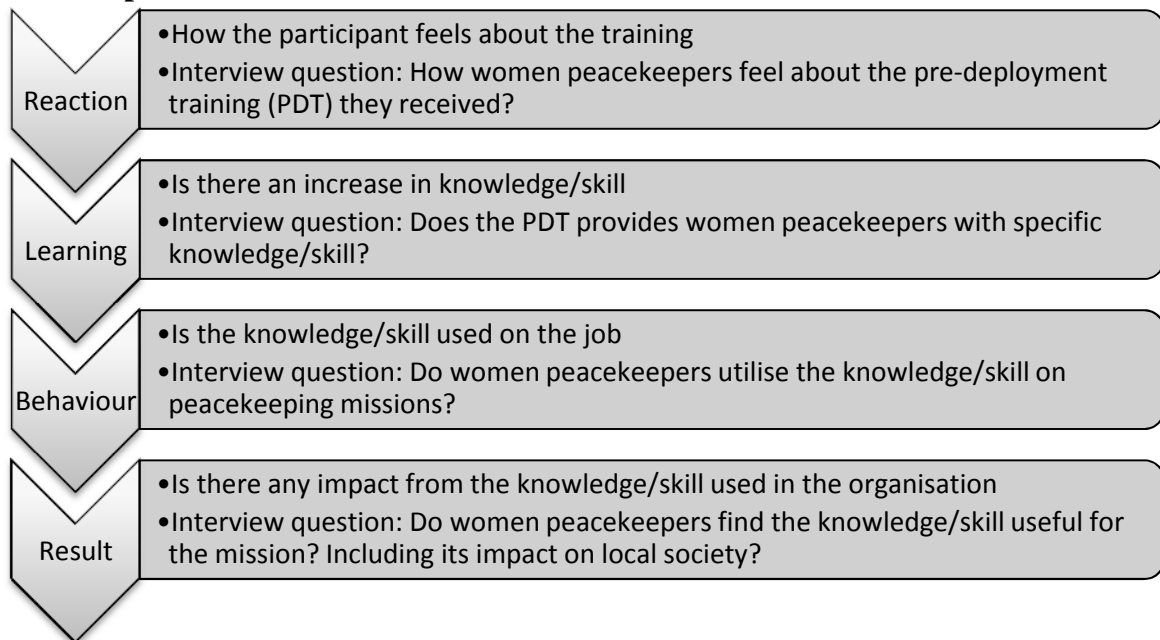
2.9 Developing an Assessment Model

This thesis seeks to analyse the current role of women in UN peacekeeping forces and the training effectiveness in mission deployment. Analysis will take place using the logic model elaborated by Kirkpatrick's four levels of evaluation and TNA assessment. The logic model follows a chain of actions and consequences, from inputs – or the resources that are needed, to activities – the action in deployment, to output – the tangible products that result from the activities, to outcomes – the intangible changes that take place.²⁰⁰ The logic model has been adopted by Rosemary Harrison (2003) in conducting training and development audits to improve business performance, as well as by Sharon Foreman (2009) in assessing pharmaceutical industry training in North America.²⁰¹ The model has never previously been applied to peacekeeping research, and is deemed suitable for this research because of the clarity of its linear-causality process through the tracing of how inputs produce output, which, in turn, outcomes. The basic logic model for assessing women peacekeeper performance is shown at Figure 1.3.

In the present study, the logic model is combined with Kirkpatrick's four levels of evaluation to provide an integrated measurement tool for defining the outcomes. The four level evaluation is a training evaluation method to measure training outcomes using four indicators: *firstly*, the reaction – how the participants feel about the training; *secondly*, the learning – measuring the increase in knowledge or skill before the training and after; *thirdly*, the behaviour – whether the training knowledge or skill is implemented on the job; and *fourthly*, the result – measuring the overall impact of the knowledge or skill implementation on the organisation.²⁰² According to the available literature, the 'four level' methodology has been adopted in peacekeeper training assessment by Nana Odoi for assessing whether cultural and human rights training improves cultural awareness, and by the Norwegian Agency for Development Cooperation that sought to establish the impact of peace training on African

peacekeepers.²⁰³ In terms of gender research, Toiko Kleppe has included Kirkpatrick's level of evaluation as a suggested methodology for gender training evaluation, but she only managed to incorporate the first three levels of evaluation.²⁰⁴ Kirkpatrick's fourth level of evaluation has been developed for business training and measures the company's post-training return on investment. Hence, for the four level evaluation process to be applied to UN peacekeeping training assessment, it should include the training impact on the local community as developed by Roger Kaufman and John Keller.²⁰⁵ Kaufman and Keller believe that training yields intangible and indirect benefits through societal impact, accepting the difficulties of measuring financial benefits. This study's fused Kirkpatrick, Kaufman and Keller training evaluation model has been used as the basis for devising the interview questions in the empirical research of pre-deployment training assessment of women peacekeepers, as depicted in Figure 2.2. The open-ended, semi-structured interview questions approved by the Cranfield University Research Ethics Board, used in the field research are included in Appendix I.

Figure 2.2: Kirkpatrick's Four Level Evaluation of UN PDT for Women Peacekeepers



Source: Author adaptation of Donald Kirkpatrick, *Evaluating Training Programs: The Four Levels*, 2nd ed., (San Francisco: Berrett-Koehler, 1996), Chapter 3: The Four Levels – An Overview, pp. 19-24.

To address the present study's research aim/objectives of assessing the role and impact

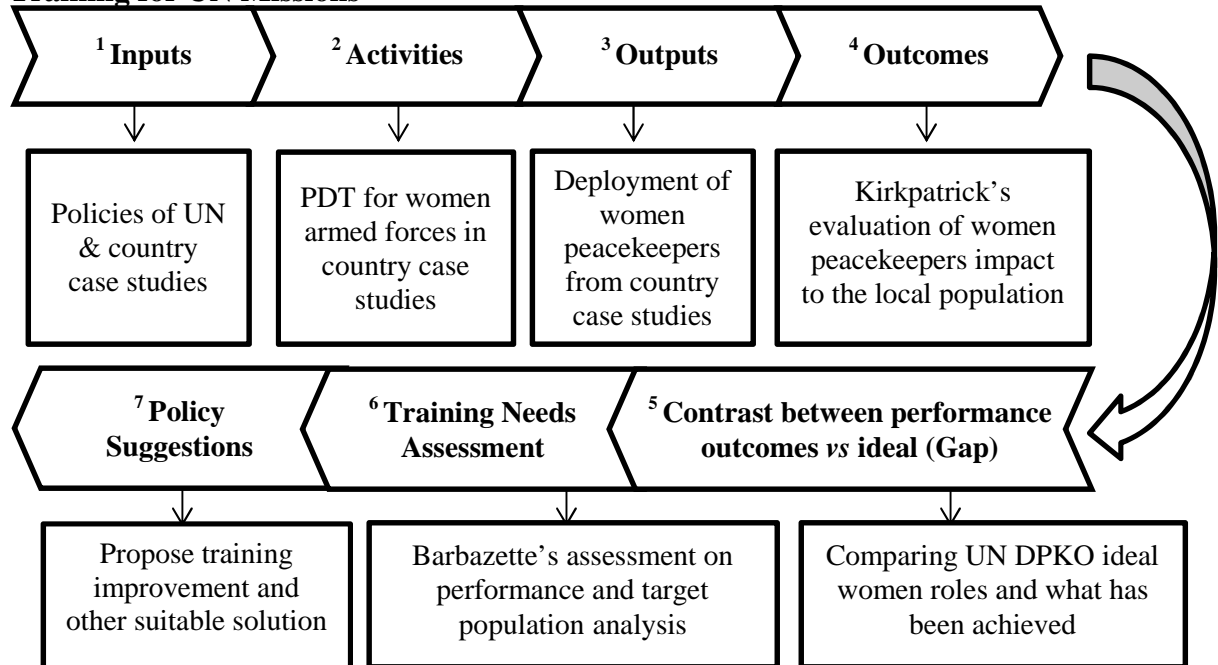
women peacekeepers play in UN peacekeeping operations, and how PDT can improve mission performance, this thesis adopts the logic model and the four level evaluation as a means of pursuing a TNA. Allison Rossett's TNA model will be modified by reference to Jean Barbazette's unique refinement of the TNA methodology (2006), which explores whether the training needs result from inadequacy of training or from other factors.²⁰⁶ Therefore, the analysis required to find the 'needs' should be specific and tailored, and Barbazette (2006) offers seven TNA pointers:

- Performance analysis – an analysis of the gap between ideal performance and what has been accomplished thus far; investigating whether the issue is caused by skill deficiency and therefore crafting a training solution that is appropriate, or finding a non-training solution if it is caused by a non-skill deficiency; also known as can/can't or will/won't analysis;²⁰⁷
- Feasibility analysis – a cost/benefit analysis on the training to see whether the operation's budget is able to support training, and whether there is more benefit to gained from the training compared to cost;
- Needs versus wants analysis – an analysis to understand what sort of training the organisation and individuals in the organisation need, rather than focusing on what they want, and this will be done through a survey of what individuals in different ranks observe the organisation needs;²⁰⁸
- Goal analysis – examining the organisation goal and creating a more definite and quantifiable performance goal; as an organisation could have many goals, prioritising is one of the tasks in this type of analysis;²⁰⁹
- Job/task analysis – finding the best method to perform a task and the best sequence to complete the tasks in order to get the job done in the most efficient way; this analysis requires the organisation to learn from the task expert and make a task force to develop support for standardisation of the task;
- Target population analysis – gathering information on who should attend the training and how the course should be customised to meet their needs; another side of this analysis is to collect information on would-be participants in regard to their interests, prior knowledge, characteristics and benefits they get from the training to understand whether the training is fit-for-purpose to improve future training;²¹⁰

- Contextual analysis – conducting analysis to provide improvement for the next training to be delivered with emphasis on the technicalities; for example, whether training will be done in a group, by an individual or on the job; whether it will be face-to-face or virtual; also specifying the location and period of training.

Barbazette’s seven TNA pointers are part of the various methods for assessing training effectiveness. The present research aim is to evaluate UN gender training to better enable women peacekeepers to perform their role. The methodical approach adopted therefore reflects a synthesis of the logic model, Kirkpatrick’s four level evaluation and Barbazette’s performance and target population analytical framework. This synthesized study methodology, as shown at Figure 2.3, below, is judged to best suit an assessment of PDT of women peacekeepers applied to the selected Southeast Asian country case studies.

Figure 2.3: Impact Analysis Model of Women Peacekeeper Pre-Deployment Training for UN Missions



Source: Adapted from Paul Gertler, Sebastian Martinez, Patrick Premand, Laura Rawlings and Christel Vermeersch, *Impact Evaluation in Practice*, (Washington DC: World Bank, 2011), pp. 24-6, with Donald Kirkpatrick, *Evaluating Training Programs: The Four Levels*, 2nd ed., (San Francisco: Berrett-Koehler, 1996) and Jean Barbazette, *Training Needs Assessments: Methods, Tools and Techniques*, (San Francisco: Pfeiffer-Wiley, 2006).

To summarise, then, there are seven steps involved in this research. *First*, the research seeks to evaluate gender and women policies at the UN level, as well as at the contributing country level. This is done to measure the extent to which equal opportunity policies exist in the UN and the country case studies of Indonesia, Philippines and Country A to support women's participation. *Second*, the research seeks to examine the pre-deployment training for women peacekeepers conducted by the contributing countries. *Third*, the study examines women peacekeeper engagement in the process of security creation through their participation as UN peacekeepers deployed in a conflict or post-conflict area. This part of the study seeks to elucidate women's mission responsibilities, their positions and ranks, their length of deployment and experience in the field. The research will be conducted via interviews with women peacekeepers, trainers and decision-makers in the three country case studies. *Fourth*, the impact of women peacekeepers to better assist women in the local community, including how they assist sexual-based violence victims and the local care organisations will be investigated. The author does not have the resources to undertake fieldwork in the deployment areas, hence, this part of the research will be desk-based. *Fifth*, the findings of field research interviews and desk-based study of women peacekeeper roles and impacts in UN peace missions are compared and contrasted with the ideal roles and impacts that the UN DPKO stated in its official documents. *Sixth*, training needs assessment is undertaken to analyse the gap between the UN ideal and the PDT impact determined from the research, especially on gender training effectiveness, and whether UN gender training materials and activities are fit-for-purpose to accommodate women peacekeeper needs. *Seventh*, offer recommendations on how to improve the effectiveness of UN gender PDT.

2.10 Confirming the Research Lacuna

This literature review reveals two gaps in the literature. Firstly, there is a lack of research on gender training, in general and on PDT conducted in by contributing countries, in particular. The critique has demonstrated the importance of gender training, as it informs peacekeepers of the gendered nature of conflict, the UN's zero tolerance policy on sexual abuse, and the need for a gender-sensitised security approach towards the local population, especially with regard to the use of women peacekeepers

as a role model for the women victims in conflict. Set against this, though, are the specific issues that women face when attempting to enter national military forces, and, consequently, peacekeeping forces. Thus, learning what support is needed would greatly benefit the next generation of women embarking on UN peacekeeping careers, as well as supporting the UN to recruit more women. Secondly, over the years the UN has recognized the importance of standardised training material and conducting post-mission reviews on the appropriateness of training. UN training reviews, however, have to date been concerned with general assessment of the overall training at the UN level and at the mission level. Given this contextual backdrop, this thesis explores whether women peacekeepers perceive that they make a difference to peacekeeping operations, and to what extent pre-deployment peacekeeping training enables them to do so. The outcome of this literature review confirms that no evidence exists to provide answers to these research questions. The next chapter therefore examines the possible research method options prior to determining an appropriate research design for gathering the empirical research-based evidence to answer this study's research questions.

References and Notes

¹ This term is used by David Baldwin, 'The Concept of Security', *Review of International Studies*, Vol. 23, 1997, p. 5.

² Ken Booth, *Theory of World Security*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2007), pp.96-150 and Stanley Hoffman, 'An American Social Science: International Relations', *Daedalus*, Vol. 106, No. 3, Summer 1977, pp. 41-60.

³ Christopher Grey, 'Security Studies and Organization Studies: Parallels and Possibilities Organization', *Organization*, Vol.16, No.2, 2009, pp. 303-16.

⁴ Philip Green, *Deadly Logic: The Theory of Nuclear Deterrence*, (Columbus, Ohio: Ohio State University Press, 1966).

⁵ David Baldwin, 'The Concept of Security', *Review of International Studies*, Vol. 23, 1997, p. 9.

⁶ Paul D. Williams, *Security Studies: An Introduction, 2nd Ed.*, (Oxon: Routledge, 2013), p. 3.

⁷ See for example Hans Morgenthau, *Politics among Nations: The Struggle for Power and Peace*, (New York: Alfred Knopf, 1948); John Vasquez, *The Power of Power Politics*, (London: Pinter, 1983); Kenneth Waltz, *Theory of International Relations*, (Boston: Addison Wesley, 1979) and Kenneth Waltz, *Man, the State and War*, (New York: Academic Press, 1974).

⁸ Charles Kegley, *Controversies in International Relations Theory: Realism and the Neoliberal Challenge*, (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1995), p. 1 and Jill Steans, *Gender and International Relations: An Introduction*, (Cambridge: Polity Press, 1998), p. 3.

⁹ Barry Buzan, *People, States and Fear: The National Security Problem in International Relations*, (North Carolina: University of North Carolina Press, 1983), pp.18-35.

¹⁰ Barry Buzan, Ole Waever and Jaap the Wilde, *Security: A New Framework for Analysis*, (Colorado and London: Lynne Rienner Publishers, 1998).

-
- ¹¹ *Ibid.*, pp. 7-8, 163-5.
- ¹² *Ibid.*, pp. 23-5, 35-8.
- ¹³ *Ibid.*, p. 23.
- ¹⁴ Ole Waever, 'Securitization and Desecuritization', in Ronnie Lipschutz (Ed.), *On Security*, (New York: Columbia University Press, 1995), p. 6.
- ¹⁵ Ronnie Lipschutz, 'Negotiating the Boundaries of Difference and Security at Millennium's End' and Ole Waever, 'Securitization and Desecuritization', in Ronnie Lipschutz (Ed.), *On Security*, (New York: Columbia University Press, 1995) and Bill McSweeney, *Security, Identity and Interests: A Sociology of International Relations*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999).
- ¹⁶ David Baldwin, *Op. Cit.*, pp. 5-26.
- ¹⁷ Emma Rothschild, 'What is Security?' in *Daedalus*, Vol. 124, No. 3, The Quest for World Order, Summer 1995, pp. 53-98.
- ¹⁸ *Ibid.*, pp. 69-70
- ¹⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 55.
- ²⁰ *Ibid.*
- ²¹ John Stuart Mill, *On Liberty*, 3rd Edition, (London: Penguin, 1974), pp. 69, 141.
- ²² Caroline Kennedy-Pipe, 'Gender and Security', in Alan Collins, *Contemporary Security Studies*, (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2007), p. 77.
- ²³ Maurice R. Davie, *The Evolution of War: A Study of Its Role in Early Societies*, (New York: Dover, 2003, firstly published in 1929), p. 147.
- ²⁴ Martin Van Creveld, *The Transformation of War*, (New York: Free Press, 1991), p. 221.
- ²⁵ Robert Musil, *The Man Without Qualities*, Vol. 1 (1952), (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1995), p. 221.
- ²⁶ Eric Blanchard, 'Gender, International Relations, and the Development of Feminist Security Theory', *Signs: Journal of Women in Culture and Society*, Vol. 28, No. 41, 2003, pp. 1289-1312.
- ²⁷ See, amongst all, United Nations, *Women, Peace and Security*, (New York: UN, 2002), pp. 60-1; Brigitte Sorensen, 'Women and Post-Conflict Reconstruction: Issues and Sources', *War-torn Societies Project Occasional Paper 3*, (Geneva: UNRISD, 1998); Albrecht Schnabel and Anara Tabyshalieva, *Defying Victimhood: Women and Post-conflict Peacebuilding*, (Tokyo: United Nations University Press, 2012) and Rawwida Baksh-Soodeen, *Gender-mainstreaming in Conflict Transformation: Building Sustainable Peace*, (London: Commonwealth Publishing, 2005).
- ²⁸ Helen Callaway, 'Women's Perspectives: Research as Re-Vision', in Peter Reason and John Rowan (Eds.), *Human Inquiry*, (New York: John Wiley, 1981), p. 460.
- ²⁹ Evelyn Fox Keller, *Reflection on Gender and Science*, (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1985), p. 6.
- ³⁰ J. Ann Tickner, *Gender in International Relations*, *Op. Cit.*, p. 66.
- ³¹ Laura Shepherd, *Gender, Violence and Security: Discourse as Practice*, (London: Zed Books, 2008), p.162
- ³² Bell Hooks, *Feminist Theory: From Margin to Center*, Second Ed. (London: Pluto Press, 2000), pp.24-6; Stevi Jackson and Jackie Jones, 'Thinking for Ourselves: An Introduction to Feminist Theorising', in Stevi Jackson and Jackie Jones (eds.), *Contemporary Feminist Theories*, (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 1998), p. 1; Barbara Ryan, *Feminism and the Women's Movement: Dynamics of Change in Social Movement Ideology and Activism*, (New York: Routledge, 1992), pp. 85-6, among others.
- ³³ Jill Steans dan Lloyd Pettiford, *International Relations: Perspectives and Themes*, (England: Longman, 2001), p. 10.
- ³⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 11.
- ³⁵ Rosemarie Putnam Tong, *Feminist Thought: A Comprehensive Introduction*, (London: Unwin Hyman, 1989).
- ³⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 2.
- ³⁷ Kimberlé Crenshaw, 'Demarginalizing the Intersection of Race and Sex: A Black Feminist Critique of Antidiscrimination Doctrine, Feminist Theory, and Antiracist Politics', *University of Chicago Legal Forum*, Vol. 14, 1989, pp. 538-54 and Kimberlé Crenshaw, 'Mapping the Margins: Intersectionality, Identity Politics, and Violence against Women of Color', *Stanford Law Review*, Vol. 43 No. 6, 1991, pp. 1241-99
- ³⁸ Mary Wollstonecraft, *A Vindication of the Rights of Woman: With Strictures on Political and Moral Subjects*, (New York: Norton, 1967), p. 16
- ³⁹ Harriet Taylor, 'Enfranchisement of Women', *Westminster and Foreign Quarterly Review*, July 1851, pp. 6-10.

-
- ⁴⁰ John Stuart Mill, *The Subjection of Women*, (London: Longman, 1869)
- ⁴¹ Angela Davis, *Women, Race and Class*, (New York: Random House, 1981), Betty Friedan, *The Feminine Mystique*, (New York: Dell, 1974)
- ⁴² Catharine A. MacKinnon, *Women's Lives, Men's Laws*, (USA: Harvard University Press, 2007), pp. 263-4.
- ⁴³ See, Gloria T. Hull; Patricia Bell Scott; Barbara Smith (eds.), *All the Women are White, All the Blacks are Men, but Some of Us are Brave*, (New York: The Feminist Press, 1982); Bell Hooks, *Feminist Theory: From Margin to Center, Second Ed.* (London: Pluto Press, 2000); Cheshire Calhoun, *Feminism, the Family, and the Politics of the Closet: Lesbian and Gay Displacement*, (New York: Oxford University Press, 2002).
- ⁴⁴ Heidi Hartmann, 'The Unhappy Marriage of Marxism and Feminism: Towards a More Progressive Union', in Carole Mccann and Seung-kyung Kim (eds.), *Feminist Theory Reader: Local and Global Perspectives*, (New York: Routledge, 2013), pp. 191-5.
- ⁴⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 191 and Rosemarie Putnam Tong, *Op. Cit.*, p. 3.
- ⁴⁶ Mary Daly, *The Church and the Second Sex*, (New York: Harper & Row, 1968); Kate Millet, *Sexual Politics*, (New York: Doubleday, 1969); Shulamith Firestone, *The Dialectic of Sex: The Case for Feminist Revolution*, (New York: Bantam Books, 1970); Phyllis Chesler, *Women and Madness*, (New York: Doubleday, 1972); Mary Daly, *Beyond God the Father: Toward a Philosophy of Women's Liberation*, (Boston: Beacon Press, 1973); Andrea Dworkin, *Woman Hating: A Radical Look at Sexuality*, (New York: Dutton Publishing, 1974); Mary Daly, *Gyn/Ecology: The Metaethics of Radical Feminism*, (Boston: Beacon Press, 1978); Andrea Dworkin, *Pornography: Men Possessing Women*, (London: Women's Press, 1981), and Monique Wittig, *The Straight Mind: And Other Essays Paperback*, (Boston: Beacon Press, 1992)
- ⁴⁷ Freeman Joreen, 'The Tyranny of Structurelessness', in Anne Koedt, Ellen Levine and Anita Rapone (eds.), *Radical Feminism*, (New York: Quadrangle, 1973), pp. 285-99 and Kate Millet, *Op. Cit.*, pp. 28-42.
- ⁴⁸ Freeman Joreen, *Ibid.*; Rosemarie Putnam Tong, *Op.Cit.*, p. 50 and Judith Grant, *Fundamental Feminism: Contesting the Core Concepts of Feminist Theory*, (New York: Routledge, 1993), pp. 22-3.
- ⁴⁹ Mary Daly, *Op. Cit.*, (1973, 1978) and Alice Echols, 'The New Feminism of Yin and Yang', in Ann Snow, Christine Stansell and Sharon Thompson (eds.), *Powers of Desire: The Politics of Sexuality*, (New York: Monthly Review Press, 1983), pp. 439-59.
- ⁵⁰ Rosemarie Putnam Tong, *Op.Cit.*, p. 96. The main publications that often quoted by Marxist feminists include, Karl Marx and Frederick Engels, *The Communist Manifesto*, (London: Burghard, 1848); Karl Marx, *A Contribution to the Critique of Political Economy*, (Moscow: Progress Publisher, 1859) and Frederick Engels, *The Origin of the Family, Private Property, and the State*, (Zurich, 1884).
- ⁵¹ Evelyn Reed, 'Women: Caste, Class, or Oppressed Sex?', *International Socialist Review*, Vol. 31, No. 3, September 1970, pp. 15-41; Evelyn Reed, *Woman's Evolution: From Matriarchal Clan to Patriarchal Family*, (New York: Pathfinder Press, 1975); Margaret Benston, 'The Political Economy of Women's Liberation', *Monthly Review*, Vol.21, No. 4, September 1969, pp. 13-27; Peggy Morton, 'Women's Work is Never Done', in Edith Altbach (ed.), *From Feminism to Liberation*, (Cambridge: Schankman Publishing Co., 1971), pp 211-27; Marlene Dixon, 'On the Super-Exploitation of Women,' *Synthesis*, Vol. 1, No. 4, Spring 1977, pp.1-11 and Wally Seccombe, 'The Housewife and her Labor under Capitalism', *New Left Review*, Vol. 1, No. 83, January-February 1973, pp. 3-24.
- ⁵² Rosemarie Putnam Tong, *Op.Cit.*, p. 107.
- ⁵³ See, for example, Barbara Ehrenreich and Arlie Russell Hochschild, *Global Woman: Nannies, Maids, and Sex Workers in the New Economy*, (New York: Henry Holt, 2004).
- ⁵⁴ Rosemarie Putnam Tong, *Op.Cit.*, p. 96.
- ⁵⁵ Juliet Mitchell, *Woman's Estate*, (Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1971); Alison Jaggar, *Feminist Politics and Human Nature* (Totowa, N.J.: Rowman and Allanheld, 1983); Iris Marion Young, 'Beyond the Unhappy Marriage: A Critique of the Dual Systems Theory', in Lydia Sargent (ed.), *Women and Revolution*, (Boston: South End Press, 1981), pp. 43-70 and Heidi Hartmann, 'The Unhappy Marriage of Marxism and Feminism: Towards a more Progressive Union', in Lydia Sargent (ed.), *Women and Revolution*, (Boston: South End Press, 1981), pp. 1-42.
- ⁵⁶ Iris Marion Young, *Ibid.*
- ⁵⁷ Judith Grant, *Op. Cit.*, p. 45.

- ⁵⁸ Dorothy Dinnerstein, *The Mermaid and the Minotaur: Sexual Arrangements and Human Malaise*, (New York: Harper Colophon Books, 1977); Nancy Chodorow, *The Reproduction of Mothering: Psychoanalysis and the Sociology of Gender*, (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1978); Luce Irigaray, *This Sex Which is Not One*, (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1985); Luce Irigaray, 'Is the Subject of Science Sexed?', *Hypatia*, Vol. 2, No. 3, Fall 1987, pp. 65-88 and Julia Kristeva, *Powers of Horror*, (New York: Columbia University Press, 1982).
- ⁵⁹ Sigmund Freud, *Sexuality and the Psychology of Love*, (New York: Collier Books, 1968), p. 181.
- ⁶⁰ Betty Friedan, *Op. Cit.*, pp. 93-94; Shulamith Firestone, *Op. Cit.*, pp. 48-49 and Kate Millett, *Op. Cit.*, p. 109.
- ⁶¹ Nancy Chodorow, *Op. Cit.*, pp. 106-127.
- ⁶² Quoted in Jean Bethke Elshtain, *Public Man, Private Woman*, (New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 1981), p. 288.
- ⁶³ Alfred Adler, *Understanding Human Nature*, (New York: Greenberg, 1927), p. 123; Karen Horney, 'The Flight from Womanhood', *Feminine Psychology*, (New York: W. W. Norton, 1973), pp. 54-70 and Juanita Williams, *Psychology of Women: Behavior in a Biosocial Context*, (New York: W. W. Norton, 1977), pp. 65-73.
- ⁶⁴ Jacques Lacan, *Écrits: A Selection*, (New York: W. W. Norton, 1977), pp. 1-7, 64-65.
- ⁶⁵ Luce Irigaray, *This Sex Which Is Not One*, *Op. Cit.*, p. 28-74.
- ⁶⁶ Julia Kristeva, *Op. Cit.*, pp. 150-209 and Dorothy Leland, "Lacanian Psychoanalysis and French Feminism: Toward an Adequate Political Psychology," *Hypatia* 3, no. 3 (winter 1989): 90-99.
- ⁶⁷ Mary Dietz, 'Current Controversies in Feminist Theory', *Annual Review of Political Science*, Vol. 6, 2003, pp. 399-431
- ⁶⁸ Bell Hooks, *Yearning: Race, Gender and Cultural Politics*, (Boston: South End Press, 1990); Audre Lorde, 'Age, Race, Class, and Sex: Women Redefining Difference', in Margaret Andersen and Patricia Collins (eds.), *Race, Class, and Gender, 3rd ed.*, (California: Wadsworth, 1995), pp.187-195; Elizabeth Spelman, *Inessential Woman: Problems of Exclusion in Feminist Thought*, (Boston: Beacon Press, 1998); Maxine Molyneux, *Women's Movements in International Perspective: Latin America and Beyond*, (London: Palgrave, 2000); Shahra Razavi, 'Liberalization and the Debates on Women's Access to Land', *Third World Quarterly*, Vol. 28, No. 8, 2007, pp. 1457-78 and Shahra Razavi, 'Islamic Politics, Human Rights and Women's Claims for Equality in Iran', *Third World Quarterly*, Vol. 27, No. 7, 2006, pp.1223-1237.
- ⁶⁹ The list of personal considerations is quite long and proven that even though women are defined by their biological similarities, however, they are shaped by differing experiences and background. See, Rosemarie Putnam Tong, *Op.Cit.*, pp. 200-1.
- ⁷⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 242.
- ⁷¹ Karen Warren, 'The Power and the Promise of Ecological Feminism,' *Environmental Ethics*, Vol. 12, No. 2, Summer 1990, 125-146 and Karen Warren, *Ecofeminism Philosophy: A Western Perspective on What It Is and Why It Matters*, (Lanham: Rowman & Littlefield, 2000).
- ⁷² Karen Warren, 'Feminism and the Environment: An Overview of the Issues,' *American Philosophical Association Newsletter on Feminism and Philosophy*, Vol. 90, No. 3, Fall 1991, 110-116.
- ⁷³ De Beauvoir perceives women's body as a hindrance for women. See, Simone de Beauvoir, *The Second Sex*, (New York: Vintage Book Edition, 2011), p.44-45. However, another interpretation of this particular De Beauvoir work argues that she was only trying to point out that gender is a decision, unlike biological sex, see, Judith Butler, 'Sex and Gender in Simone de Beauvoir's Second Sex', *Yale French Studies*, No. 72, Special Edition - Simone de Beauvoir: Witness to a Century, 1986, pp. 35-49.
- ⁷⁴ Mary Daly, *Gyn/Ecology* (Boston: Beacon Press, 1978).
- ⁷⁵ *Ibid.*, pp. 63-64 and Mary Daly, *Pure Lust*, (Boston: Beacon Press, 1984), p. 25.
- ⁷⁶ Maria Mies, "White Man's Dilemma: His Search for What He Has Destroyed" and Vandana Shiva, 'Women's Indigenous Knowledge and Biodiversity Conservation', in Maria Mies and Vandana Shiva, *Ecofeminism* (London: Zed, 1993), pp. 132-163, 205-214.
- ⁷⁷ Rosemarie Putnam Tong, *Op.Cit.*, pp. 267-8.
- ⁷⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 272 and Harvey Mansfield, *Machiavelli's Virtue*, (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1996), p. 259.
- ⁷⁹ Victor Taylor and Charles Winqvist, *Encyclopedia of Postmodernism*, (London: Routledge, 2001), p. 304.

⁸⁰ Jane Flax, "Postmodernism and Gender Relations in Feminist Theory," in Linda Nicholson (ed.), *Feminism/Postmodernism*, (New York: Routledge, 1990), pp. 41-42 and Jane Flax, *Thinking Fragments: Psychoanalysis, Feminism and Postmodern-ism in the Contemporary West*, (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1990)

⁸¹ Rosemarie Putnam Tong, *Op.Cit.*, pp. 270.

⁸² Hélène Cixous, 'The Laugh of the Medusa', in Elaine Marks and Isabelle de Courtivron (eds.), *New French Feminisms*, (New York: Schocken Books, 1981), pp. 245–264; Helene Cixous and Catherine Clement, *Newly Born Woman*, (Minnesota: University of Minnesota Press, 1986); Helene Cixous, *The Book of Prometheus (European Women Writers)*, (Nebraska: University of Nebraska Press, 1991); Helene Cixous, *Reveries of the Wild Woman: Primal Scenes (Avant-Garde & Modernism Collection)*, (Northwestern University Press, 2006); Helene Cixous, *The Third Body*, (Northwestern University Press, 2009); Judith Butler, 'Variations on Sex and Gender: Beauvoir, Wittig and Foucault,' in Seyla Benhabib and Drucilla Cornell (eds.), *Feminism As Critique: Essays on the Politics of Gender in Late-Capitalist Societies*, (Cambridge: Polity Press, 1987), pp. 129-42; Judith Butler, *Subjects of Desire: Hegelian Reflections in Twentieth-Century France*, (New York: Columbia University Press, 1987); Judith Butler, *Gender Trouble: Feminism and the Subversion of Identity*, (New York: Routledge, 1990); Judith Butler, *Bodies That Matter: On the Discursive Limits of "Sex"*, (New York: Routledge, 1993); Jane Flax, *Disputed Subjects: Essays on Psychoanalysis, Politics and Philosophy*, (New York: Routledge, 1993) and Naomi Wolf, *The Beauty Myth: How Images of Beauty Are Used Against Women*, (New York: William Morrow, 1991).

⁸³ Hélène Cixous, 'The Laugh of the Medusa', *Op. Cit.*, pp. 45-9.

⁸⁴ Judith Butler, 'Variations on Sex and Gender', *Op. Cit.*, pp. 131 and Judith Butler, *Gender Trouble*, *Op. Cit.*, p. 8.

⁸⁵ Naomi Wolf, *Op. Cit.*, pp. 13-4.

⁸⁶ Martha Nussbaum, *Philosophical Interventions*, (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2012), pp. 214-5

⁸⁷ This strand of feminist thought does not exist in Putnam Tong's feminist labels, but it is rather a recent concept coined in 2000. See, Hillary Charlesworth, 'Martha Nussbaum's Feminist Internationalism', *Ethics*, Vol. 111, No. 1, October 2000, pp. 64-78.

⁸⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 64.

⁸⁹ Amongst all, Convention on the Political Rights of Women (entered into force 1953), Convention on the Nationality of Married Women (entered into force 1958), Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination Against Women - CEDAW (entered into force 1981), Optional Protocol to CEDAW (entered into force 2000), Protocol to Prevent, Suppress and Punish Trafficking in Persons, especially Women and Children (entered into force 2003).

⁹⁰ Cynthia Enloe, *Does Khaki Become You? The Militarization of Women's Lives*, (London: Pandora, 1983); Cynthia Enloe, *Bananas, Beaches, and Bases: Making Feminist Sense of International Relations*, (London: Pandora Press, 1989); Cynthia Enloe, *The Morning After: Sexual Politics at the End of the Cold War*, (Berkeley:

University of California Press, 1993); Cynthia Enloe, *Maneuvers: The International Politics of Militarizing Women's Lives*, (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2000); Jean Bethke Elshtain, *Public Man, Private Woman: Women in Social and Political Thought*, (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1981); Jean Bethke Elshtain, *Women and War*, (New York: Basic Books, 1987); Jean Bethke Elshtain, 'Sovereignty, Identity, Sacrifice', in V. Spike Peterson (ed.), *Gendered States: Feminist (Re)Visions of International Relations Theory*, (Boulder: Lynne Rienner, 1992), pp. 141-154; Jean Bethke Elshtain, 'Feminist Themes and International Relations', in James Der Derian (ed.), *International Theory: Critical Investigations* (New York: New York University Press, 1993), pp. 340–360; Ann Tickner, *Gender in International Relations: Feminist Perspectives on Achieving Global Security*, (New York: Columbia University Press, 1992); Ann Tickner, 'You Just Don't Understand: Troubled Engagements Between Feminists and IR Theorists', *International Studies Quarterly*, Vol. 41, 1997, pp. 611-633; Ann Tickner, *Gendering World Politics: Issues and Approaches in the Post-Cold War Era*, (New York: Columbia University Press, 2001); Martha Nussbaum and Amartya Sen, *The Quality of Life*, (Oxford England: Clarendon Press Oxford University Press, 1993); Martha Nussbaum, *Sex and Social Justice*, (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000); Martha Nussbaum, 'Women's Bodies: Violence, Security, Capabilities', *Journal of Human Development*, Vol. 6, No. 2, 2005, pp. 167-183; Christine Sylvester, *Feminist Theory and International Relations in a Postmodern Era*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994); Christine Sylvester, 'The Contributions of Feminist Theory to International Relations', in

Steve Smith, Ken Booth, and Marysia Zalewski (eds.), *International Theory: Positivism and Beyond*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996): pp. 254-278; Christine Sylvester, *Feminist Theory and International Relations in a Postmodern Era*, (Cambridge University Press, 1994); Christine Sylvester, *Feminist International Relations: An Unfinished Journey*, (Cambridge University Press, 2002); Laura Sjoberg, *Gendering Global Conflict: Towards a Feminist Theory of War*, (New York: Columbia University Press, 2013) and Laura Sjoberg, *Gender, War, and Conflict*, (London: Polity Press, 2014).

⁹¹ See, Jean Elshtain, *Women and War*, *Op. Cit.*; Cynthia Enloe, *Bananas, Beaches, and Bases*, *Op. Cit.* and Cynthia Enloe, *The Morning After*, *Op. Cit.*

⁹² Jean Elshtain, *Op. Cit.*, pp. 4-5, 140-142.

⁹³ Georg Hegel, *The Phenomenology of Spirit*, (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1977), p. 400 in Elshtain, *Ibid.*, p. 4.

⁹⁴ See, Ann Tickner, 'Hans Morgenthau's Principles of Political Realism: A Feminist Reformulation', in Rebecca Grant and Kathleen Newland (eds.), *Gender and International Relations*, (Indianapolis: Indiana University Press, 1991), pp. 27-40; Ann Tickner, *Op. Cit.*, 1992, 1997.

⁹⁵ Christine Sylvester, *Op. Cit.*, 2002 and Christine Sylvester, *War as Experience: Contributions from International Relations and Feminist Analysis*, (London: Routledge, 2013).

⁹⁶ Martha Nussbaum, *Sex and Social Justice*, (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000)

⁹⁷ See, Laura Sjoberg, *Gendering Global Conflict: Towards a Feminist Theory of War*, (New York: Columbia University Press, 2013), especially pp. 39-42.

⁹⁸ Laura Sjoberg and Caron Gentry, *Mothers, Monsters, Whores: Women's Violence in Global Politics*, (London: Zed Books, 2007).

⁹⁹ Dianne Otto, 'Holding Up Half the Sky, but for Whose Benefit? A Critical Analysis of the Fourth World Conference on Women', *Australian Feminist Law Journal*, Vol. 6, 1996, pp.7-28 and Isabelle Gunning, 'Arrogant Perception, World-Travelling and Multicultural Feminism: The Case of Female Genital Surgery', *Columbia Human Rights Law Review*, Vol. 23, 1991-2, pp. 189-248.

¹⁰⁰ Dianne Otto, *Op. Cit.*

¹⁰¹ Isabelle Gunning, *Op. Cit.*

¹⁰² Chandra Mohanty, *Feminism Without Borders: Decolonizing Theory, Practicing Solidarity*, (Durham: Duke University Press Books, 2003) and Chandra Mohanty, 'Under Western Eyes: Feminist Scholarship and Colonial Discourses', *Boundary 2*, Vol. 12 No. 3 and Vol. 13, No. 1, Spring-Autumn 1984, pp. 333-358.

¹⁰³ Judith Lorber, "'Night to His Day": The Social Construction of Gender', *Paradox of Gender*, (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1994), p.13-36.

¹⁰⁴ See, amongst all, Caren Grown, Geeta Rao Gupta, Aslihan Kes, *Taking Action: Achieving Gender Equality and Empowering Women*, (London: UNDP, 2005); Jane Jaquette and Kathleen Staudt, 'Women, Gender and Development', in Jane Jaquette and Gale Summerfield, *Women and Gender Equity in Development Theory and Practice: Institutions, Resources and Mobilization*, (Durham: Duke University Press, 2007), pp. 17-52; UN ECOSOC, *Report of the Economic and Social Council for 1997, A/52/3*, Chapter IV on 'Special Session on

Gender-mainstreaming', 1997 and, Department of Economic and Social Affairs-Office for ECOSOC Support and Coordination, *Achieving Gender Equality, Women's Empowerment and Strengthening Development Cooperation*, (New York: United Nations, 2010)

¹⁰⁵ United Nations, *The United Nations and the Advancement of Women, 1945-1996*, (New York: Blue Book Series, 1996), pp. 1-2.

¹⁰⁶ Hilikka Peitila, *The Unfinished Story of Women and the United Nations, Development Dossier* (New York: UN-NGLS Publications, 2007), pp. 77-9.

¹⁰⁷ UN ECOSOC, *Report of the Economic and Social Council for 1997, A/52/3*.

¹⁰⁸ Chantal de Jonge Oudraat, 'UNSCR 1325—Conundrums and Opportunities', *International Interactions*, Vol. 39, No. 4, 2013, pp. 614-621.

¹⁰⁹ Kristen Timothy, 'Equality for Women in the United Nations Secretariat', in Anne Winslow (ed.), *Women, Politics, and the United Nations*, (Westport: Greenwood Publishing, 1995), pp. 117-32.

¹¹⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 128; Drude Dahlerup, 'From a Small to a Large Minority: Women in Scandinavian Politics', *Scandinavian Political Studies*, Vol. 11, No. 4, December 1988, pp. 275-98 and Sarah Childs and Mona Lena Krook, 'Critical Mass Theory and Women's Political Representation', *Political Studies*, Vol. 56, 2008, pp. 725-36.

¹¹¹ Luisa Blanchfield, 'New United Nations Entity for Women: Issues for Congress', *CRS Report for Congress 7-5700*, (Washington DC: Congressional Research Service, May 2010), p. 9.

¹¹² 'Saudi women challenges and successes', *UNDP in Saudi Arabia press release*, 9 March 2014 accessed http://www.sa.undp.org/content/saudi_arabia/en/home/presscenter/articles/2014/03/09/saudi-women-challenges-and-success/ February 2015.

¹¹³ Hilkka Peitila, *The Unfinished Story of Women and the United Nations*, *Op. Cit.*, pp. 82, 136-7.

¹¹⁴ United Nations, *The United Nations and the Advancement of Women*, *Op. Cit.*, p. 19.

¹¹⁵ William O'Neil, 'Human Rights Field Operations: A New Protection Tool', in Bertrand Ramcharan (Ed.), *Human Rights Protection in the Field*, (Leiden: Martinus Nijhoff Publishers, 2006), p. 212.

¹¹⁶ Point 4, Resolution 1820 (2008), United Nations Security Council, S/RES/1820 (2008), 19 June 2008

¹¹⁷ Resolution 1888 (2009), United Nations Security Council, S/RES/1888 (2009), 30 September 2009 and Resolution 1889 (2009), United Nations Security Council, S/RES/1889 (2009), 5 October 2009.

¹¹⁸ Resolution 1960 (2010), United Nations Security Council, S/RES/1960 (2010), 16 December 2010; Resolution 2106 (2013), United Nations Security Council, S/RES/2106 (2013), 24 June 2013; Resolution 2122 (2013), United Nations Security Council, S/RES/2122 (2013), 18 October 2013.

¹¹⁹ Alan James, *Peacekeeping in International Politics*, (New York: St. Martin Press, 1990); Michael Barnett, 'The New United Nations Politics of Peace: From Juridical Sovereignty to Empirical Sovereignty', *Global Governance*, Vol. 1, No. 1, 1995, pp. 79-97; Roland Paris, 'Peacebuilding and the Limits of Liberal Internationalism', *International Security*, Vol. 22, No. 2, 1997, pp. 54-89 and Francois Debrix, *Re-Envisioning Peacekeeping: The UN and the Mobilization of Ideology*, (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1999).

¹²⁰ Roland Paris, 'Broadening the Study of Peace Operations', *International Studies Review*, Vol. 2, No. 3, Fall 2000, pp. 27-44 and Michael Pugh, 'Peacekeeping and International Relations Theory: Phantom of the Opera?', *International Peacekeeping*, Vol. 10, No. 4, Winter 2003, pp. 104-112.

¹²¹ Alex Bellamy, Paul Williams and Stuart Griffin, *Understanding Peacekeeping*, (Cambridge: Polity Press, 2004), pp. 299-402; Alex Bellamy and Paul Williams, 'Thinking Anew about Peace Operation', Alex Bellamy and Paul Williams (eds), *Peace Operations and Global Order*, (Oxon: Frank Cass, 2005), pp. 1-16; Alex J. Bellamy and Paul Williams, 'Introduction: Thinking Anew about Peace Operations', *International Peacekeeping*, Vol. 11, No. 1, 2004, pp. 1-15 and Alex J. Bellamy, 'The Responsibility to Protect: Five Years On', *Ethics and International Affairs*, Vol. 24, No. 2, 2010, pp. 143-169.

¹²² Robert Keohane, 'Political Authority After Intervention: Gradations of sovereignty', in J.L. Holzgrefe and Robert Keohane (eds), *Humanitarian Intervention: Ethical, Legal and Political Dilemmas*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003), pp. 275-298; and Stephen Krasner, 'Shared Sovereignty: New Institutions for Collapsed and Failing States', *International Security*, Vol. 29, No. 2, 2004, pp. 85-120 and .

¹²³ James Fearon and David Laitin, 'Neotrusteeship and the Problem of Weak States', *International Security*, Vol. 28, No. 4, 2004, pp. 5-43.

¹²⁴ Alex Bellamy, Paul Williams and Stuart Griffin, *Op. Cit.*, pp. 230-298, 337-358.

¹²⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 63 and James Fearon and David Laitin, *Op. Cit.*, pp. 15-16.

¹²⁶ Christopher Bellamy, *Knights in White Armour: The New Art of War and Peace*, (London: Hutchinson, 1996) and Christopher Bellamy, 'If You Can't Stand the Heat ... New Concepts of Conflict Intensity', *RUSI Journal*, Vol. 143, No. 1, 1998, pp. 25-31.

¹²⁷ Simon Chesterman, 'East Timor in Transition: Self-Determination, State-Building and the United Nations', *International Peacekeeping*, Vol. 9, No. 1, 2002, pp. 45-76 and Ian Martin and Alexander Mayer-Rieckh, 'The United Nations and East Timor: From Self-Determination to State-Building', *International Peacekeeping*, Vol. 12, No. 1, 2005, pp. 125-145.

¹²⁸ Clifford Bernath and Sayre Nyce, 'UNAMSIL – A Peacekeeping Success Lessons Learned', (Washington DC: Refugee International, 2002); Kirsti Samuels, 'Jus Ad Bellum and Civil Conflicts: A Case Study of the International Community's Approach to Violence in the Conflict in Sierra Leone', *Journal of Conflict and Security Law*, Vol 8, No. 2, 2003, pp. 315-38 and David Francis, 'Peacekeeping in Africa', in Rachel Utley (ed.), *Major Power and Peacekeeping: Perspectives, Priorities and the Challenges of Military Intervention*, (Hants: Ashgate, 2006), pp. 101-118.

¹²⁹ Alexandros Yannis, 'The UN as Government in Kosovo', *Global Governance*, Vol.10, No.1, 2004, pp. 67-82; Iain King and Whit Maso, *Peace at Any Price: How the World Failed Kosovo*, (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2006) and Ray Murphy, *UN Peacekeeping in Lebanon, Somalia and Kosovo: Operational and Legal Issues in Practice*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2007), pp. 69-105.

¹³⁰ J.T. O'Neill, 'Eyewitness: The Irish Company at Jadotville, Congo, 1961: Soldiers or Symbols', *International Peacekeeping*, Vol. 9, No. 4, 2002, pp. 127-144 and Séverine Autesserre, *The Trouble with the Congo: Local Violence and the Failure of International Peacebuilding*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2010).

¹³¹ Elizabeth Cousens and Chetan Kumar (eds.), *Peacebuilding as Politics: Cultivating Peace in Fragile Societies*, (Boulder, CO: Lynne Rienner, 2001); Adekeye Adebajo, 'In Search of Warlords: Hegemonic Peacekeeping in Liberia and Somalia', *International Peacekeeping*, Vol. 10, No. 4, 2003, pp. 62-81; Ramesh Thakur and Albrecht Schnabel (eds.), *United Nations Peacekeeping Operations: Ad Hoc Mission, Permanent Engagement*, (Tokyo: UN University Press, 2001); Jane Boulden, *Peace Enforcement: The United Nations Experience in Congo, Somalia, and Bosnia*, (Westport: Praeger, 2001) and David Malone (ed.), *The UN Security Council: From the Cold War to the 21st Century*, (Boulder, CO: Lynne Rienner Publishers, 2004).

¹³² Stephen Stedman, 'Implementing Peace Agreements in Civil Wars: Lessons and Recommendations for Policymakers', *IPA Policy Paper Series on Peace Implementation*, New York, May 2001 and Stephen Stedman, 'Implementing Peace Agreements in Civil Wars: Findings and Recommendations', in Stephen Stedman, Donald Rothchild and Elisabeth Cousens (eds.), *Ending Civil Wars: The Implementation of Peace Agreements*, (Boulder, CO: Lynne Rienner Publishers, 2002).

¹³³ James Dobbins, 'America's Role in Nation-Building: From Germany to Iraq', *Survival*, Vol. 45, No. 4, 2003, pp. 87-110; James Dobbins, 'The UN's Role in Nation-Building: From the Belgian Congo to Iraq', *Survival*, Vol. 46, No. 4, pp. 81-102 and James Dobbins, Seth G. Jones, Keith Crane, Andrew Rathmell, Brett Steele, Richard Teltschik, Anga R. Timilsina, *The UN's Role in Nation-Building: From the Congo to Iraq*, (California: RAND Corporation, 2005).

¹³⁴ James Dobbins, 'America's Role in Nation-Building', *Ibid.*, and James Dobbins, *et. al.*, *Ibid.*, pp. 248-251.

¹³⁵ Inger Skjelsbaek, 'Sexual Violence in the Times of War: A New Challenge for Peace Operations', Louise Olsson and Torunn L. Tryggestad (eds.), *Women and International Peacekeeping*, (Oregon: Frank Cass, 2001), pp. 69-84 and Dyan Mazurana, Angela Raven-Roberts and Jane Parpart, *Gender, Conflict, and Peacekeeping*, (Oxford: Rowman and Littlefield Publishers, 2005).

¹³⁶ For UN Peacekeeping mandates, see, United Nations Department of Peacekeeping Operation and Department of Field Support, *United Nations Peacekeeping Operations: Principles and Guidelines*, (New York: UN DPKO, 2008), pp. 18-27. For difficulty for ensuring peacekeepers' discipline, see, Elizabeth Defeis, 'UN Peacekeepers and Sexual Abuse and Exploitation: An End to Impunity', *Washington University Global Studies Law Review*, Vol. 7, No. 2, 2008, pp. 185-214.

¹³⁷ See Sanda Whitworth, *Men, Militarism and UN Peacekeeping: A Gendered Analysis*, (Colorado: Lynne Rienner Publisher, 2004).

¹³⁸ Sandra Whitworth in Ken Booth (ed.), *Critical Security Studies in World Politics*, (Boulder, CO: Lynne Rienner Publishers, 2005), pp. 89-106.

¹³⁹ Sarah Mendelson, *Barracks and Brothels: Peacekeepers and Human Trafficking in the Balkans*, (Washington DC: Center for Strategic and International Studies, 2005)

¹⁴⁰ *Ibid.*, pp. 69-71.

¹⁴¹ Dyan Mazurana, Angela Raven-Roberts and Jane Parpart, *Op. Cit.*

¹⁴² Sarah Martin, *Must Boys Be Boys? Ending Sexual Exploitation and Abuse in UN Peacekeeping Missions*, (Washington DC: Refugees International, 2005), p. ii.

¹⁴³ *Ibid.*, p. 3.

¹⁴⁴ UN Development Programme Liberia, 'Human Rights Monitors Study Impact of Sexual Violence During Liberia's Civil War', *UNDP Liberia Press Release*, 2 March 2004.

¹⁴⁵ Colum Lynch, 'Misconduct, Corruption by US Police Mar Bosnia Mission', *The Washington Post*, 29 May 2001.

¹⁴⁶ Adibeli Nduka-Agwu, "'Doing Gender' After the War: Dealing with Gender-mainstreaming and Sexual Exploitation and Abuse in UN Peace Support Operations in Liberia and Sierra Leone", *Civil Wars*, Vol. 11, No. 2, June 2009, pp. 179-199.

¹⁴⁷ Gerard DeGroot, 'A Few Good Women: Gender Stereotypes, the Military and Peacekeeping', in Louise Olsson and Torunn L. Tryggestad (eds.), *Op. Cit.*, pp. 23-38, especially pp. 35-6.

¹⁴⁸ Paul Higate and Marsha Henry, 'Engendering (In)security in Peace Support Operations', *Security Dialogue*, Vol. 35, No. 4, 2004, pp. 481-498.

¹⁴⁹ Sonja Wölte, *Armed Conflict and Trafficking in Women*, (Eschborn: Deutsche Gesellschaft für Technische Zusammenarbeit (GTZ) GmbH, 2004); Cynthia Enloe, *Maneuvers, Op. Cit.*, pp. 176 and Cynthia Enloe, *The Morning After, Op. Cit.*, pp. 10-37.

¹⁵⁰ Elisabeth Rehn and Ellen Johnson Sirleaf, *Women, War and Peace: The Independent Experts' Assessment on the Impact of Armed Conflict on Women and Women's Role in Peace-building*, (New York: United Nations Development Fund for Women, 2002).

¹⁵¹ Jan Jindy Pettman, *Worlding Women: A Feminist International Politics*, (New York: Routledge, 1996) and Annick Wibben, *Feminist Security Studies: A Narrative Approach. 1st Ed.*, (New York: Routledge, 2011). For the publications of Cynthia Enloe, Ann Tickner and Laura Sjoberg see fn. 89.

¹⁵² Henry Carey, 'Women and Peace and Security': The Politics of Implementing Gender Sensitivity Norms in Peacekeeping', *International Peacekeeping*, Vol. 8, No. 2, 2001, pp. 49-68 and Louise Olsson and Torunn L. Tryggstad (eds.), *Women and International Peacekeeping*, (Oregon: Frank Cass, 2001).

¹⁵³ Louise Olsson, *Gender Equality and United Nations Peace Operations in Timor Leste*, (Leiden: Martinus Nijhoff Publishers, 2009), p. 44.

¹⁵⁴ Dyan Mazurana, Angela Raven-Roberts and Jane Parpart, *Op. Cit.*, pp. 14-5.

¹⁵⁵ Sheila Jeffreys, 'Double Jeopardy: Women, the US Military and the War in Iraq', *Women's Studies International Forum*, Vol. 30, No. 1, 2007, pp. 16-25; Olivera Simic, 'Does the Presence of Women Really Matter? Towards Combating Male Sexual Violence in Peacekeeping Operations', *International Peacekeeping*, Vol. 17, No. 2, 2010, pp. 188-199 and Sahana Dharmapuri, 'Just Add Women and Stir?', *Parameters*, Spring 2011, pp. 56-70.

¹⁵⁶ Mary-Jane Fox, 'The Idea of Women in Peacekeeping: Lysistrata and Antigone', Louise Olsson and Torunn L. Tryggstad (eds.), *Women and International Peacekeeping*, (Oregon: Frank Cass, 2001), p. 20.

¹⁵⁷ Christopher Bellamy, 'Combat Readiness and Compassion', *NATO Review*, Vol. 49, No. 2, Summer 2001, pp. 9-11.

¹⁵⁸ Despite UN peacekeeping missions started in 1946, the first peacekeeper training centre founded only in 1970, that was International Peace Academy that transformed to International Peace Institute in 2008. See, RCR Siekmann, *Peacekeeper's Handbook*, (New York: International Peace Academy, Pergamon Press, 1984).

¹⁵⁹ UN General Assembly Resolution 44/49 (8 December 1989), UN Doc. A/RES/44/49, para. 6.

¹⁶⁰ The compensation is around US\$1000 per soldier per month and between US\$100 to 300 per police or military expert per day. See, Inam-ur-Rahman Malik, 'Pakistan', in Alex J. Bellamy and Paul D. Williams, *Providing Peacekeepers: The Politics, Challenges, and Future of United Nations Peacekeeping Contributions*, (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2013), p. 218.

¹⁶¹ US General Accounting Office, 'U.N. Peacekeeping: Lessons Learned in Managing Recent Missions', *US GAO Report*, NSIAD-94-9, Washington DC, December 1993, pp. 45-8.

¹⁶² Ann M. Fitz-Gerald, 'Multinational Land Force Interoperability: Meeting the Challenge of Different Cultural Backgrounds in Chapter VI Peace Support Operations', *The Journal of Conflict Studies*, Vol. XXIII, No. 1, 2003, pp. 60-85.

¹⁶³ UN General Assembly Resolution 50/711 (1 November 1995), UN Doc.A/50/711-S/1995/911 section A.2.

¹⁶⁴ Yeshua Moser-Puangsuwan, 'UN Peacekeeping in Cambodia: Whose Needs Were Met?', *Pacifica Review*, Vol. 7, No. 2, 1995, pp. 103-127 and Barbara Ehrenreich, 'Peacekeeping', *Z Magazine*, January 1997, pp. 5-6.

¹⁶⁵ Report of the Special Committee on Peacekeeping Operations, UN Doc. A/66/19 (September 11, 2012), special section on Gender and Peacekeeping is in section G.6.

¹⁶⁶ Alberto Cutillo, "Deploying the Best: Enhancing Training for United Nations Peacekeepers," *Providing for Peacekeeping*, No. 5, New York: International Peace Institute, August 2013, p. 3.

¹⁶⁷ International Peace Institute, 'Enhancing European Military and Police Contributions to UN Peacekeeping', (New York: February 2013), p. 4.

¹⁶⁸ UN Office of Internal Oversight Services, "Audit Report: Office of Military Affairs," Assignment No. AP 2009/600/02, 28 May 2010. See its Executive Summary's last point.

¹⁶⁹ UN Security Council, *Security Council Resolution 1325 on Women, Peace and Security*, UN Document No. S/RES/1325, 31 October 2000.

¹⁷⁰ Peacekeeping Best Practice Unit UN DPKO, *Gender Resource Package for Peacekeeping Operations*, (New York: UN, 2004).

¹⁷¹ *Ibid.*, p. 45.

-
- ¹⁷² Elizabeth Porter and Anuradha Mundkur, *Peace and Security: Implications for Women*, (Brisbane: University of Queensland Press, 2012), pp. 96-102.
- ¹⁷³ Dubbed the ‘multidimensional peacekeeping operation’, see United Nations, *Handbook on United Nations Multidimensional Peacekeeping Operations*, (New York: Department of Peacekeeping Operations United Nations, 2003), p. 1, 63, 75.
- ¹⁷⁴ UN INSTRAW, *Good and Bad Practices in Gender Training for Security Sector Personnel: Summary of a Virtual Discussion*, (Geneva: The Geneva Centre for the Democratic Control of Armed Forces, UN INSTRAW and Office for Democratic Institutions and Human Rights, June 2007), p. 1.
- ¹⁷⁵ UN Department of Peacekeeping Operations and Department of Field Support, *United Nations Peacekeeping Operations Principles and Guidelines*, (New York: UN DPKO&DFS, 2008), p. 37.
- ¹⁷⁶ Elisabeth Rehn and Ellen Johnson Sirleaf, *Op. Cit.*, pp. 63-5, 132.
- ¹⁷⁷ Angela Mackay, ‘Mainstreaming Gender in United Nations Peacekeeping Training: Examples From East Timor, Ethiopia, and Eritrea’, in Dyan Mazurana, Angela Raven-Roberts and Jane Parpart, *Op. Cit.*, pp. 265-79.
- ¹⁷⁸ Peacekeeping Best Practice Unit UN DPKO, *Ibid.*, pp. 44-5.
- ¹⁷⁹ Military Division UN DPKO, *Gender and Peacekeeping Operations – Generic Training*, (New York: UN DPKO, 2002).
- ¹⁸⁰ Peacekeeping Best Practice Unit UN DPKO, *Op. Cit.*, p. 45-6.
- ¹⁸¹ Integrated Training Service Policy, Evaluation and Training Division UN DPKO, *Report on the Strategic Peacekeeping Training Needs Assessment*, (New York: UN DPKO, 2008), p. 6.
- ¹⁸² Integrated Training Service UN DPKO and DFS, *Training: A Strategic Investment in UN Peacekeeping: Global Peacekeeping Training Needs Assessment, Final Report - 2012-2013*, (New York: UN DPKO, 2008), p. 27.
- ¹⁸³ Integrated Training Service Policy, Evaluation and Training Division UN DPKO, *Op. Cit.*, p. 7.
- ¹⁸⁴ Integrated Training Service UN DPKO and DFS, *Op. Cit.*, p. 28.
- ¹⁸⁵ Minna Lyytikäinen, ‘Gender Training for Peacekeepers: Preliminary Overview of United Nations Peace Support Operations’, *Gender, Peace & Security Working Paper 4*, (Santo Domingo: UN INSTRAW, 2007), p. 9.
- ¹⁸⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 15.
- ¹⁸⁷ Elizabeth Porter and Anuradha Mundkur, *Op. Cit.*, p. 109-10.
- ¹⁸⁸ Allison Rossett, *Training Needs Assessment*, (New Jersey: Educational Technology Publication, 1987), pp. 3, 15-20; David Kirkpatrick, *Evaluating Training Programs: The Four Levels (2nd. ed.)*, (San Francisco: Berrett-Koehler, 1996) and Jean Barbazette, *Training Needs Assessments: Methods, Tools and Techniques*, (San Francisco: Pfeiffer-Wiley, 2006).
- ¹⁸⁹ UN INSTRAW, *Good and Bad Practices in Gender Training for Security Sector Personnel, Op. Cit.*, p. 10.
- ¹⁹⁰ UN Women Training Centre, *Gender Equality Capacity Assessment Tool*, (New York: UN Women Training Centre, 2014).
- ¹⁹¹ International Labour Organisation, *Participatory Gender Audits*, (Geneva: ILO, 2007).
- ¹⁹² Arturo C. Sotomayor, *The Myth of the Democratic Peacekeeper: Civil-Military Relations and the United Nations*, (Maryland: John Hopkins University Press, 2014), p. 79.
- ¹⁹³ Eka Ikpe, ‘Nigeria and the Implementation of UNSCR 1325’, in Funmi Olonisakin, Karen Barnes and Eka Ikpe (eds.), *Women, Peace and Security: Translating Policy into Practice*, (Oxon: Routledge, 2011), pp. 87-103.
- ¹⁹⁴ Allison Rossett, *Training Needs Assessment*, (New Jersey: Educational Technology Publication, 1987), p. 3
- ¹⁹⁵ *Ibid.*, pp. 15-20.
- ¹⁹⁶ United Nations, *The Planning Toolkit*, (New York: Office of Rule of Law and Security Institutions of the United Nations Department of Peacekeeping Operations, 2013), pp. 7 and 148.
- ¹⁹⁷ Integrated Training Service Policy, Evaluation and Training Division UN DPKO, *Op. Cit.*, p. 4.
- ¹⁹⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 1.
- ¹⁹⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 4 footnote 6 and p. 6 box.
- ²⁰⁰ Paul Gertler, Sebastian Martinez, Patrick Premand, Laura Rawlings and Christel Vermeersch, *Impact Evaluation in Practice*, (Washington DC: World Bank, 2011), pp. 24-5.

²⁰¹ Rosemary Harrison, *The Training and Development Audit*, (Cambridge: Cambridge Strategy Publications, 2003), p. 9 and Sharon Foreman, *Kirkpatrick Model: Training Evaluation Practices in the Pharmaceutical Industry*, Doctoral Dissertation from Capella University, Minneapolis, Minnesota, 2008.

²⁰² David Kirkpatrick, *Evaluating Training Programs: The Four Levels (2nd. ed.)*, (San Francisco: Berrett-Koehler, 1996).

²⁰³ Nana Odoi, 'Cultural Diversity in Peace Operations: Training Challenges', *Kofi Annan International Peacekeeping and Training Centre Paper*, No. 4, March 2005 and Norwegian Agency for Development Cooperation, *Building Blocks for Peace: An Evaluation of the Training for Peace in Africa Programme, Report No. 6*, (Oslo: NORAD, 2014).

²⁰⁴ Toiko Tõnisson Kleppe, 'Gender Training for Security Sector Personnel – Good Practices and Lessons Learned,' Megan Bastick and Kristin Valasek (eds.), *Gender and Security Sector Reform Toolkit*, (Geneva: DCAF, OSCE/ODIHR, UN-INSTRAW, 2008), pp. 14-5.

²⁰⁵ Roger Kaufman and John Keller, 'Levels of Evaluation: Beyond Kirkpatrick', *Human Resource Development Quarterly*, Vol. 5, No. 4, Winter 1994, pp. 371-380.

²⁰⁶ Jean Barbazette, *Training Needs Assessments: Methods, Tools and Techniques*, (San Francisco: Pfeiffer-Wiley, 2006).

²⁰⁷ *Ibid.*, pp. 19-20.

²⁰⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 71.

²⁰⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 78.

²¹⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 92-4.

Chapter 3

Research Methods, Methodology and Design

3.1 Introduction

This chapter focuses on the evaluation of research methodology with regard to undertaking a training assessment of women in UN Peacekeeping Forces, especially Indonesia's Peacekeeping Missions, in comparison with the Philippines and Country A. The chapter starts with an explanation of the differences between research methods, methodology and research design. Subsequently, the chapter will explore research methodology by elucidating research philosophy as the underlying assumption of research methodological approaches. Afterwards, research methods; that is, the strategies that can be employed to obtain data will be discussed. This will include the choices of data collection methods, the time span of the study, the techniques and procedures for conducting data collection, as well as the ethical considerations relating to research.

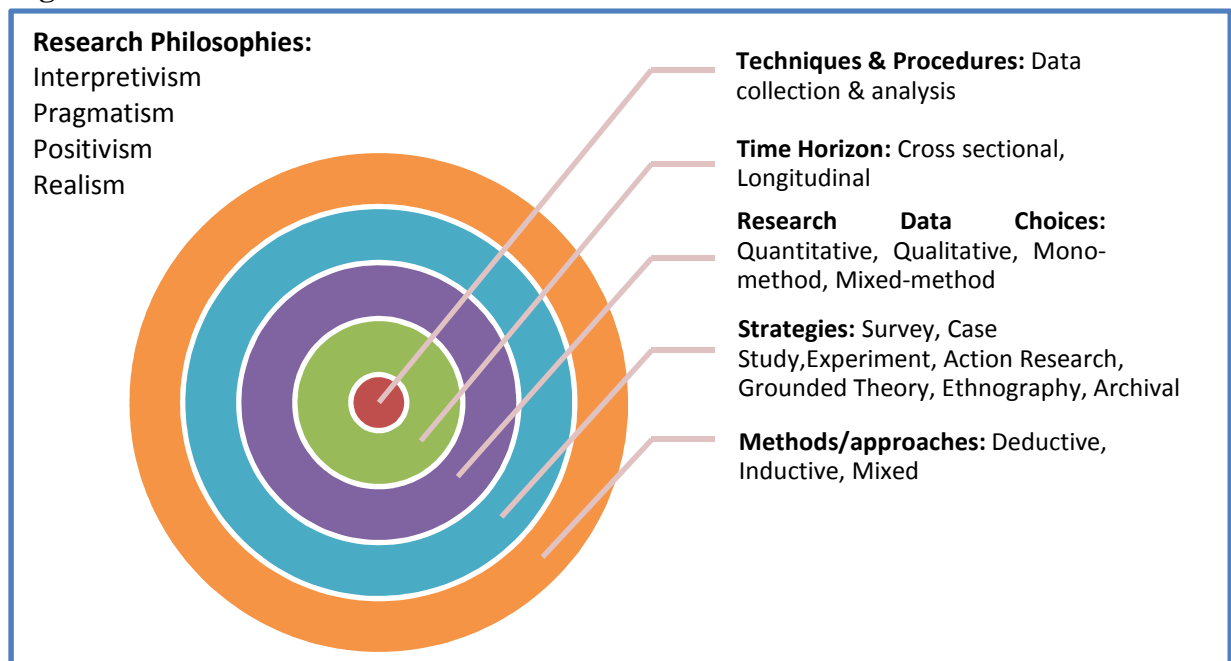
At the close of this chapter, the study's research process, especially those guiding field research data collection and interviews will be evaluated. Compliance with Cranfield University's ethical standards in research procedures is achieved, and described in the latter part of this chapter. The research process includes how the research participants are identified and the appropriate sample size is calculated. As this particular study requires interviews, the chapter will also discuss how the researcher obtains research validation through triangulation. The chapter concludes with a summary of the chosen combination of research methods (research design) and acknowledges the research limitations and bias, and how to minimise them.

3.2 Nature of Research Methods, Methodology and Design

Research methodology is the underlying strategy adopted to address the research question.¹ Meanwhile, research methods are the means used to answer scientific inquiries, and are accepted by scientific communities as the tools to reveal 'the truth' by

valid and proven procedures.² Both research methodology and research methods are necessary to guide the research so it can be undertaken systematically and scientifically, differentiating the research from general thoughts and random assumptions. Before elaboration, it is important to understand that there are various research methodologies and methods;³ however, certain research will benefit more from selected research methods compared to other methods. For example, macro-economic research commonly uses quantitative rather than qualitative methodologies. Equally, bioengineering research is more suitable for experimental research methods compared to a survey approach. In creating a systematic approach to determine which research methodology and methods should be adopted to conduct research, Saunders, Lewis and Thornhill conceptualise a ‘research onion’, as illustrated in Figure 3.1. The ‘onion’ is useful because it summarises the existing research approaches to philosophy and methods. Each methodology and method has its own strengths and weaknesses; none of them is generally superior or better in solving problems, but its usefulness is specifically tailored to what kind of research will be pursued and how the question will be framed.⁴ By reference to the ‘onion’, the discussion will move from high-level methodology/methods to the present study’s focused research design.

Figure 3.1: Research Onion



Source: Adapted from Mark Saunders, Philip Lewis, Adrian Thornhill, *Research Methods for Business Students (the 5th Edition)*, (Essex: Pearson Education Ltd., 2009), p.108.

This study's research design will be explained later to provide clarification on how the research has been crafted and conducted. The importance of clarifying and implementing a research design is to guarantee the validity of research outcomes. As noted by King, Keohande and Verba, "Scientific research adheres to a set of rules of inference on which its validity depends."⁵ Therefore, the research design sets the rules of differentiation between scientific research and mere assumption. Validity is about what the research is looking at, how the research measures and analyses its findings and whether the findings are what they appear to be. Brace and Adams pose two questions to test the validity of research: 1) can the result be generalised; and 2) will the results will be the same if different parts of the population are examined, even if different interviewers deliver the same question?⁶ Interpretation of these questions depends on whether the samples and questionnaires are soundly constructed, whether the representation of different groups being observed is balanced, and whether the data gathered for analysis are reliable and credible.

3.3 Research Philosophy

Research philosophy reflects a researcher's values and choice of data collection techniques. Most importantly, the research philosophy opted for the study embeds commitments to 'particular visions of the world'.⁷ Philosophy in research deals with three levels of science and their respective data collection methods, being: ontology (the nature of reality perceived); epistemology (what constitutes acceptable knowledge); and axiology (the values accepted within the research). There are four widely acknowledged research philosophies, interpretivism, positivism, realism and pragmatism.⁸

According to interpretivism (known also as relativism), the ontology of research is to capture the consequences of actors and the reality they have created as interpreted by the researcher. This approach is called subjectivism, with one of its principal proponents being Max Weber. Weber notes that research involves the pursuit of 'truth', requiring an understanding of actions, and, therefore, "the search must be on what motivated a person to act the way that she or he did."⁹ For interpretivism epistemology, what is real

is social construction that is built by phenomenology (how humans make sense of the world) and symbolic interactionism (where humans continuously interpret the world around them).¹⁰ Interpretivism regards the researcher as subjective as his/her value will be part of what is researched. This approach commonly collects data by qualitative techniques, such as in-depth interviews.

For *positivism*, the ontology perceived is that reality is external to the actors; thus, a researcher believes that his/her research only observes existing conditions without the researcher's values influencing the research; this approach is also known as objectivism. Richard Bernstein defines objectivism as "some permanent historical matrix or framework to which we can ultimately appeal in determining the nature of rationality, knowledge."¹¹ Thus, for positivism, epistemologically the only observable phenomena that are accepted as knowledge are credible data and facts. Consequently, on the axiology level, positivism believes that the researcher should be value-free, being an approach mostly used in the natural sciences utilising experimental tools,¹² but recent developments, such as genetic research and nuclear technology, raise concerns as to whether the absence of values is possible. The positivism approach commonly collects and analyses data via quantitative techniques, such as statistics.

Somewhat differently, the philosophy of *realism* approaches ontology by employing similar objectivism as that of positivism. As such, objects exist outside the mind, but doubt exists that what is observable is captured by social conditioning. At the epistemological level, realism also acquires data based on facts, but is open to criticism that data insufficiency will result in misinterpretation. While at an axiological level, the value judgements of the researcher are accepted as this will impact on the research. According to William and May, the "critical description of non-random patterns are produced through observation and experiment, together with theoretical studies that aim to produce rational explanations ... [with] underlying assumptions about the entities being studied."¹³ An example of realism research is that undertaken by Karl Marx on political economy.¹⁴ Realism accepts that research captures reality outside the actors, yet this view is constrained by the availability of data and the value judgements of the researcher. Thus, realism regards the researcher as partly objective and partly

subjective. This approach may thus collect data using quantitative or qualitative techniques, tailored according to the research undertaken.

Another research method, *pragmatism*, adopts the three differing approaches of positivism, realism and interpretivism. Tashakkori and Teddlie argue that pragmatism is the philosophy that “avoids the researcher engaging in ... rather pointless debates about such concepts as truth and reality.”¹⁵ Its ontology is to acknowledge that reality exists outside the actors as well as within them; it can be objective and subjective according to what is considered the best approach to answer the research question. The epistemology of pragmatism observes data both by facts and interpretations, with the focus on the practical side of interpreting the data. The Cambridge scholar, Charles Peirce, used the approach to evaluate the subject-object dichotomy, and more recently was employed by Richard Rothy to explore the anti-foundationalist view.¹⁶ This approach is the most flexible amongst the spectrum of techniques for data collection, and is commonly adopted within both quantitative and qualitative methods.

3.4 Research Methods

Research methods, otherwise known as research approaches, seek to clarify the design of research projects, including the positioning of theory and the outcomes of research. There are two distinct research approaches that are available, namely deductive and inductive. The deductive approach starts from theory and produces a hypothesis. Subsequently, the hypothesis will become an operational mechanism for conducting and measuring research experiments so that their outcomes will prove or disapprove the proposed theory. Inductive research, by contrast, begins by looking at the research subjects and obtains research findings that will be formulated as a theory.¹⁷ It can thus be summarised that ‘deductive reasoning is theory testing’ while ‘inductive reasoning is theory building’.¹⁸

The deductive approach is generally used by researchers in the natural sciences, while the inductive approach by researchers in social sciences. Natural scientists are comfortable if there is a clear essential model, process and hypothesis at work, teasing

out the deductive implications from the model, and rigorously testing plausible implications against empirical reality.¹⁹ Due to the deductive nature of hypothesis testing, it is an approach that generates a large research sample in the form of quantitative data. The theory will therefore evolve when there is falsification, or when the previous hypothesis is proven to be false.²⁰ Falsification is discussed in-depth by Karl Popper. He argues that there is no such thing as induction, the process of moving from observation to the development of a theory in the social sciences.²¹ This is because, unlike in the natural sciences, the social sciences pursue a deductive approach; that is, verifying a theory through distilling it into a hypothesis that through observation can then be verified or refuted. Social science is unable to falsify, because it is impossible to create universal laws and exact situations that can be repeated to conduct identical empirical observations to confirm or falsify a social theory.²² Hence, conducting verification, not falsification, of theories via a deductive approach is considered the best approach in the social sciences. Yet there are many social science researchers who are dissatisfied with the deductive approach, criticising it as limited by existing theory, not permitting alternative explanations, using a research sample pre-selected by the theory used.²³

Social science research, thus, generally supports a combined approach. This is because social science researchers extract meaning out of events that are already taking place, emphasising open-ended methods, and focusing more on process and relationship. Specifically for the present research, one of the paradigms in social sciences is that feminism is drawn into inductive research due to a focus on the need to relate to women's experiences.²⁴ Despite being criticised as overgeneralising, Collier, Brady and Seawright still endorse the inductive approach by noting that it "can play a major role in achieving valid inference and generating new ideas" as long as valid methodology is used, "combined with close knowledge of cases and context".²⁵ Meanwhile, empiricists, according to William and May, prefer to use a consensus of deductive and inductive theorising based on the usability of theory and the findings in the field.²⁶ According to this view, hypotheses can be derived from theory but data found from the field must be used to answer the research question in an open-ended way, without theoretical interference. This approach is termed as combined methods and it is viewed as most

suitable for this research, as it combines both the social science of international relations with feminism.

3.5 Research Strategies

A research strategy is a continuation of research methods. After a researcher decides which method she/he will adopt to conduct the research, research strategies are used as means to obtain data. There are several research strategies that are widely used within academic circles. These are experimental research, action research, grounded theory, ethnography, archival research, survey, and case study.²⁷ For social sciences, it can be a challenging exercise to choose the appropriate research strategy, because compared to the natural sciences, where research is mostly done through experiment, social science research has several strategic options on how to collect, present and analyse data for research to be considered as valid. Largely, the decision to use one research strategy compared to others is based on 1) the suitability of the research field, 2) the research purpose [whether it is exploratory, descriptive or explanatory], and 3) the researcher's resources and access to data. Each of the research strategies will be briefly described, below, and the author will argue the strategies most suitable to be implemented for the present research.

Experimental is a research strategy noted for investigating causal links by establishing a connection when there is a change in one variable inducing alteration in another variable.²⁸ A natural scientist uses this strategy in laboratories and there is a branch of social sciences that utilises it as well, termed behavioural studies or psychology. In research, the experimental model is used not only to compare one variable against another, but also to find connections between multi-variables. However, Saunders, *et al.* note that in the social sciences, the validity of this strategy is difficult to be generalised as experimental research is not conducted in a laboratory but rather in 'real world organisations' thus making the strategy difficult to be established.²⁹ Therefore this study will not adopt experimental strategy, as it is not feasible to 'control' variables to assess their direct impact on other variables.

Action research is a strategy that includes members of specific organisations being researched as to their actions and how the impact of these actions is measured. This strategy focuses on the change process that is taking place both before and after the action. Thus, action research is a loop-process whereby the activities are done step-by-step, from diagnosing, planning, taking action, evaluating, and then returning to diagnosing once more.³⁰ Because of its continuous intra-organisational nature, researchers form part of the organisation that is under observation. Defined by Frost, “action research is a process of systematic reflection, enquiry and action carried out by individuals about their own professional practice.”³¹ This research strategy is particularly apt for answering how an action can change an organisation; however, it is only suitable when researchers have the capacity to observe actions within an institution. With the present study focusing on the UN, an international organisation, it is unlikely that the author will enjoy data access in this entity, especially as UN peacekeepers and women as conflict victims is a sensitive topic. Therefore, the strategy of action research will not be adopted.

Grounded theory is a research strategy that collects data independent of an initial theoretical framework. Instead, the theory is developed by utilising data obtained from sequences of observation.³² Collis and Hussey categorise grounded theory as an inductive-deductive approach, linking theory to the data collected.³³ Grounded theory is used largely in sociological research, handling data to conceptualise, analyse and predict. Grounded theory employs abstraction and comparative analysis.³⁴ Glaser and Strauss argue that grounded theory ensures that the research findings are “unable to be completely refuted” even with more data, or replaced by another theory that is validated by, for instance, the two well-known grounded theory models of 1) bureaucracy by Max Weber and 2) suicide by Emile Durkheim.³⁵ Max Weber’s study of bureaucracy was built from his earlier work employing empirical research on agricultural and industrial labour conditions, workers’ attitudes and work histories combined with statistical and psychological approaches resulting in the argument that bureaucracy needs hierarchy and authority.³⁶ This contrasts with Karl Marx’s argument that a proletariat revolution is inevitable, that social and political ideology can act independently of material conditions.³⁷ Emile Durkheim, on the other hand, studied suicide rates in Christian

populations, focusing on the differences between Catholics and Protestants in generating new findings: that social controls reduce suicide rates; that suicide rates are higher among men than women, higher among soldiers than civilians, and higher at times of peace than at times of war.³⁸ Despite its strengths, grounded theory is considered unsuitable for the present study because it looks at the training of peacekeepers, specifically women peacekeepers via country case studies of Indonesia, the Philippines and Country A. As such, this study will not aim to create a theoretical framework based on grounded theory.

Another research strategy is *ethnography*. This is used “to describe and explain the social world the research subjects inhabit, and the way in which they [themselves] describe and explain it.”³⁹ This strategy is executed over a long time span, requiring the researcher to enter the social world she/he aims to observe. The means of data collection do not aim to oversimplify the complexities of everyday life, and is thus useful to gain the research subject’s insights and perspectives, as well as the particular context. The barrier to conduct ‘good’ ethnographic research is to gain full access to the group that the researcher aims to observe, building high degrees of trust with group members. This research strategy is also known as participatory observation. Hence, researchers will need to cope with having two roles: being both a member of a group and an objective researcher. The present study does not require the researcher to be a member of the armed forces and deployed on a UN Peacekeeping Operation (UN PKO) mission, and therefore an ethnography strategy is unsuitable for data collection in the context of the present research programme.

Archival-research utilises administrative records and documents as the main source of data.⁴⁰ This type of research is the opposite of ethnographic research, because archival research focuses on the documents produced by humans, while ethnographic research focuses its observation on humans and human interaction. This strategy is mostly used in historical research, looking at archives of past events and utilising secondary data to answer research questions that focus on changes occurring over time. Archival-research is able to answer exploratory, descriptive or explanatory questions, but it will be constrained by the limitation of existing administrative records and documents.⁴¹

Archival data might not meet a researcher's expectations or there may be barriers in obtaining documents suitable for the study. The present study adopts an archival-research strategy to conduct data gathering from secondary data sources, as primary data will be gained from the case studies and structured interviews with UN peacekeeping policymakers, trainers and women peacekeepers. The researcher gathered UN peacekeeping administrative data and statistical records that are useful repositories for gaining information on how women deployed on UN PKO missions before fieldwork is conducted.

A *survey*, employing a semi-structured questionnaire, is a sensible strategy of data collection for this research. A survey should include structured observations and interviews, as it aims to reveal information from the situation experienced by the respondents, or the respondents' opinion and attitude toward a specific phenomenon.⁴² A survey is useful to collect quantitative data and can be used to seek information that has previously been unknown to the researchers. A survey can be used to understand the respondents' perception of a particular activity, reviewing its effectiveness in hindsight and to improve future activity through implementing the feedback obtained. Due to these reasons, the survey method is considered a useful strategy to acquire information on whether women peacekeepers make a difference as well as on the effectiveness of the training they receive. However, the disadvantage of a survey is that research progress is dependent on the availability and the willingness of the research subjects to answer survey questions accurately, without bias. Moreover, there is also a risk of bias on how the researcher interprets the information provided by the respondent, but by not conducting a survey the information would be impossible to uncover.

Finally, *case study analysis* is a research strategy that conducts "empirical investigation of a particular phenomenon in its real life context using multiple sources of evidence."⁴³ Wilbur Schramm argues that case studies "illuminate a decision or set of decisions: why they were taken, how they were implemented, and with what result."⁴⁴ Yet, a case study strategy can be criticised for not having systematic procedures, accepting equivocal evidence and allowing biased views to influence data findings and conclusions. Additionally, case studies can be criticised for not providing a basis for scientific

generalisation, taking an overly long research period due to the researchers' inability to control variables.⁴⁵ These flaws have decreased the popularity of case study strategy, yet some researchers still believe in the benefits of case study analysis.⁴⁶ For example, George and Bennett argue that the case study method, when done correctly, is good at achieving high conceptual validity, offers strong procedures for fostering new hypotheses and provides capacity for addressing complex causality.⁴⁷ The case study approach enables the researcher to gain a rich understanding of a particular context. According to Robert Yin, the guru in case study analysis, the case study strategy is most useful to answer "how" and "why" research questions, because it has a wider set of data variables that can be collected when compared to a broad survey strategy that only covers the "who" and "how many/much".⁴⁸ The present study will use country case study analysis to support the less defined survey strategy. The researcher will conduct targeted field research into specific UN PKO training procedures, focused on women peacekeepers.

There are four types of case study proposed by Yin.⁴⁹ Based on the number of cases being examined, there is a single case study and a multiple-case study. Also, based on the scope of units under examination, there are holistic case studies and embedded case studies. A single case study focuses on only one phenomenon, but multiple-case studies allow a researcher to view more than one phenomenon. There is a benefit and a limitation to each dimension, a single case study might take less time and resources than a multiple-case study, yet a single case study needs to have a stronger agreement as to why the research only focuses on a single phenomenon that is not comparable elsewhere. A holistic case study examines the entire setting of the phenomenon/a, including the environmental context, whereas an embedded case study examines only one part of the phenomenon/a. Similar to the case study based on the number of cases, a case study based on the scope of unit has its own benefits and limitations. A holistic case study is preferred for examining the whole picture of the observed phenomenon/a, but might lose detail compared to the embedded case study. The present study's research employs a case study approach of Indonesia, Philippines and Country A peacekeeping centres (PCs) focusing on the training of women peacekeepers; the

purpose being to establish whether the training these centres provide has been sufficiently supporting women peacekeepers in their deployment.

3.6 Methodological Choices

Research choices are predominantly about the means of data collection and analysis. There are several types of research choices, those that are quantitative, qualitative and combinations of the two.⁵⁰ *Quantitative research* focuses on gathering numerical data and conducting mathematical analysis that will produce end results such as statistical measurements or pie-charts. At the other end of the spectrum, *qualitative research* focuses on gathering non-numerical data and using non-mathematical analysis. A researcher who chooses to implement only one of these approaches is said to be implementing a ‘mono method’ of research. Followers of each research method, either quantitative or qualitative, have been notorious for having radical beliefs that one approach is better than the other.⁵¹ However, depending on the nature of research, the ways of conducting data collection and analysis can be mixed. This is called a ‘multiple methods’ approach.

Mahoney and Goertz exercise contrasting comparisons between quantitative and qualitative research, arguing that careful utilisation of data and analysis will improve research results.⁵² Utilisation of multiple methods is further differentiated by whether the adoption of several approaches is based on the nature of data collection or on the analysis model. The ‘multi-method technique’ uses more than one data collection technique but utilises an analysis method from the same category. This multi-method technique is divided into two types, multi-method quantitative techniques (for example, research that collects data by questionnaire and analyses via statistical measures) and multi-method qualitative techniques (for example, research that collects data through in-depth interviews and focus-group-discussions and then analyses via cause-and-effect qualitative analysis). Aside from the multi-method technique, there is a ‘mixed method technique’ that is also divided into two, a mixed-method research (both quantitative and qualitative data are collected and quantitative data are analysed using quantitative analysis, while qualitative data are analysed using qualitative analysis) and a mixed-

model research approach (both quantitative and qualitative data are collected and analysed using a mixed model of quantitative and qualitative data).⁵³

3.7 Time Horizons

Subject to its time frame, research can be undertaken in two ways: either *cross-sectionally* or *longitudinally*. Cross-sectional research is like a snapshot of an event, while longitudinal research is like a journal or diary.⁵⁴ This statement illustrates that time differences influence the research technique adopted and the selection of a time horizon depends on access to data and the duration of the research. One topic can be observed in several time horizons, resulting in several different research outcomes. An example of this is the end of year report of an organisation, which is a research outcome of how that particular organisation performed over the year. To assess the organisation's performance over a period of time requires longitudinal research. The question that longitudinal studies try to solve is "whether there is change over a certain period of time."⁵⁵ Due to the limitation of data, this particular research is conducted in a cross-sectional manner, observing deployment data from November 2009 to December 2014, and conducting empirical research from July 2014 to November 2015.

3.8 Research Techniques

Research techniques deal with how data can be obtained and analysed. Research procedure, by contrast, concerns more the planning of data collection and analysis, ensuring that the phases adhere to the relevant scientific procedures to produce a valid outcome. In the words of Strauss and Corbin, techniques and procedures are only a means to an end. Their intent is to provide researchers with a set of tools that enable analysis to be conducted with confidence, enhancing creativity.⁵⁶ Every field of research has its own relevant technique for data gathering. For example, medical research is commonly done by collecting biological or genetic samples to be tested, leading to conclusions. Another illustration is ecological research that is heavily reliant on observation. An example of animal observation is that of Charles Darwin's research on the Galapagos Islands where his observations on finches' beaks gave birth to his famous theory of evolution.⁵⁷ There are other research techniques that have been developed

according to what is deemed necessary for the research to be conducted. In social science research there are several techniques including participatory research, interviews to obtain primary data, and literature research to obtain secondary data. Participatory observation is a technique where the researcher contributes to the experiment through possessing appropriate experience. An example is the World Bank's 'Voices of the Poor'. Fieldwork is conducted by poor people on the subject of poverty, with the aim of participatory research being to provide perspectives from the poor.⁵⁸ Interviews to obtain primary data from actors and policy-makers is also a widely used technique. By contrast, historical investigation is likely to pursue a secondary data approach, where archival materials will be examined.

3.9 Ethical Considerations

The etymological origin of 'ethics' is from the Greek word *ethos* meaning "character", with underlying guiding beliefs or customs.⁵⁹ Ethics is a branch of philosophy dealing with the rightness or wrongness of actions.⁶⁰ Aristotle in his book of *Nicomachean Ethics* underlined the importance of being ethical by having 'good' intentions and seeing context as an important factor in behaving ethically. Meanwhile, the philosopher Immanuel Kant took a more universal stand with his formulation of Kantian Ethics where he believed there is a set of principles inflexibly applied in the conceptualisation of ethics.⁶¹ Ethics is an important part of any research effort, because it aims to protect the research subject from embarrassment, harm or other material and physiological disadvantage. In this regard, both Aristotle and Kant embrace ethics. Kant's ethics deal with the underlying reasons why research should not bring harm to participants. Aristotle's ethics, by contrast, are used in the context of science; for example, research in bio-medicine should have different ethical guidelines compared to linguistics or defence studies.

Recently, the research community has grown more aware of ethics, with every institution having its own guidelines.⁶² There are two universal guidelines that every researcher should observe: firstly, the 1948 Nuremberg Code that first advocated voluntary participation, informed consent and the notion that the benefits of research

must outweigh the associated risks; secondly, the 1964 Declaration of Helsinki that outlined the ethical principles for research involving human subjects, mostly in medical research. These guidelines are in addition to the ethical guidance applicable at the time and place where the research is taking place, such as the 1974 Belmont Report in the United States.⁶³ Before conducting research, the researcher must have received training on the ethical guideline applicable to his/her field in order to have the understanding and competence to protect research participants' well-being and confidentiality, as well as to respect valid research methods, fulfilling the research obligations of the degree awarding institution, the research sponsor and society at large.

Research, as it is conducted with its limitations – such as the researcher's bias, situational conditionalities and the different level of commitments of research participants – might contain errors in its findings. Measurement errors, according to Robson, include referring to an historical outlook, faulty testing and vested-interest instrumentation, omitting key participants and researching unsuitable time periods.⁶⁴ Another problem threatening the validity of the research result is reactivity or bias caused both by respondents and researcher, through lack of neutrality on the subject. The case study method of analysis, using data triangulation, is held to validate the accuracy of the data and consequent findings. The case study is a research strategy that places weight on empirical investigation of a particular contemporary phenomenon using multiple sources of evidence.⁶⁵ Triangulation is a tool to ensure validity of the research findings as it provides more than one source of evidence used to cross-examine the research findings before a researcher is able to reach a certain conclusion. If by using different approaches and evidence the same conclusion is reached, then there exists a greater confidence that the conclusions are valid. Robson argues that “several methods of enquiry are likely to be better than a single one in shedding light on an issue.”⁶⁶

3.10 Research Design

The present researcher has sought to select a research methodology and research methods that are suitable to be implemented in assessing the training effectiveness of

women UN peacekeepers. The selected research design pathway is shown in Figure 3.2, below.

Figure 3.2: Research Design Pathway (Shaded)

Philosophy	Approach	Strategy	Data Choice	Time	Collection Methods
Positivism	Deductive	Experiment	Qualitative	Longitudinal	Biological sample
Realism	Inductive	Action-research	Quantitative	Cross-sectional	Observation
Interpretivism	Combination	Archival-research	Mixed method		Participatory
Pragmatism		Grounded-theory	Mixed-model		Secondary data
		Ethnography			Interview/survey
		Survey			
		Case-study			

Source: The highlighted section is the research methods adopted for this study. Adapted from ‘Research Onion’ in Mark Saunders, Philip Lewis, Adrian Thornhill, *Research Methods for Business Students (the 5th Edition)*, (Essex: Pearson Education Ltd., 2009), p.108.

The shaded boxes of Figure 3.2 above indicate that this research follows a combined deductive and inductive approach. The thrust of the research is most definitely inductive, in the sense that it will be interpretivist, qualitative and based on in-depth interviews. It pursued a ‘bottom-up’ approach to data collection, given that much of the data will be obtained through the use of semi-structured questionnaires via a survey at the operational level. Semi-structured interviews involve the use of open-ended questions, with the interviewer listening closely to the answers given in order to provide prompt follow-up questions suitable in relation to the answers that were previously given.⁶⁷ The findings from data analysis generate high-level findings that are generalisable to other country peacekeeper training procedures. However, through the development of appropriate metrics and attempts to assess the value of women peacekeeper training, an element of quantitative precision will be integrated into the methodological process.

This deductive approach complemented the behavioural inductive methodology, providing the best-of-both-worlds through using a qualitative ‘and’ quantitative research design. The research strategy for this study focuses on the country case studies of Indonesia, the Philippines and Country A, looking at their pre-deployment training for

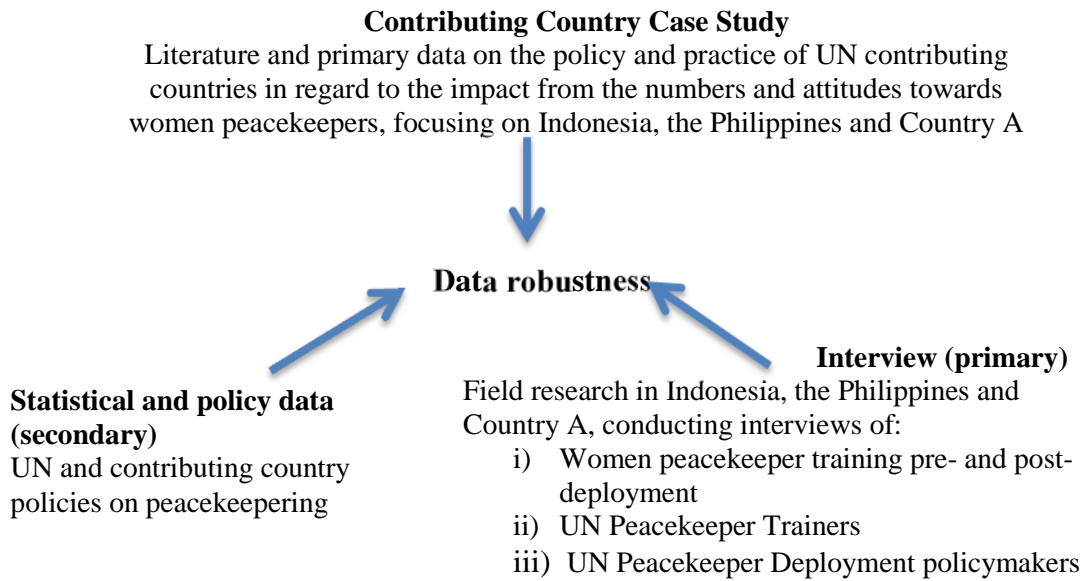
UN peacekeeping missions, especially for women peacekeepers to preparing for deployment to operational areas. Mixed-methods data of quantitative statistics and quantitative in-depth interviews will be utilised to generate research findings through qualitative data from semi-structured interviews and quantitative statistics on the numbers of UN peacekeepers, as well as other sources of secondary data. According to the time period of the research, the present study obtained data through fieldwork in 2014-2015, supported by UN peacekeeping operations' historical data recorded since 1948, when the first PKOs were conducted.

According to the time perspective, the present study seeks to measure training effectiveness of women UN peacekeepers at a specific time in a specific place rather than to see how training changes overtime. Hence, the present study created data that will allow future cross-sectional research, if and when appropriate. To specify the period taken in conducting research, data collection and analysis, this study undertook a three-year research project. The PhD study was registered with Cranfield University, and officially started in January 2013 and completed in the early part of 2016. The period allocated for field research is from July 2014 to November 2015, across four countries: *firstly*, the Indonesian Peacekeeping Centre in Sentul, West Java, Indonesia, for data collection and interviews over July 2014 to February 2015; *secondly*, the UN Peacekeeping Centre Headquarters in New York to gather information from the Headquarter's data archives in December 2014; *thirdly*, the UN Women Centre, India, during May-July 2015; *fourthly*, the Armed Forces of the Philippines Peacekeeping Operations Center, Quezon City during July-September 2015; and *fifthly*, the Country A Peacekeeping Training Centre over October-November 2015.

3.11 Triangulation to Validate Research

Validation of the research programme's findings was undertaken via the triangulation method. The proposed triangulation model for this research is illustrated in Figure 3.3, located on the next page.

Figure 3.3: Women Peacekeeper Training: Triangulation to Validate Findings



Source: Author

A rigorous trawl of the policy and practice literature was undertaken. The research on policy and practice focused on how policies in the country case studies have enabled women to actively participate in public roles, including in the security sector, also affecting the numbers of women peacekeepers that these countries have deployed. This particular research aspect is designed to determine the appropriate policies and practices supporting countries to deploy greater numbers of women peacekeepers. The author secured access to conduct research in Indonesia, the Philippines and Country A between June 2014 and November 2015, conducting in-depth interviews and in-country database research. The UN Database was accessed from the web.⁶⁸ There is also a rich array of secondary qualitative and quantitative data available on open access sites, including <http://www.unwomen.org> and <http://www.un.org/en/peacekeeping>. Cranfield University and Nanyang Technological University library databases were accessed, and relevant book, journal and online resources were used. Finally, the researcher spent three months on an internship at UN Women India, working in the Women, Peace and Security Unit between May and July 2015, primarily supporting efforts to increase the number of women participating in UN peacekeeping missions.

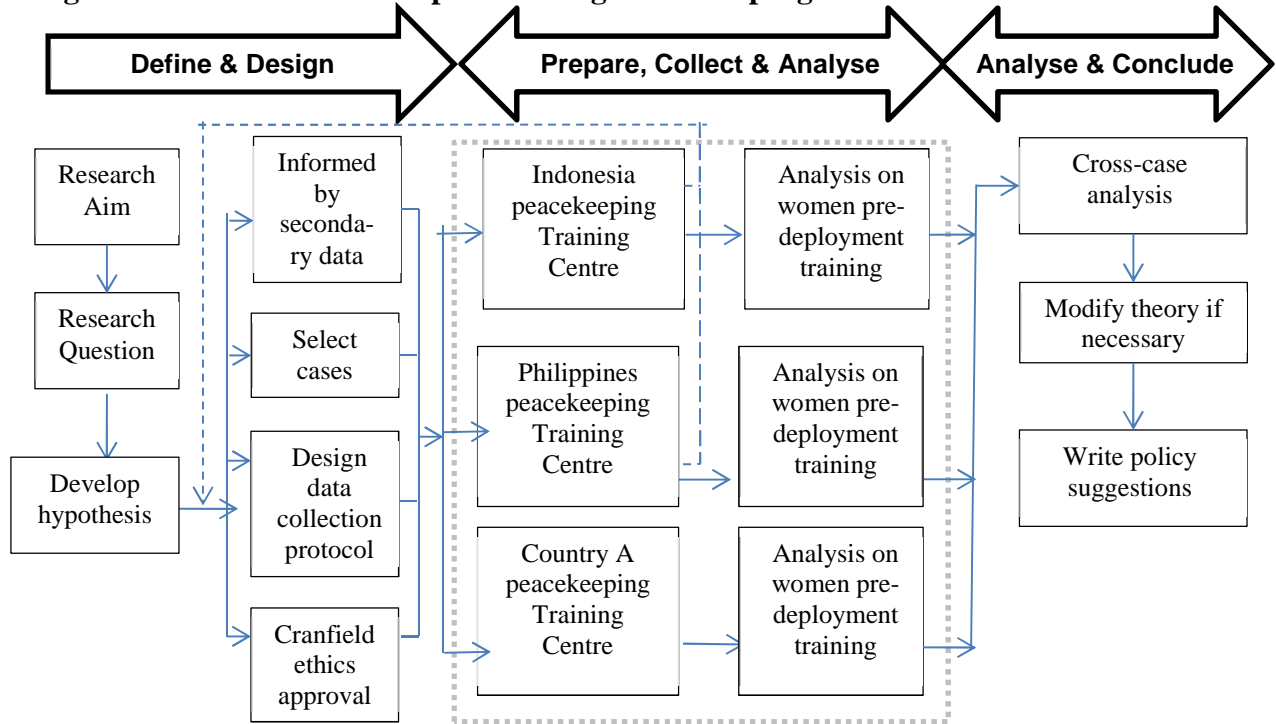
In summary, then, the selected triangulation of data sources comprised: firstly, secondary data sources; secondly, specific country data from the country case studies of Indonesia, the Philippines and Country A, being representative of Asian developing countries conducting pre-deployment training for women peacekeepers; and, thirdly, substantive in-depth interviews, using semi-structured questionnaires, of UN women peacekeepers in the three country case studies to obtain data on the process and effectiveness of their peacekeeper training.

3.12 Research Process

The sequential stages of this research programme are *firstly* defining and designing the research programme so that it is clear as to what the research is investigating, how the research executed and whether Cranfield University ethics approval for conducting interviews has been awarded. *Secondly*, forging contact with UN Women and UN DPKO, as well as the country case studies' peacekeeping training centres in the country case studies to undertake the research. The researcher also gained access to a major networking event, the International Association of Peacekeeping Training Centres' Annual Conference held in Jakarta 23-26 June 2014. The researcher assisted the host country – Indonesia, as a note taker and writer of the post-conference report. Additionally, the researcher visited the UN DPKO Headquarters in New York, December 2014. The researcher conducted field research in the Philippines between July and September 2015, and field research in Country A between October and November 2015, collecting archival data and conducting interviews with women peacekeepers, trainers and decision-makers at its UN Peacekeeping Training Centre. Following the interviews and information gathering, the researcher indexed the information gathered and categorised the interview results. The *third* step undertaking analysis from the information and data collected. As the analysis used in this study is mixed-method, qualitative data (interviews with women UN peacekeepers in training and returning from deployment, UN peacekeeper trainers and decision-makers) and quantitative data (numbers of women peacekeepers deployed in the UN Peacekeeping Missions and in the country case studies) were analysed and reinforced by secondary data (historical data on the policy evolution of UN PKO in support of women peacekeepers and the relevant policies from the country case studies) to generate

research findings. To summarise the coherence and flow of the research design stages, Figure 3.4, below, provides an overview of the process.

Figure 3.4: Women Peacekeeper Training Research programme



Source: Adapted from Robert Yin, *Case Study Research: Design and Methods, 3rd Ed.*, (London: Sage, 2002), p.50.

3.12.1 Sample Size

To build on the secondary data that covers UN and contributing countries' policies and reports, primary research will be undertaken principally through surveys of UN women peacekeepers. The aim of the country surveys will be to conduct interviews with women peacekeepers to determine the effectiveness of their training activities: the *what*, *how* and *why* of training for UN peacekeeping deployment. The surveys were facilitated by the use of semi-structured questionnaires, whereby the researcher met for in-depth face-to-face interviews, supported by follow-up email exchanges.

The field research in the three country case studies was undertaken between June 2014 and November 2015, and involved interviewing a total of 61 individuals. In Indonesia, 30 individuals were interviewed, comprising 18 women peacekeepers, seven trainers

and five decision makers. The Philippines and Country A fieldwork did not involve a similarly high number of interviews, totalling 19 individuals and 12 individuals, respectively. There were 10 women peacekeepers, seven trainers and two decision-makers interviewed in the Philippines. Whereas, in Country A, the researcher interviewed nine women peacekeepers and three trainers; and no decision-makers were available to be interviewed due to a period of national instability when the author conducted her research. The definition of a decision-maker, as previously given in Section 1.7, is a person who is responsible for providing judgement on who can be deployed, and when and where in a specific UN military peacekeeping context. The summary of the fieldwork sample sizes can be seen in Table 3.1, below.

Table 3.1: Sample Sizes of the Country Case Studies

	Women Peacekeepers	Trainers	Decision Makers	Total
Indonesia	18	7	5	30
Philippines	10	7	2	19
Country A	9	3	0	12
Total	37	17	7	61

Source: Author

The principal focus of this research is on women peacekeepers, and thus the interviews with peacekeeping trainers and decision-makers are supplementary. Although the respective populations of trainers and decision-makers are not available, the researcher believes that the interview samples are reasonable given what are believed to be limited personnel in these two areas. The sample size ratios of women peacekeepers interviewed to the total populations of women peacekeepers are shown in Table 3.2.

Table 3.2: Population of Women Peacekeepers and Sample Size Ratios

	Women Peacekeepers		
	Sample Size (N0s)	Population (N0s)*	Ratio (%)
Indonesia	18	25	72
Philippines	10	62	16
Country A	9	13	69
Total	37	100	37

* Annual average calculated from *UN Troops and Contributors Archive*, November 2009 - December 2014.

Source: Author

The researcher also interviewed seven additional respondents (six from India and one from Fiji) to provide additional comparative evidence to the three country case studies. Admittedly, the total of 68 respondents is considered small if compared to the other studies officially commissioned by the UN. The 2008 and 2013 UN Reports on peacekeeper training have surveyed thousands of personnel.⁶⁹ However, it was conducted through online questions directed to the military, police and civilians actively serving in UN missions when the survey was conducted. Unlike the researcher, the UN has direct access to its working personnel's database, as well as the resources and the ability to request full answers to its survey. Yet, the present research can still be considered objective, as the researcher had no power to influence the respondent answers. This research can also be considered useful as it utilised semi-structured interviews to obtain more nuanced and detailed findings compared to mechanistic answers on an online survey.

3.12.2 Interview Procedure

The researcher abides by the general interview principles that dictate the procedure of research. These principles are a prerequisite for ensuring that the rights of research participants are protected.⁷⁰ The researcher follows the principles of, firstly, data collection, which can only be conducted when the participants are making informed decisions to participate in the research voluntarily, understanding all aspects of the research requirements. Therefore, the researcher, when conducting the research, requires participants to provide written agreement regarding informed consent. Secondly, the researcher must ensure that participants' confidentiality is respected, and all information and data obtained from the interview is protected, unless the agreement notes otherwise. Thirdly, the researcher must also ensure that the research will not harm the participants in any way by assessing and explaining the risks to participants prior to the interview.

Taking note of the abovementioned principles, the procedure for this research will be as follows. Prior to each interview, the researcher explained what the nature of the research and collect written adult consent forms from research participants, acknowledging that

participation is voluntary, and that they can withdraw from the interview at any time, without penalty. The researcher explained that the research does not pose any harm; the data and information collected published anonymously, with a code given to each interviewee. Upon collection, the data were organised, collated and published on a group basis, ensuring that the participants' personal identification is kept confidential, and that any voice recordings are made solely for transcription purposes. However, if there are statements that the researcher finds sensitive, then these are assigned a unique code in relation to the interviewee/research participant, such as Peacekeeper-B1-1, Trainer-B2-1, Decision-maker-B3-1, and so forth. After obtaining the written consent form, the researcher began the interview by asking the participants for basic information that will be elaborated in subsequent sections of the questionnaire. Subsequently, the researcher conducted semi-structured interviews, with open-ended questions according to their UN peacekeeping duties. There are three sets of interview questions for the three types of research participants listed in the next section. Closing the interview, the researcher thanked the participants for their participation, and ask them whether they have any questions for the researcher on issues needing clarification.

3.12.3 Interview Questions

The interview questions for research participants in this study have been crafted for the purpose of assessing the rigour and effectiveness of women training in the UN PCs of selected Southeast Asian countries. As earlier mentioned, there are three target groups of interviewees, those that are UN women peacekeepers, UN peacekeeping trainers and UN peacekeeping decision-makers. The targeted interview questions are differentiated for each group, but having the same basic informational thrust. Therefore, each participant will answer questions in two parts: firstly, the Basic Questions about participant backgrounds, such as nationality, rank, role and age are be covered in Part A, and, secondly, Specific Questions relating to the interviewee's job scope in the area of UN Peacekeeping Operations; these are covered in Part B. The interview questions can be found in Appendix 1.

Prior to conducting field research in the selected country case studies, the researcher submitted the open-ended semi-structured interview questions to Cranfield University Ethics committee, and after scrutiny – approval to proceed with the fieldwork was obtained (reference number CURES/496/2015). Ethics approval is required to ensure that the universal guidelines on research ethics, as well as Cranfield University’s specific Ethics guidelines, are observed. This research was conducted without the use of deception, and informed consent was obtained from interviewees prior to the interviews being conducted. In providing answers, research participants were advised that their identity would be anonymised. The researcher promised to protect personal identifying information and constrain public access to such information. After the data were gathered, the researcher’s responsibility is to ensure that it is securely stored for at least 10 years, before destruction.

3.12.4 Acknowledging Research Limitations and Bias

This study requires doctoral level research that covers the three country case studies and one international organisation; hence, time and funding constraints represent the biggest limitations in obtaining a complete assessment of women peacekeeping training. Case studies country archives are often available in their local languages and translated into English. Nevertheless, the researcher struggled to comprehend the nuances of national customs and traditions. A further study limitation proved to be the moving target of peacekeeping operations, where the numbers of peacekeepers deployed fluctuates, depending on the time periods of UN data collection. An added moving target is that the peacekeeping deployment areas invariably changed, and, dependent on the international situation, continued to alter over time. Thus, the research design needed to be continually developed as per the changing conditions in the field.

One way to counter the vast changes to the international peacekeeping circumstances and the contributing countries’ deployments was to focus on selected contributing countries and for that reason Indonesia, the Philippines and Country A were selected as representative states that played a major role in peacekeeping operations. In terms of the numbers of peacekeepers deployed, as per December 2014, Indonesia was ranked 16th

out of 122 UN peacekeeping contributing countries in the world, but was the biggest contributor in Southeast Asia; the Philippines was ranked 60th in the world, and fourth in the region, and Country A was within the 90th biggest global contributor, making it one of the 6th biggest in the region.⁷¹ In conducting the research, researcher is aware of the probability that bias could influence the research process and outcomes. Bias can be defined as the fallacies of human judgment.⁷² The researcher acknowledges that this particular challenge is even higher in conducting interpretivist research, where researcher bias may occur in translating responses from the case studies country language to English and via the interpretation of data, including interviewee answers that may distort research outcomes.

The way to address this form of bias is to state at the beginning of the study that this research is conducted using *Bahasa* Indonesia for the Indonesian fieldwork and English language for the Philippines and Country A fieldwork, with transcription in English. The scholarly perspective used in this study is feminist internationalism, and thus the findings and outcomes inevitably be coloured by the feminist lens. As mentioned in the *Feminist Methodologies for Critical Researchers* by Joey Sprague, feminist research aims to put the missing women and gender analysis back into science and social phenomena.⁷³ As this research is an assessment of UN pre-deployment training for women peacekeepers, with data obtained through interview, there is clearly a possibility for interview answers to contain self-reporting bias with 'better-than-it-is' judgements on a national training centre's quality, especially if the PDT is done in the country of origin of peacekeeper, trainer and decision-maker. The interviewer is also not immune from desirability bias, to obtain the answers that want to be found from in the research instrument.⁷⁴ Therefore, to lessen the effects of these biases, the research conducted triangulation between the interview responses from the contributing countries' case studies and statistics, policy reviews and reports published by the UN, and relevant secondary literature publications.

Reference and Notes

¹ Andy Sumner and Michael Tribe, *International Development Studies: Theories and Methods in Research and Practice*, (London: Sage, 2008), p.104.

² Marysia Zalewski, 'Distracted reflections on the production, narration, and refusal of feminist knowledge in International Relations' in Brooke Ackerly, Maria Stern and Jacqui True (Eds.), *Feminist Methodologies for International Relations*, (New York: Cambridge, 2006), pp. 42-60.

³ Each study subject has distinguished set of tools but they can be generalised and compartmentalised in certain categories, thus, there is no obligations that research in certain field must use certain tools but rather that the research to opt what are the tools it deemed suitable. Example of important research methodology literatures that specifically aimed for certain field and context are Mark Saunders, Philip Lewis and Adrian Thornhill, *Research Methods for Business Students (the 5th Edition)*, (Essex: Pearson Education Ltd., 2009); Paul Pennings, Hans Keman and Jan Kleinnijenhuis, *Doing Research in Political Science (2nd Edition)*, (London: Sage, 2006); Malcom Williams and Tim May, *Introduction to the Philosophy of Social Research*, (London: University College London, 1996); Henry Brady and David Collier (Eds.), *Rethinking Social Inquiry: Diverse Tools, Shared Standards*, (Lanham: Rowman and Littlefield Publishing, 2004); Brooke Ackerly, Maria Stern and Jacqui True (Eds.), *Feminist Methodologies for International Relations*, (New York: Cambridge, 2006). This thesis will refer as much as possible to these literature on research methods with additional insight gained from Robert Yin, *Case Study Research: Design and Methods (3rd Edition)*, (London: Sage, 2002).

⁴ Adapted from Henry Brady and David Collier (Eds.), *Op. Cit.*, p.5 and Mark Saunders, Philip Lewis and Adrian Thornhill, *Op. Cit.*, pp.108-109.

⁵ Gary King, Robert Keohane and Sidney Verba, *Designing Social Inquiry: Scientific Inference in Qualitative Research*, (New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 1994), p.9.

⁶ Ian Brace and Karen Adams, *An Introduction to Market and Social Research: Planning and Using Research Tools and Techniques*, (London: Kogan Page, 2006), p.48

⁷ John Hughes, *The Philosophy of Social Research (2nd Edition)*, (Harlow: Longman, 1990), p.11.

⁸ Mark Saunders, Philip Lewis and Adrian Thornhill, *Op. Cit.*, p.119.

⁹ Max Weber, *The Methodology of the Social Sciences*, (Illinois: Free Press, 1949), p.101-2.

¹⁰ Mark Saunders, Philip Lewis and Adrian Thornhill, *Op. Cit.*, p.116.

¹¹ Richard Bernstein, *Beyond Objectivism and Relativism: Science, Hermeneutics and Praxis*, (Oxford: Blackwell, 1983), p.8.

¹² Malcom Williams and Tim May, *Op. Cit.*, p.22.

¹³ *Ibid.*, p.84.

¹⁴ Russel Keat and John Urry, *Social Theory as Science*, (London: Routledge, 1975), p.96.

¹⁵ *Ibid.*, p.109 and Abbas Tashakkori and Charles Teddlie, *Mixed Methodology: Combining Qualitative and Quantitative Approaches*, (California: Sage, 1998), p.30.

¹⁶ Charles Peirce, *The Essential Peirce, Vol.1: Selected Philosophical Writings? (1867-1893)*, (Indiana: Indiana University Press, 1992), pp. 9-10 and Malcom Williams and Tim May, *Op. Cit.*, pp.101-102.

¹⁷ Sue Greener, *Op. Cit.*, p.16.

¹⁸ See, Mark Saunders, Philip Lewis and Adrian Thornhill, *Op. Cit.*, pp.126-7.

¹⁹ Carl Hempel, *Philosophy of Natural Science*, (New Jersey: Prentice-Hall, 1966), p.37-38.

²⁰ Scholar Karl Popper noted that theory can be confirmed or refuted by empirical observation. If the theory is proven incorrect or false, it allows the incremental development of the theory. However, Popper argued that it is only in hard science that theory can be fully falsified, but not in social science. Because in social science, the sufficient universal laws and exact conditions hardly ever happen. Popper quoted in William Gorton, *Karl Popper and the Social Sciences*, (New York: State University of New York Press, 2006), pp. 53-4.

²¹ Karl Popper, *The Logic of Scientific Discovery*, (London: Hutchinson, 1959), p 18.

²² *Ibid.*, p. 19.

²³ See Ronald Rogowski, 'How Inference in the Social (but Not the Physical) Science Neglects Theoretical Anomaly', in Henry Brady and David Collier (Eds.), *Op. Cit.*, pp.75-84, Mark Saunders, Philip Lewis and Adrian Thornhill, *Op. Cit.*, p.126 and Malcom Williams and Tim May, *Op. Cit.*, p. 26.

²⁴ See Brooke Ackerly, Maria Stern and Jacqui True (Eds.), *Op. Cit.*

²⁵ Henry Brady, David Collier and Jason Seawright, 'Refocusing the Discussion of Methodology', in Henry Brady and David Collier (Eds.), *Op. Cit.*, p.12-13.

²⁶ Malcom Williams and Tim May, *Op. Cit.*, p. 26.

-
- ²⁷ Saunders, Philip Lewis and Adrian Thornhill, *Op. Cit.*, p.141.
- ²⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 142.
- ²⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 143.
- ³⁰ *Ibid.*, pp. 147-8.
- ³¹ Frost quoted in Patrick Costello, *Action Research*, (New York: Continuum, 2002), pp.3-4.
- ³² Saunders, Philip Lewis and Adrian Thornhill, *Op. Cit.*, p. 149.
- ³³ Jill Collis and Roger Hussey, *Business Research: A Practical Guide for Undergraduate and Postgraduate Students*, (Basingstoke: Palgrave, 2003), p.185.
- ³⁴ Barney Glaser and Anselm Strauss, *The Discovery of Grounded Theory: Strategies for Qualitative Research*, (New Brunswick: Aldine Transaction, 2006), pp.90-94.
- ³⁵ *Ibid.*, p.4.
- ³⁶ Paul Lazarfeld and Anthony Oberschall, 'Weber and Empirical Social Research', *American Sociological Review*, Vol. 30, No. 2 (April, 1965), p.185-199.
- ³⁷ See Max Weber, *Political Writings*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994), p.288 and his most notable book Max Weber, *Economy and Society: An Outline of Interpretive Sociology*, Edited by Guenther Roth and Claus Wittich, (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1978).
- ³⁸ Emile Durkheim, *Suicide: A Study in Sociology*, Edited by George Simpson, (New York: The Free Press, 1951).
- ³⁹ Saunders, Philip Lewis and Adrian Thornhill, *Op. Cit.*, p. 149.
- ⁴⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 150.
- ⁴¹ *Ibid.*
- ⁴² Saunders, Philip Lewis and Adrian Thornhill, *Op. Cit.*, pp. 144-5.
- ⁴³ Colin Robson, *Real World Research (2nd Edition)*, (Oxford: Blackwell, 2002), p.178.
- ⁴⁴ Wilbur Schramm, *Notes on Case Studies of Instructional Media Projects*, (Washington DC: Information Center on Instructional Technology Academy for Educational Development, 1971), p. 6.
- ⁴⁵ *Ibid.*, pp. 10-11.
- ⁴⁶ According to George and Bennet, articles published in the *American Political Science Review* journal using case studies plunged from 70 per cent to 10 per cent between 1965 and 1975. See Alexander George and Andrew Bennet, *Case Studies and Theory Development in the Social Science*, (Massachusetts: The MIT Press, 2005), p. 1.
- ⁴⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 10.
- ⁴⁸ Robert Yin, *Ibid.*, pp. 1-5.
- ⁴⁹ *Ibid.*, pp.49-53.
- ⁵⁰ Saunders, Philip Lewis and Adrian Thornhill, *Op. Cit.*, pp.151-2.
- ⁵¹ James Mahoney and Gary Goertz, 'A Tale of Two Cultures: Contrasting Quantitative and Qualitative Research', in *Political Analysis*, Vol. 14, No.3 (2006), pp.227-249.
- ⁵² *Ibid.*
- ⁵³ Saunders, Philip Lewis and Adrian Thornhill, *Op. Cit.*, pp.152-3.
- ⁵⁴ *Ibid.*, p.155.
- ⁵⁵ Gary Bouma and G. Atkinson, *A Handbook of Social Science Research: A Comprehensive and Practical Guide for Students (2nd Edition)*, (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1995), p.114.
- ⁵⁶ Anselm Strauss and Juliet Corbin, *Basics of Qualitative Research: Techniques and Procedures for Developing Grounded Theory*, (London: Sage Publication, 1998), p.14.
- ⁵⁷ Charles Krebs, 'Hypothesis Testing in Ecology', in Luigi Boitani and Todd Fuller (Eds), *Research Techniques in Animal Ecology*, (New York, Columbia University Press, 2000), p.6.
- ⁵⁸ See, Deep Narayan, Raj Patel, Kai Schafft, Anne Rademacher and Sarah Kock-Schulte, *Voices of the Poor: Can Anyone Hear Us?*, (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000).
- ⁵⁹ John Humphrey, 'Business Ethics', in Richard Corrigan and Mary Farrell, *Ethics: A University Guide*, (Gloucester: Progressive Frontier Press, 2010), p. 42.
- ⁶⁰ Andy Sumner and Michael Tribe, *Op. Cit.*, p.37.
- ⁶¹ Aristotle and Kant quoted in Andy Sumner and Michael Tribe, *Op. Cit.*, pp.37-38.
- ⁶² Kanishka Goonewardena, 'Planning Research, Ethical Conduct and Radical Politics', in Francesco Piccolo and Huw Thomas (Eds.), *Ethics and Planning Research*, (Surrey: Ashgate, 2009), p.59.
- ⁶³ Giovanni Attili, 'Ethical Awareness in Advocacy Planning Research', in *Ibid.*, p.209.
- ⁶⁴ Colin Robson, *Op. Cit.*, p. 95.
- ⁶⁵ See endnote 105.

⁶⁶ Colin Robson, *Op. Cit.*, p. xi.

⁶⁷ Tom Wengraf, *Qualitative Research Interviewing: Biographic Narrative and Semi-Structured Methods*, (London: Sage Publications, 2001), p.159.

⁶⁸ The Policy, Evaluation and Training Division of UN, 'About Us in Peacekeeping Resource Hub', <http://peacekeepingresourcehub.unlb.org/PBPS/Pages/Public/AboutUs.aspx> accessed in May 2014.

⁶⁹ UN training reports in 2008 and 2013 have managed to obtain online survey of total 5,850 and 4,500 subsequently. However, these numbers include military, police and civilian. See, UN DPKO, *Strategic Training Needs Assessment*, (New York: UN, 2008), Annex I, p. 1-2 and UN DPKO, *Training: A Strategic Investment in UN Peacekeeping*, (New York: UN, 2014), pp. 1, 11.

⁷⁰ Leisa Reinecke Flynn and Ronald Goldsmith, *Case Studies for Ethics in Academic Research in the Social Sciences*, (London: Sage, 2013), pp.9-59.

⁷¹ United Nations, 'Ranking of Military and Police Contributions to UN Operations', December 2014.

⁷² Norbert Schwarz, *Cognition and Communication: Judgmental Biases, Research Methods, and the Logic of Conversation*, (New Jersey: Lawrence Erlbaum Publishers, 1996), pp.1-4.

⁷³ Reasons to conduct research from feminist perspectives are *firstly*, feminists are marginalised within the academy and this effort to contribute a study with the perspective will move the dialogue forward; *secondly*, feminism offer alternative suggestions that is relatively different with other perspective because its starting point is inequality in gender relations, and *thirdly*, because author believe of the cause of feminism as heterogeneous approach but having the same goal to make the world more equitable. See, Joey Sprague, *Feminist Methodologies for Critical Researchers: Bridging Differences*, (Oxford: Rowman and Littlefield Publishers, 2005), pp.3-4

⁷⁴ Desirability bias or wishful-thinking bias is tendency to overpredict desirable outcome and underpredict less-desirable outcome of research. Meanwhile, wishful thinking provides optimistic cognition that might affect the study to be more positive than without wishful thinking, despite the reality of this is still difficult to prove. See, David Budescu and Meira Bruderman, 'The Relationship between the Illusion of Control and the Desirability Bias', *Journal of Behavioural Decision Making*, Vol. 8, No. 2, June 1995, pp.109-125 and Maya Bar-Hillel and David Budescu, 'The Elusive Wishful Thinking Effect', *Thinking and Reasoning*, Vol. 1, No. 29, July 1995, pp. 71-104. Motivated reasoning is the motivation to be accurate in accessing, constructing and evaluating a certain subject to arrive in a desired conclusion. Meanwhile, questions given in the interview is proven to cause reconstruction or alteration of the event that had just passed. See, Ziva Kunda, 'The Case for Motivated Reasoning', *Psychological Bulletin-American Psychological Association*, Vol. 108, No. 3, 1990, pp. 480-498 and Elizabeth Loftus, 'Leading Questions and the Eyewitness Report', *Cognitive Psychology*, Vol. 7, No. 4, 1975, pp.560-572.

Chapter 4

UN Peacekeeping: Purpose, Process and Progress

4.1 Introduction

The purpose of this chapter is to address the first two of the study's seven enabling objectives, namely: I, evaluating the policy and practice of UN peacekeeping missions and the nature of women's participation in them, and, II, examining the concept of women making a difference to effective peacekeeping (p. 15). This will be achieved by identifying, explaining and analysing the key issues that lie behind UN Peacekeeping operations, including their history, development and contemporary role. The overarching thrust of the chapter is to examine the *raison d'être* of UN Peacekeeping missions: whether they change over time, and, if they do change, then what underpins these changes. The chapter focuses on the Contributing Countries (CCs) supplying uniformed forces to UN Peacekeeping, examining the processes of their involvement in such missions, the training and deployment, as well as the nature of their operations, to date. The chapter will then explore the setbacks experienced by CCs in field missions. Finally, the problems facing UN Peacekeeping missions will be evaluated, particularly with respect to blue beret forces on operational duty. Optimal security and policing approaches will be evaluated, including the appropriate methods for inculcating gender perspectives into the peacekeepers aimed at creating an inclusive security culture in CC missions. This chapter, then, seeks to address two principal issues: firstly, the extent and usefulness of UN Peacekeeping missions, and, secondly, the ways and means in which stakeholder needs can best be fulfilled, especially with regard to the various ways women are affected by conflict. Addressing these issues will cast light on the reasons why gender is an important aspect of every UN mission, both at the operational and the strategic level. A gender perspective is essential for ensuring the credibility and equity of UN Peacekeeping missions to all stakeholders and (fe)male peacekeepers, alike.

4.2 Rationale of Peacekeeping

The term 'peacekeeping' was first coined by the second Secretary General of UN Dag Hammarskjöld in the 1950s,¹ but scholars, such as Crucé, Bellamy and Williams, argue

that the global community has been working together, in a multilateral fashion to reduce and manage armed conflict, since the concept of the nation-state was first adopted at the signing of the Westphalian Treaty in 1648.² In fact, the idea of great power responsibility in maintaining peace and security dates back to the Roman Empire and Rome's law enforcement efforts toward its colonies.³ Great power responsibility to maintain peace and order then became the justification for intervention into other countries' affairs. For example, the British took a similar stance when it confronted the international slave trade in the 19th century. Duncan Bell, though, points out that such action is often only a pretext for self-interest, with the biased 'standard of civilisation' used to maintain unequal international interaction in the name of maintaining world peace and order, as argued by John Stuart Mill in his notion of defence of colonialism.⁴ It is seemingly, therefore, the big powers that enjoy the privilege of deciding *what* and *how* peace operations are undertaken.

Dependent upon the needs in the field, and also the agreement of certain international bodies, peace operations can take different forms, from heavily armed combat troops, to lightly armed border patrols, to police observers and unarmed civilian election observers. Therefore, criteria should be set to define what is and what is not a peace operation. Erwin Schmidl⁵ offered six principles that define peace operations, as follows:

1. There is an international mandate or mission authorisation,
2. There is an international body that implements the mandate (the UN, or a regional organisation, such as the North Atlantic Treaty Organization – NATO), executed by several states cooperating in an *ad-hoc* coalition,
3. Multinational forces and/or personnel exist in the mission,
4. The mission's aim is to preserve or restore the *status quo*, or to enable peaceful transition from the *status quo* to an agreed situation,
5. The mission should not aim to conquer a territory but focus on giving benefit to the local population, as commonly stated through host-country consent,
6. The operational goal is to maintain minimum 'collateral damage' by measured force.

Other scholars, including Donald Daniel, Katrin Heuel and Michael Doyle,⁶ view civilian participation more as an act of diplomacy, and not as an operation exerting force; hence, they tend to define peace operations as strictly a military intervention in an area of crisis; the purpose being to help conflicting parties move towards sustainable peace by creating a buffer zone for political negotiation. Despite several definitions of peace operations, the overriding need is to synthesise the general guiding principles for every peacekeeping operation to ensure there is a generally accepted international mandate and deployment of multinational forces whose purpose is palpably *not* to conquer or occupy, and where only minimum force is applied to stabilise or pacify the conflict situation.

4.2.1 Seeds of Peacekeeping in the 19th Century

Before the creation of the UN, peace operations were pursued only by the big powers. They were undertaken in higher frequency after the Napoleonic Wars, where France and the winners of the war (Austria, Britain, Prussia and Russia) agreed on a Concert of Europe.⁷ It was a system to prevent French vengeance after its military defeat as well as to manage potential great power conflicts. To maintain central stability, the operations conducted were done on the fringes of Europe. They were often undertaken by powerful states with international consent, including, for example Austria's expedition to Naples (1821), the Swedish peace force sent to Schleswig-Holstein (1848-49), Austria-Hungary's mandate to occupy Bosnia-Herzegovina (1878) and Great Britain's occupation of Cyprus that remained under the Ottoman Empire (1908 and 1914).⁸ Military cooperation between powerful nations was also done to achieve a common interest, including those conducted by Great Britain and the Netherlands against the Barbary pirates (1816), Great Britain, France and Russia against the Ottoman Empire during the Greek Independence struggle (Battle of Navarino 1827) and the Lebanon intervention by Austrian, British and French naval forces (1840 and 1860).⁹ This pattern of intervention suggests that great power alliances were invariably forged on issues of self-interest. There were at least three areas of cooperation, namely defending the domestic status quo, defending Christian and human rights, and colonial policing.¹⁰ There was no evidence that peace operations were undertaken for the sake of

international peace and stability, but one issue was certain that consent of the great powers was a necessary enabler.

The first mission undertaken by the great European powers (Austria-Hungary, France, Germany, Great Britain, Italy and Russia) was in the late 19th century international mission to Crete. The mission's aim was to stabilise Crete, preventing the escalation of conflict between the Ottoman Empire that ruled the island and its Greek majority population that sought Independence. The mission started by sending naval and land forces, and once the island's security was stabilised, the European contingents helped reorganise the police, administration and judiciary.¹¹ This mission was an early form of peace operation as it fulfilled all the principles of having an international mandate, deployment of multinational forces, and the absence of an aim to conquer the territory. European great powers again sent joint forces to China to deal with the Boxer rebellion in 1900 and to the Albanian conflict to limit Serbian access in 1913.¹² However, the success of peace operations did not manage to prevent wars amongst the great powers themselves, especially World War I. After the devastating impact of this horrific 'global' conflict that led to approximately 40 million people deaths,¹³ the League of Nations was created as part of 1920 Paris Peace Agreement, with the goals of promoting international cooperation and achieving international peace and security. Under the League, peace operations were undertaken in a more structured manner, rather than through the previous *ad hoc* diplomatic meetings. The Covenant of the League of Nations included binding regulations providing the foundation for peace operations, including:

- Article 11.1 - Any war or threat of war, whether immediately affecting any of the Members of the League or not, is hereby declared a matter of concern to the whole League, and the League shall take any action that may be deemed wise and effectual to safeguard the peace of nations.
- Article 16.2 - It shall be the duty of the Council in such cases to recommend to the several Governments concerned what effective military, naval or air forces the Members of the League shall severally contribute to the armed forces to be used to protect the covenants of the League.¹⁴

The League had a broader membership (in total it had 63 nations as members)¹⁵ and therefore was based not on the limited interest of European great powers. Peace operations that were provisioned by the League were mostly the result of the Paris Peace Agreement and were undertaken to maintain peace and order according to the area conduct plebiscite, including Carinthia (South Austria), Schleswig (Denmark/North Prussia), Allenstein and Marienwerder (East Prussia) in 1920, and Upper Silesia (Germany/Poland/Czechoslovakia) and Wilna/Vilnius region (Lithuania/Poland) in 1921.¹⁶ The most renowned peace operation conducted under the League of Nations is arguably the mission to German Saarland in the early 1930s that consisted of troop contingents from Britain, Italy, the Netherlands and Sweden, and police from Czechoslovakia.¹⁷ In this era, two principles of peacekeeping were enforced, namely, obtaining the host country's consent and the use of force only for self-defence.¹⁸ Yet, in an organisation with a binding covenant, the League was absent in showing the characteristic of certainty as it focused resources mainly on Europe. When Manchuria and Abyssinia were invaded in 1931 and 1935, respectively, the League failed to provide collective security.¹⁹ As a consequence, trust in this international organisation slowly diminished, as the organisation was perceived to maintain only the *status quo* and interest of the former European great powers. The League finally became redundant because it failed to stop World War II in 1939-45. It could not prevent the rise of Nazism (in Germany) and the union between fascism in both the West (Italy) and the East (Japan). Edward Carr in his classic work *The Twenty Years' Crisis* argues that the League failed because, despite its idealistic goal driven by the trauma of the World War I, the subsequent generation of diplomats that ran the organisation were political realists.²⁰ The words of Carr reflect on the League's covenant... "(U)niversal principles were not principles at all, but the unconscious reflection of national policy based on a particular interpretation of national interest at a particular time."²¹ When the League became outmoded, its members' interests were arguably focused more on self-survival, than collective security.

4.3 UN Peacekeeping Developments, 1945-1990

In similarity to the aftermath of the previous large-scale war, the end of World War II witnessed the birth of a new international organisation, driven by the need to again

prevent future catastrophic loss of life and material devastation. The United Nations was tasked to maintain global peace and order just like its predecessor, the League of Nations. The UN learnt from history that to obtain global authorisation it would need to have great power members (unlike the absence of the United States of America in the League), as well as a system that would guarantee that the organisation could never act without the consent of *all* the great powers. This system lay in the UN Security Council including five permanent members, namely Britain, China, France, the Soviet Union and the United States, that would act as the world's 'policemen' to safeguard international politics.²² The 'permanent-five' that wield veto power in the UNSC and therefore able to block the Council's resolution were clearly the victors of World War II. However, despite the creation of these international policing states, the UN peacekeeping operations were established as a tool for all member states to help countries devastated by conflict.

In the early days of the UN organisation, the concept of peacekeeping, as endorsed by the UN Military Staff Committee, was that there should be a military force consisting of units from the Five Big Powers, and that these forces would be at the disposal of the Security Council, with planned strength able to stop any threat to the peace of all member states, except the big five.²³ Yet, with the Cold War occurring immediately after World War II, this approach never materialised as tensions increased between the big five. However, even without the leading role of the big five joint military force, the UN still managed to organise UN military observer missions to monitor borders in disputed areas. Activities included oversight of peace agreements and transitional government arrangements from the colonial powers to newly independent states, covering Greece (1947-51), Indonesia from the Netherlands (1947-51), and two other missions that continue today, Palestine (1948-) and Kashmir (1949-).²⁴ The first military war in which UN forces were involved was Korea (1950-53), due to the absence of the Soviet Union in the Security Council, and the dominant role the US played at that time in the UN command structure. This was when the 'coalition of the willing' concept began, and thereafter the second UN Secretary-General, Dag Hammarskjöld, created a new model for UN peace operations in the 1950s.²⁵ The Hammarskjöld initiative continues today, albeit in amended form.

4.3.1 Creation of the Blue Helmets

The purpose and role of peacekeeping is not clearly stated in the Charter of United Nations, but emerged from the vision and narrative of UN Secretary General Hammarskjold, who believed that the organisation's rationale was as a protector of the interests and integrity of the less powerful nations.²⁶ The creation of the 'blue helmet', or UN peacekeeping forces, happened in the 1956 Suez Crisis, when British-French forces intervened to secure the Suez Canal, and at the same time the Israelis advanced into Sinai. Hammarskjold with the Canadian Foreign Minister, Lester Pearson, formulated the concept of preventive diplomacy with the means of armed and impartial UN peacekeeping forces; their role being to stabilize fragile situations and facilitate political dialogue for peace. The Secretary General then assembled the first United Nations Emergency Force (UNEF I) consisting of 6,000 troops.²⁷ Within weeks, UNEF I deployed to pressure the withdrawal of Suez intervention forces, and subsequently to patrol the armistice line between Egypt and Israel. In the mission, the UNEF I troops wore their national uniforms with blue-painted helmet liners, later including blue-berets and blue-field caps, with badges having UN insignia.²⁸ This gave birth to the term 'blue helmets' in reference to UN peacekeeping forces.

In the UNEF I deployment and operations, Secretary General Hammarskjold followed several core principles of consent amongst the conflicting parties; they were not to conduct enforcement actions, to have a limited military function, of temporary duration, that would not influence the politico-military power balance between the conflicting parties.²⁹ These principles are reflected in the Charter of United Nations, Chapter VI: the Pacific Settlement of Disputes. The articles in Chapter VI that support the traditional peacekeeping roles, include:³⁰

- Article 33
 1. The parties to any dispute, the continuance of which is likely to endanger the maintenance of international peace and security, shall, first of all, seek a solution by negotiation, enquiry, mediation, conciliation,

arbitration, judicial settlement, resort to regional agencies or arrangements, or other peaceful means of their own choice.

2. The Security Council shall, when it deems necessary, *call upon the parties to settle their dispute* by such means.

- Article 36

1. The Security Council may, at any stage of a dispute of the nature referred to in Article 33 or of a situation of like nature, *recommend appropriate procedures or methods of adjustment*.

- Article 37

1. Should the parties to a dispute of the nature referred to in Article 33 fail to settle it by the means indicated in that Article, they shall refer it to the Security Council.

2. If the Security Council deems that the continuance of the dispute is in fact likely to endanger the maintenance of international peace and security, *it shall decide whether to take action* under Article 36 or to recommend such terms of settlement as it may consider appropriate.

Chapter IV is the foundation of traditional or classical peacekeeping. Traditional peacekeeping is a term that holds to the principle of obtaining consent from warring factions and avoidance of the use of force, with a relatively clear objective.³¹ This type of peacekeeping operation was undertaken largely, but not exclusively, in the Cold War era. To maintain impartiality in the face of a bipolarised world, the UN peacekeeping operations were restrained by tensions between the Eastern Bloc (championed by the Soviet Union) and the Western Bloc (by the United States). Hence, the main goal of UN peacekeeping at that time, according to the UN Under-Secretary for Political Affairs, Sir Brian Urquart, “Was to prevent regional conflict from triggering an East-West nuclear confrontation.”³² Due to such limitations, there were only 14 UN peacekeeping operations in this period and these were mostly concerned with the decolonisation process, allowing old great powers to withdraw, whilst preparing for the establishment of new sovereign states.³³ The number of UN authorised peacekeeping operations during the Cold War era is relatively low when compared with those conducted by non-UN actors; the latter numbering over 50 peacekeeping operations over the same period

of time.³⁴ This difference in numbers was caused by the differing views of the Cold War superpowers, the US and the Soviet Union, in their capacity as UN Security Council permanent members.

Table 4.1: UN Peacekeeping Missions, 1945-87

Mission	Date	Purpose
UN Special Commission on the Balkans (UNSCOB)	1947-51	Investigate foreign interference in Greek Civil War
UN Truce Supervision Organization (UNTSO)	1948-present	Monitor General Armistice Agreement in Middle East
UN Military Observer Group in India and Pakistan (UNMOGIP)	1949-present	Monitor India-Pakistan ceasefire in Kashmir
UN Force in Korea	1950-3	Peace enforcement in defence in South Korea
UN Emergency Force (UNEF I)	1956-67	Buffer between Israel and Egypt in the Sinai
UN Operation in the Congo (ONUC)	1960-64	Restore order and assist the Congolese government
UN Security Force in West New Guinea or UN Temporary Executive Authority (UNTEA)	1962-63	Administer West New Guinea before transfer to Indonesian sovereignty
UN Yemen Observation Mission (UNYOM)	1963-64	Monitor arms and troop movements into Yemen from Saudi Arabia
UN Peacekeeping Force in Cyprus (UNFICYP)	1964-present	Maintain order before 1974 from civil war between Greek and Turkish Cypriots, post-1974 Turkish invasion UN forces monitor buffer zone
UN India-Pakistan Observer Mission (UNIPOM)	1965-6	Monitor ceasefire after 1965 India-Pakistan War
Mission of the Representative of the Secretary-General in the Dominican Republic (DOMREP)	1965-6	Observe and report on breaches on the ceasefire in the Dominican Republic
UN Emergency Force II (UNEF II)	1974-9	Act as a buffer between Israel and Egypt in the Sinai
UN Disengagement Observer Force (UNDOF)	1974-present	Monitor the separation of Israeli and Syrian forces on the Golan Heights
UN Interim Force in Lebanon (UNIFIL)	1978-present	Buffer between Israel and Lebanon

Source: Alex Bellamy and Paul Williams, *Understanding Peacekeeping, 2nd Ed.*, (Cambridge: Polity Press, 2010), p. 86 and United Nations Peacekeeping, *The Early Years*, <http://www.un.org/en/peacekeeping/operations/early.shtml>, accessed September 2014.

Arguably, not all UN peacekeeping operations in the Cold War can be considered traditional. For Erwin Schmidl, UN operations in West New Guinea (UNTEA) and

Cyprus (UNFICYP) are considered 'wider' peacekeeping.³⁵ The reason is that the West New Guinea operation provided interim administration to assist transition from the Netherlands to Indonesia, and is thus considered different from the regular force missions that need specialised government skills to execute. For the UN, the Mission to Cyprus required a wider peacekeeping approach due to the multiple roles required when the mission began in 1964; the need being to prevent a recurrence of fighting between the Greek Cypriots and Turkish Cypriots through monitoring, transitional administration, restoration of law and order, and facilitation.³⁶ However, UNFICYP became a traditional peacekeeping operation when Turkish troops invaded Northern Cyprus in 1974, allowing the UN forces to conduct its 'classic' role of maintaining ceasefire agreement. The UN mission in Cyprus provides an example of how fluid peacekeeping operations can be when facing military realities in the field. Bellamy and Williams consider UNFICYP to be traditional peacekeeping (rather than the wider type), because it stabilised the crisis through limited use of force, thus securing cessation of hostilities.³⁷ From what was predicted to be a temporary mission when it started in 1964, UNFICYP has remained in place to patrol the ceasefire-line until today.

The prolonged UN mission, and also those of traditional peacekeeping in Lebanon (UNIFIL) and in the Golan Heights (UNDOF), raises the question regarding the efficacy of traditional peacekeeping operations, because the presence of peacekeeping forces creates a 'comfortable' stalemate arguably encouraging belligerents to become disinterested in a permanent conflict resolution. This situation resonates with Christopher Bellamy's interpretation of conflict as cyclical, where the spectrum between post-conflict and pre-conflict cannot be clearly distinguished, making the presence of peacekeeper boots on the ground as necessary to maintain a peaceful stability, deterring the possible re-occurrence of conflict.³⁸ Arguably, the best way for UN peacekeeping forces to end the mission is to ensure that the root causes of the previous conflict have been successfully dealt with, to instil necessary government infrastructure and to train the local population's security forces so they can be ready to maintain peace and order.

4.4 Development of Post-Cold War UN Peacekeeping Missions

With the end of the Cold War and thereafter the criticism of traditional peacekeeping, the UN peacekeeping ‘experiment’ experienced a threefold transformation. Firstly, there was an increase in the number of peacekeeping operations authorised by the UN; the rise between 1988 and 1993 equalling the number recorded over the previous four decades.³⁹ Secondly, there was a transformation of norms in allowing broader issues to be taken up in the decision-making of peace operations, taking into account domestic crises (instead of previously only looking only at interstate conflict) that might disturb international stability and peace. This created the third transformation, the qualitative change in performing the mission, with an overarching mandate of state-building, humanitarian aid, local peace-making and peace enforcement. During this period, peacekeepers were required to adhere to their traditional duties plus additional tasks, affording them a wider role in conflict and hence the introduction of a new term, as earlier mentioned, ‘wider peacekeeping’. For scholars, such as Hillen, Mackinlay and Chopra, wider peacekeeping is often referred to as ‘second generation peacekeeping’.⁴⁰ To touch upon the bases of wider peacekeeping, another term was introduced for this new generation of UN peacekeeping activities, as popularised by Findlay and Wedgwood, termed ‘Chapter 6^{1/2}’. This refers to the problem that UN peacekeeping operations seek to solve, i.e. falling between a pacific settlement of dispute (Chapter 6 of the UN Charter) and enforcement measures (Chapter 7), also known as a hybrid operation.⁴¹ The UN Charter includes enforcement measures in respect of actions that are considered threats to peace, as well as acts of aggression, as detailed in the Articles below:⁴²

- Article 39
 1. The Security Council shall determine the existence of any threat to the peace, breach of the peace, or act of aggression and *shall make recommendations, or decide what measures shall be taken* in accordance with Articles 41 and 42, *to maintain or restore international peace and security*.
- Article 41
 1. The Security Council may decide what measures not involving the use of armed force are to be employed to give effect to its decisions, and it may

call upon the Members of the United Nations to apply such measures. These may include complete or partial interruption of economic relations and of rail, sea, air, postal, telegraphic, radio, and other means of communication, and the severance of diplomatic relations.

- Article 42
 1. Should the Security Council consider that measures provided for in Article 41 would be inadequate or have proved to be inadequate, *it may take such action by air, sea, or land forces as may be necessary to maintain or restore international peace and security*. Such action may include demonstrations, blockades, and other operations by air, sea, or land forces of Members of the United Nations.

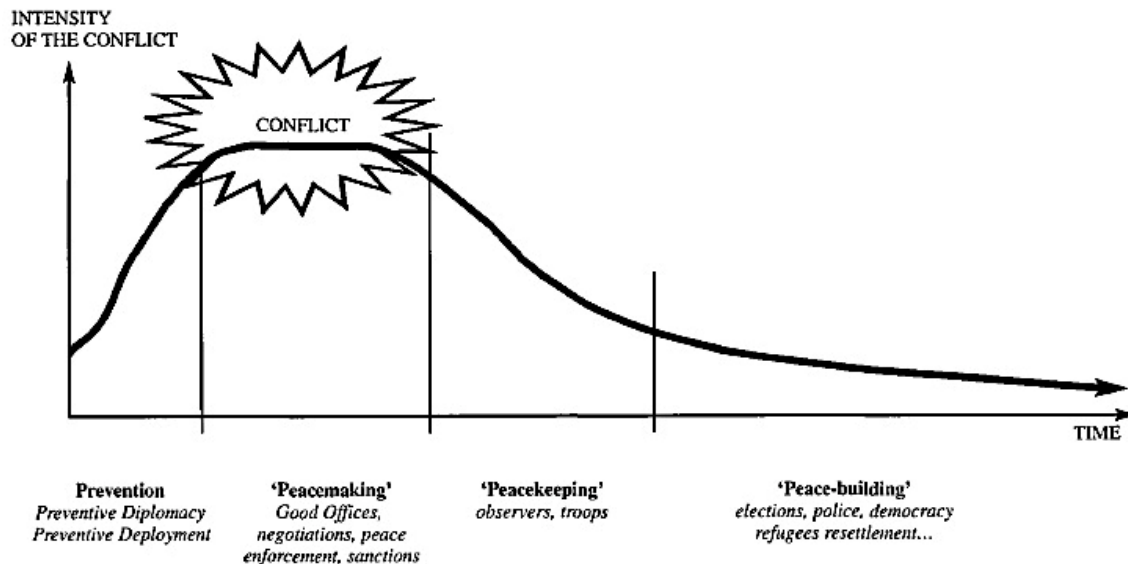
Besides being referred to as second generation peacekeeping, Chapter 6^{1/2} operations, or wider peacekeeping, is sometimes also called ‘strategic peacekeeping’ or ‘peacekeeping by proxy’ to demonstrate the importance and lofty goals that peacekeepers need to fulfil, rather than simply the use of conventional soldiering skills.⁴³ Rather than puzzlement at the array of the differing terms used to signify similar actions, it would be useful to discuss the characteristics of wider peacekeeping to better identify how the new generation of peacekeeping differs compared to traditional peacekeeping. First, wider peacekeeping operations take place during on-going violence, compared to traditional peacekeeping that is deployed after the ceasefire agreement has been signed; for example, this would apply to UN peacekeeping operations in Bosnia, Rwanda and Sierra Leone. Second, wider peacekeeping occurs during intra-state wars.⁴⁴ Third, peacekeepers are expected to have more advanced skills than simply soldiering, including belligerent disarmament, organising and supervising elections, delivering humanitarian aid, guarding freedom of movement, protecting civilians, capacity-building for the local population and monitoring ceasefires.⁴⁵ This can be seen in the UN peacekeeping operations in El Salvador, Mozambique, Cambodia and Timor Leste. Fourth, wider peacekeeping interacts with increased numbers of people in the civilian ‘humanitarian community’ due to the complexity of the operations and exponential growth in the numbers of non-governmental (NGO) organisations involved. For example, in the UN peacekeeping mission to Yugoslavia, the operation faced an

increase from 65 to 127 NGOs that it needed to coordinate with between February and September 1993.⁴⁶ Fifth, there is the possibility of changing mandates for peacekeeping missions, as experienced in the Croatian and Bosnian wars, when the UN Security Council passed 83 resolutions between 1991 and 1995.⁴⁷ Aside from these five characteristics, there are other possible differentials between traditional and wider peacekeeping, including, but not limited to, the size of peacekeeping contingents and their composition, as well as the budget allocation provided to peace operations. However, since every peace operation is different, dependent on its location and the nature of the conflict, it is difficult to compare peace operations.

Peacekeeping 'diversification' in the post-Cold War is explained in the UN Secretary General Boutros Boutros-Ghali's *Agenda for Peace* published in 1992, see Figure 4.1, below. The *Agenda* was originally a Report for the UN Security Council listing the options the UN has in dealing with conflicts via a chronology of actions, but is often misinterpreted as explaining the basis for different UN interventions. Under international diplomatic frameworks, Boutros-Ghali presented four options for UN interventions, to: 1) engage before a crisis escalates to an armed conflict; that is, 'Preventive Diplomacy'; 2) provide effort to end a conflict after it has started; that is, 'Peace-making'; 3) provide security and stability after an armistice is agreed; that is, 'Peacekeeping'; and 4) support an armistice into a lasting peace settlement through efforts of Disarmament, Demobilization and Reconstruction (DDR) and local population capacity building; that is, 'Peace-building'.⁴⁸ However, Boutros-Ghali was criticised because he included troop deployment in the early stages of peacekeeping conflict prevention, rather than diplomatic negotiation, but this was regarded as essential as argued in his *Agenda for Peace*.⁴⁹ However, Boutros-Ghali's efforts in elucidating the peacekeeping phases, and bringing 'peace-building' into sharper focus, should still be recognised as a positive development. Peace-building was a new task for UN peacekeeping operations, representing a distinct post-Cold War activity, and recognised as the reason for prolonged mission periods. Discussion regarding when UN forces should withdraw, especially for lengthy missions such as in Bosnia and Lebanon, became important after *The Agenda for Peace* was published. There was general discontent directed towards the uncertainty over the length of UN peacekeeping

operations, and it seemed impossible for the UN to set an exit date when it commenced a mission, as war is unpredictable.⁵⁰

Figure 4.1: Four Phases of International Intervention



Source: Adapted from Boutros Boutros-Ghali, *Agenda for Peace*, (UN Secretariat: New York: June 1992), pp. 5-16.

With the emergence of new international actors – such as the European Union, the Economic Association of West African States, and the ‘coalitions of the willing’, rallied by leading nations, there is a hybrid form of peace operation executed jointly between the UN and the new peacekeeping actors. For example, in the Haiti mission (1993-96), the division of labour between the Organisation of American States (OAS) and the US-led military intervention, created stability, leading to the subsequent handing over of the operation to UN peacekeepers to enable economic growth before the UN passed the authority back to the Haitian government.⁵¹ There is also, however, the less rosy case where the sharing of operational responsibility took more effort than handling the conflict itself, as in the Bosnia-Herzegovina mission (1991-95).⁵² For the Bosnia operation, NATO was responsible for troops, the UN was accountable for police, the Organisation for Security and Cooperation in Europe (OSCE) was in charge of election and human rights monitoring, while the European Union handled whole mission monitoring, but having so many actors consumed months of fine-tuning the mission coordination. Despite the energy consumed in arranging the multi-forces mission, it was

only in post-Cold War operations that non-UN peacekeeping forces coordinated their actions with the UN.⁵³ This meant that aside from the more complex missions that were executed, UN peacekeeping operations also had to tap into more resources than previously. This led to a fear that UN forces and non-UN forces would now compete for the CCs military and police. Birger Heldt, the Evaluation Officer for the Organization for Security and Co-operation in Europe (OSCE) and Associate Professor on Peace and Conflict Research at Uppsala University, disputes such an assumption by noting that UN and non-UN peacekeeping operations assist each other, and there is also the higher probability that CCs that have participated in UN peacekeeping operations will be more likely to participate in non-UN missions later, compared to those countries without experience.⁵⁴ Hence, UN missions are a preparatory stage before CCs conduct their own regional or interest group peacekeeping missions.

The nature of relations between UN and non-UN entities is not the sole problem of a complex peacekeeping mission; there are other issues concerned with the UN's complicated administration and communications between various groups. This includes the UN staff and diplomats in the UN Department of Peacekeeping Operations (UN DPKO) headquarters, as well as coordination between the military, police and civilian staffs in the mission country. One of the biggest challenges for the UN is to maintain the supply of multinational troops to ensure operational sustainability. In order to do this, the UN DPKO needs to accommodate and match the diverse interests of CCs, which is not always easy.⁵⁵ The end of the Cold War witnessed the birth of many nation-states that were previously colonised. For the UN, this meant the need for more CCs to support its peacekeeping missions. The increased number of contributing countries to UN Peacekeeping would act to highlight the supply security of peacekeepers. Moreover, the increased number of peacekeepers would correlate with the increased complexity and effectiveness of peacekeeping operations.

4.5 Proliferation of the Blue Berets

In the course of seven decades, the UN has conducted 72 peacekeeping operations (with 16 still on-going as of October 2014).⁵⁶ There was an increase in CCs in the post-Cold

War period, from 73 countries in 1993 to 117 in UN peacekeeping operations up to 2007.⁵⁷ There is also a shifting dynamic of UN Peacekeeping CCs from small and relatively wealthy countries, to countries with large populations and less wealth.⁵⁸ In the early 1990s, France, Pakistan and Britain were the top three troop contributors supporting UN peacekeeping operations, but a decade later in the early 2000s the top three CCs were Pakistan, Bangladesh and India, as shown in Table 4.2.⁵⁹ There are two factors explaining this trend: firstly, large population countries have a greater human resource pool compared to smaller countries and hence they can send more peacekeepers; secondly, smaller population countries are unable to provide high numbers of peacekeepers, due to their human resource constraints. However, the smaller but richer countries at the start of UN peacekeeping, provided a high number of peacekeepers, but when the higher population countries joined the UN forces, the smaller countries' contribution grew smaller in percentage terms. Research by Gowan and Gleason highlight Europe's falling contributions to UN troop deployments, from 33 per cent (2008) to 8 per cent (2011).⁶⁰ For example, in 1990, France deployed 525 peacekeepers on UN peacekeeping operations, increasing to 1,620 peacekeepers in 2010 (annual growth rate at 5.8 per cent), but despite this rise, France's contribution was still lower compared to India that deployed only 40 in 1990, increasing to 8,800 in 2010 (annual growth rate at 30.95 per cent).⁶¹ If these country increases are compared to the UN peacekeeping forces' annual growth from 1990 to 2010, at 12 per cent, then the growth of French peacekeeping forces lagged well behind the average growth of UN peacekeeping forces.⁶²

Table 4.2: Top Ten UN Peacekeeping Country Contributors, 1991-2010 (per cent of total peacekeepers)

1991-1995	%	1996-2000	%	2001-2005	%	2005-2010	%
France	9.9	India	6.5	Pakistan	12.0	Pakistan	12.0
Pakistan	7.0	Bangladesh	5.9	Bangladesh	11.9	Bangladesh	11.5
United Kingdom	6.0	Poland	4.9	India	7.0	India	10.2
India	4.6	Ghana	4.7	Nigeria	6.4	Nigeria	4.7
Canada	4.5	Jordan	4.0	Ghana	5.1	Nepal	4.4
Bangladesh	4.0	Pakistan	3.8	Jordan	4.4	Jordan	4.0
Nepal	3.2	Austria	3.7	Kenya	3.6	Ghana	3.6

Jordan	3.1	Finland	3.6	Nepal	3.5	Uruguay	3.0
Ghana	2.9	United States	3.5	Uruguay	3.2	Egypt	2.7
Poland	2.8	Ireland	3.4	Ukraine	2.4	Ethiopia	2.7

Source: Expanded from Birger Heldt, 'Trends from 1948 to 2005: How to View the Relation between the United Nations and Non-UN Entities', in Donald C. F. Daniel, Patricia Taft and Sharon Wiharta (Eds), *Peace Operations: Trends, Progress, and Prospects*, (Washington DC: Georgetown University Press, 2008), p. 25. Statistics from UN Department of Peacekeeping Operations (DPKO) website. <http://www.un.org/en/peacekeeping/resources/statistics/contributors.shtml#>

Donald Daniel, Katrin Heuel and Benjamin Margo (2008) analysed the location of the CCs, their types of government, their wealth, their levels of development and stability, the size of their ground forces and the implications of the current mix of CCs to UN peacekeeping operational efficiency.⁶³ The regions where most UN peacekeeping personnel came from were Africa and Europe, followed by America and Asia-Pacific. However, the regions with the highest proportion of CCs are South Asia (83 per cent of countries in the region) and Europe (77 per cent).⁶⁴ Across 2008 to 2011, with the increased contributions from Egypt and Ethiopia, the African region has raised its military personnel support to UN peacekeeping operations from 29 to 38 per cent, taking over from Europe.⁶⁵ If added together, troops from South Asia and the African region made up 75 per cent of UN uniformed peacekeepers.⁶⁶ Hence, it can be said that in recent times the UN relies heavily on force contributions from just two regions, Africa and Europe. Most of the CCs are democratic (48 per cent), somewhat less are autocratic⁶⁷ or non-democratic (28 and 11 per cent, subsequently); the majority of CCs have stable government (52 per cent), and the biggest proportion are middle-income countries (38 per cent), with high- and low-income countries following suit (25 and 24 per cent, respectively).⁶⁸ Unsurprisingly, the CCs' active ground force numbers have a direct correlation with their troop contributions. Countries with large active ground forces (100,000 or more personnel) contributed on average 3,500 troops, while those having medium-sized forces (99,000-25,000 personnel) contributed 1,000 troops and small-sized forces (below 25,000 personnel) contributed around 600 troops.⁶⁹

In general, the CCs that have the greatest impact on peacekeeping operations are democratic and politically stable, and have medium-income and large active ground forces. Therefore, on operational efficiency grounds, if the UN wishes to expand its

peacekeeping forces, it should target countries with these qualities. Conversely, the UN can use the emerging middle-income countries having large active ground forces, such as China, Brazil, Egypt, Sri Lanka and Indonesia, to contribute more to UN peacekeeping.⁷⁰ It should also be noted that from where CCs are located, there are different regional sentiments expressed towards UN peacekeeping operations. UN peacekeeping has better support from South Asia and European countries, compared to regions like the Middle East. This is not to say that the UN should promote its peacekeeping operations only from countries and regions where recruitment has been successful, but rather that the organisation should find alternative strategies in gaining support from those countries and regions with low or zero participation in UN peacekeeping.

4.6 Motivations behind Blue Beret Contributing Countries

When and why do countries contribute troops to UN Peacekeeping operations? Article 43 of the UN Charter provides the justification for the organisation to request member state support for UN peacekeeping operation needs. The Article 43 reads:

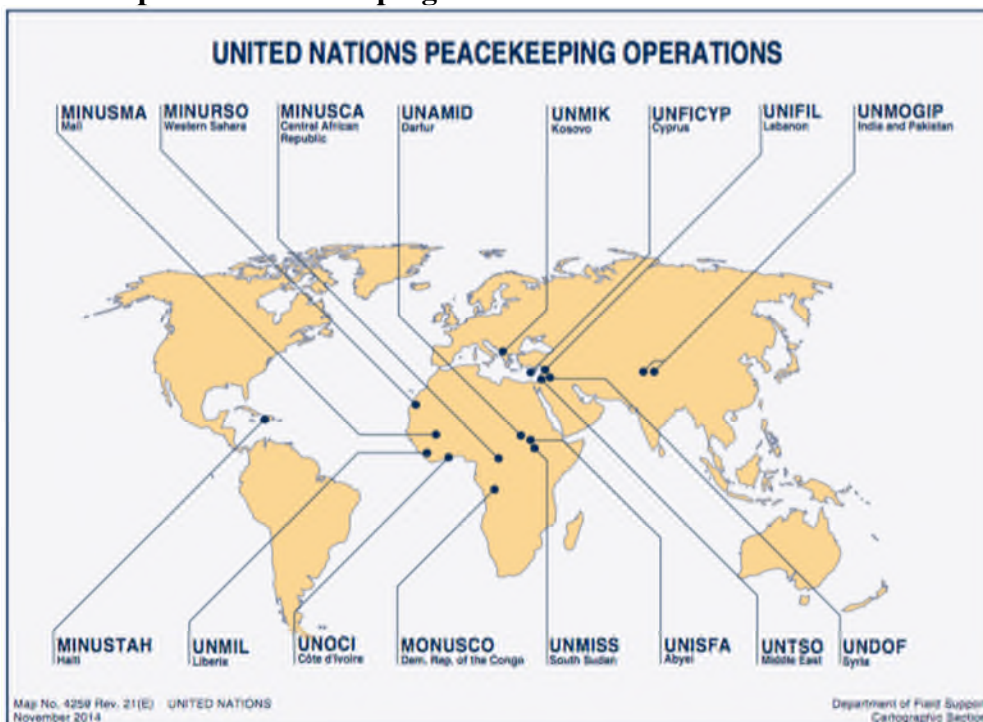
“All Members of the United Nations, in order to contribute to the maintenance of international peace and security, undertake to make available to the Security Council, on its call and in accordance with a special agreement or agreements, armed forces, assistance, and facilities, including the rights of passage, necessary for the purpose of maintaining international peace and security.”⁷¹

As such, it is the willingness and interest of member states that dictate how many troops they are willing to contribute to UN peacekeeping missions. The liberalist school in international relations proposes democratic peace theory as the reason why UN member states contribute to peacekeeping missions.⁷² The theory posits that democratic countries respect an individual’s unalienable rights everywhere, and thus join international peacekeeping efforts because they trust the activity, and support the proliferation of democracy and respect for human rights.⁷³ However, scholars supporting the public good theory would argue that self-interested countries contribute to UN peacekeeping because the creation of peace as a public good may benefit those countries privately.⁷⁴ For example, peace in a specific area may benefit the CCs by

creating stability on their trade routes, decreasing refugees, creating friendly governments and obtaining economic contracts for post-conflict rebuilding.

Aside from the willingness and interest of the CCs, the reason as to when and why peacekeepers can be deployed also rests in the hands of the host country that receives the multi-nationals troops, as well as the UN that reserves the authority to decide the composition of its peacekeeping troops to ensure political-neutrality and non-aligned contingents.⁷⁵ Hence, the answer to when member states can contribute depends on the interest of a supplier country, the approval of the host country and the UN Security Council's decision as to whether a CC can act impartially in handling the conflict a particular UN mission is trying to solve. With these three prerequisites, looking at where CCs deploy becomes a matter of locating the source of demand, as member states would not send their security personnel into areas where they are not needed. In 2014, the regions where the majority of UN peacekeeping operations are located are in Africa (9 missions), followed by the Middle East (3 missions), with just two missions in Europe and Asia, and one mission in the Americas, as illustrated in Figure 4.2.

Figure 4.2: Map of UN Peacekeeping Missions in 2014



Source: UN Department of Field Support, Cartographic Section, *Map*, No. 4259 Rev. 21 (E), November 2014.

The other question is how do member states send their police and troops on UN missions, and what drives such contributions to UN peacekeeping, aside from the idealist argument that countries are willing to cooperate to maintain international peace and humanitarian assistance. In 2013, Perry and Smith noted the patterns in which CCs prefer to send their troops on certain missions and the types of contingents deployed.⁷⁶ Firstly, geo-political proximity is one of the deliberations for country deployment. After 2007, Europe's contribution to UN peacekeeping operations was largely made-up of forces from Spain, Italy and Ireland, and sent to UN missions in Lebanon (UNIFIL). South American CCs, by contrast, preferred to send their troops to the UN mission in Haiti.⁷⁷ Secondly, the existence of long-term state policy will determine the consistency of country contributions in the provision of UN peacekeepers; for example, note the policy stance of the UK in the 1990s, through its participation in the UN's Protection Force in Bosnia (UNPROFOR), propelled the UK as one of the UN's top TCCs at the time.⁷⁸ Countries that do not have a steering policy have relatively unstable contributions to UN peacekeeping missions, as internal political and security dynamics influence contributions; for example, Malawi's increased troop contributions since 2011, whilst Namibia's contribution ceased in 2007.⁷⁹ Thirdly, member states that are interested in gaining a bigger stake in the UN tend to contribute more to UN peacekeeping operations. This applies to those countries seeking membership of the UN Security Council, including Brazil, Germany, India and Japan (the G4 countries), which increased their UN peacekeeping contribution three-fold between 2004 and 2007.⁸⁰ Unlike the permanent members of UNSC that provide steady but relatively low contributions (around 1,000 peacekeepers from the P5 combined), the G4 countries sense that high troop contributions are proportional to the capability required to support the maintenance of international peace.⁸¹ This, arguably, is because higher force contributions in UN peacekeeping operations increase the CCs' legitimacy to a seat in UNSC.

The above discussion begs the question as to what are the underlying push-factors that make countries willing to contribute to UN peacekeeping operations. Scholars, that include Alex Bellamy, Paul Williams and Andrzej Sitkowski, have probed the ulterior

motives behind countries sending military and/or police forces to support UN missions.⁸² There are several rationales behind member states contributing to peacekeeping operations, and these can be categorised into four main motives. Firstly, there is the political motive, as states participate in UN peacekeeping to achieve political objectives, such as prestige or authority. A member state's role in UN peacekeeping, if done successfully, will command more respect in the international fora than most other engagements.⁸³ Secondly, there are economic motives, especially for countries whose governments have a lower ability to financially compensate their security forces in comparison with UN peacekeeping remuneration. The UN standard reimbursement rate for peacekeeping CCs is US\$1,028 per month per peacekeeper; however, that amount is transferred to the government, which in turn distributes the compensation according to national rank and salary scale.⁸⁴ Therefore, the national treasury could make savings from the surplus. Thirdly, there are institutional professionalism motives, whereby CCs by necessity have to train national security forces, and UN peacekeeping missions offer 'invaluable overseas experience' for them.⁸⁵ This is especially the case for CCs that are in post-conflict situations. Peacekeeping operations also provide a means for these CCs to maintain a minimum critical mass of military personnel, so reducing redundancy and lessening conflict in the demobilisation, disarmament and reintegration process. Fourthly, there are the normative motives for CCs to portray themselves as 'good international citizens'. When combined with solid experience, CCs are in a potent position to share their field experience; for example, when Rwanda deployed 90 per cent of its peacekeepers for genocide prevention in Sudan and Darfur.⁸⁶ For the majority of CCs, their normative motives are that they view UN peacekeeping as the most legitimate system of global conflict management, and they want to be part of the solution.⁸⁷ Nonetheless, UN peacekeeping is criticised because its prestigious international role insulates peacekeepers in their conduct on missions, damaging the reputation of UN peacekeeping.⁸⁸ Despite the CCs' best efforts, the deployment of peacekeeping missions can create unintended consequences for the local population, such as was experienced in the UN mission to Haiti (MINUSTAH) in 2010. Reportedly, the Nepalese peacekeepers brought cholera bacteria from their country, and spread it through the antiquated Haitian sanitation system.⁸⁹

The above arguments suggest that member states only contribute to UN peacekeeping operations when there is a demand from the mission, approval from the host country and, most importantly, when the CCs themselves believe that their contribution serves, or will serve, their best interests. Such interests can be in the form of tangible benefits, including obtaining surplus funding from deploying national troops and police forces, or intangible benefits, such as profiting from the leveraging of prestige on the international stage. Conversely, as CCs observe only what is beneficial for them and their security personnel when it comes to peacekeeping operations, ideally, there should be neutral observers that can appropriately monitor not only the Contributing Countries forces who perform, but also the under-performing personnel that are deployed, and how they impact on the host country's population, either intentionally or unintentionally. The possibility of assigning neutral observers for UN peacekeeping operations is still a subject of debate, as the less developed countries tend to send their personnel while the relatively wealthier countries prefer to set the mandates and fund the missions.

4.7 Policing the Peacekeepers...

Aside from the normative ideals that UN peacekeeping operations seek to achieve, such as preventing conflict escalation and fostering peace, the implementation of such lofty goals is often easier said than done, especially as multinational forces come from different cultures. Some UN missions have been considered failures, namely the massacre in Rwanda and Srebrenica when UN troops withdrew in the face of hostile action.⁹⁰ Subsequently, the UN Secretary General Kofi Annan in 2002 requested high-level experts to join in a panel to make a frank assessment of UN peacekeeping weaknesses to look for the entry point for improvement. The 'Brahimi Report' that was named after the Panel chair, UN Under-Secretary-General Lakhdar Brahimi, contains criticism and recommendations for change in UN Peacekeeping doctrine and strategy, operational capacity, and rapid and effective deployment.⁹¹ The Brahimi report recommendations were used as guidelines to revamp the UN's peacekeeping mandates, revising communication between UN officials, states and staff, the rapid availability and deployment of peacekeepers, the planning, logistics, and mission leadership, and issues

relating to human rights and the rule of law. The Brahimi Report has also been useful in improving the operations of UN peacekeeping at the beginning of the 21st century, but it is still short of addressing other key issues, such as training, HIV/AIDS, gender-related issues and the security of UN field personnel.⁹² Another issue that is left unanswered by the Report is *quis custodiet ipsos custodes*; that is, who is watching the watchmen? As peacekeepers are deployed in conflict and post-conflict areas, where the rule of law is often non-existent, the legal institutions are weak, and the peacekeepers are stationed on a rotational basis, any misconduct is hard to trace and, even harder, to punish.

Especially on the issue of gender, peacekeepers have the ability to play important roles in protecting civilians from sexual violence and upholding the concept of women's rights. The UN has been championing women rights through the 1979 Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination against Women (CEDAW), and since the early 1990s, UN peacekeeping mission mandates have explicitly included protection of civilians.⁹³ However, there have been allegations that peacekeepers have engaged in sexual exploitation and abuse.⁹⁴ The first allegation arose in October 2002 when UN peacekeepers and humanitarian staff engaged in sexual exploitation and abuse of female refugees in Guinea, Liberia and Sierra Leone.⁹⁵ In response, in October 2003, the UN Secretary General published a bulletin entitled *Special Measures for Protection from Sexual Exploitation and Sexual Abuse*, to advise semi-educated peacekeepers that "sexual exploitation is... any actual or attempted abuse of a position of vulnerability, differential power, or trust, for sexual purposes, including, but not limited to, profiting monetarily, socially or politically from the sexual exploitation of another," and sexual abuse as "the actual or threatened physical intrusion of a sexual nature, whether by force or under unequal or coercive conditions."⁹⁶ The bulletin also clarifies the standards that peacekeepers need to abide or else sanctions will be applied against them. The required standards include:

- Acts of sexual abuse and exploitation are prohibited, and constitute serious misconduct that will be subject to disciplinary action including summary dismissal;
- Sexual activity with children under the age of 18 is strictly prohibited;

- Any exchange of money, employment goods or services – including any exchange of assistance due to beneficiaries of assistance – for sex is prohibited;
- Sexual relationships between UN staff and beneficiaries are based on inherently unequal power dynamics and therefore undermine the credibility and integrity of the work of the United Nations;
- United Nations staff members who suspect other UN workers must report concerns; and
- Managers at all levels have a responsibility to support and develop an environment that prevents sexual exploitation.⁹⁷

The bulletin that was distributed to the peacekeepers and UN peacekeeping mission partners also reiterates the requirement that both sexual exploitation and abuse is considered an act of serious misconduct. Hence, the UN offered a stern warning that whoever conducts such acts will be summarily dismissed.

No measurable impact assessment of the UN bulletin publication's impact on peacekeeper behaviour was conducted. The warning provided guidelines to bring about the highest standards of propriety for peacekeepers, but without assessment of impact, changes were not measured and known. The international civil society was not satisfied with the warning provided by the UN Secretary General's office through the 2003 bulletin. The civil society then acted by seeking independent scrutiny of events as well as access to the confidential UN Report. For example, the non-government organisation, Amnesty International, in October 2004 published its own report on how the presence of UN and NATO peacekeeping forces in Kosovo (UNMIK) promoted the sex trade. Aside from the gruesome testimonials of trafficking experiences, the Report presented statistics on the raised numbers of premises where trafficked women and girls were housed had increased from 18 in 1999 to more than 200 in 2004.⁹⁸ The Report also noted allegations that the UNMIK police were involved in Kosovo sex trade trafficking from 2000 to 2003 resulting in two officers being repatriated and two other officers receiving letters of reprimand.⁹⁹ However, not all the allegations were processed; in fact, many of them were dismissed due to insufficient evidence, because the allegations were mostly sourced from the victims' testimony.¹⁰⁰ One month after the Amnesty

Report, the *Washington Post* published a feature on UN peacekeeper abuse in the Congo, based on leaked UN documents alleging that sexual exploitation by UN peacekeepers in the area “appears to be significant, wide-spread and ongoing (*sic*)”.¹⁰¹ The article notes that the UN received 150 sexual abuse allegations against its personnel in the Congo, and that the accused Tunisian and Uruguayan peacekeepers, as well as French civilian personnel, were under investigation.¹⁰² A similar investigation was undertaken in the Ivory Coast by Save the Children in 2008, and revealed that several peacekeepers assigned to the post-conflict country were abusing children between 13 to 17 years of age.¹⁰³

The ensuing public uproar forced the UN to conduct its own investigation and assigned Prince Zeid Ra’ad Zeid Al-Hussein of Jordan to be the UN Secretary-General’s Adviser on Sexual Exploitation and Abuse, leading to a publication, entitled, *A Comprehensive Strategy to Eliminate Future Sexual Exploitation and Abuse in UN Peacekeeping Operations*.¹⁰⁴ His Report confirmed the earlier Amnesty International finding of widespread and obvious sexual exploitation occurring in UN operations, predominantly prostitution. For example, in Bunia, where the majority of the UN Congo mission (MONUC) was headquartered, the UN mission faced 72 allegations of sexual misconduct, 68 of them directed against military personnel, with the rest against civilian personnel.¹⁰⁵ With such prevalence of sexual abuse, the Price Zeid Report suggested a two year reform package to eliminate sexual exploitation and abuse by peacekeepers, commencing in 2005.¹⁰⁶ Despite the existence of an *ad hoc* review mechanism and the support of the UN Office of Internal Oversight Service, it is difficult for the organisation to be objective regarding peacekeeper conduct, as the UN also needs to maintain the CC’s continuous political support for its current and future missions. The Deputy-Chief investigator at the UN Office of Internal Oversight Services in the Congo resigned in 2007 after his Team Report findings were subject to criticism in that they represented a judgement ‘little short of a whitewash’, suggesting there was little evidence to warrant prosecution or further investigation.¹⁰⁷ The UN officials have no authority to prosecute foreign troops, aside from dismissing the peacekeepers. Moreover, the fear of publicly naming abusers will likely embarrass the CCs’

governments, obliging them to withdraw their needed peacekeepers from the UN mission.¹⁰⁸

The UN can only reform its peacekeepers with the full support of the CCs, ensuring that prior to deployment the countries had undertaken a rigorous selection and training of peacekeepers. CCs could also develop a Code of Conduct at the national level as a point of reference to stem what appears to be a rising tide of exploitation. The Code could act as a tool for educating and training the CCs' military and police personnel, and as a set of guidelines to assist commanders to prevent abuses by their personnel. The Ghana forces' Code of Conduct is a good example of what is required to ensure prohibition of sexual exploitation and abuse.¹⁰⁹ When it comes to misconduct allegations, CCs should also cooperate with investigating teams to help the collection of evidence, and on the occasions where the peacekeepers are proven to be guilty, the CCs should ensure accountability; that is, the perpetrators will be punished, even after they have been repatriated to their home countries. The legal process of misconduct after peacekeepers have returned to their home country should also be open to the public, because of the allegations direct link with UN mission credibility. As per 2001, there are countries that have announced disciplinary action and even imprisoned their peacekeepers that have been found guilty, including France, Morocco, Nepal, Pakistan and South Africa.¹¹⁰ However, there is still a perception that peacekeepers can escape retribution from the wrongs committed in the deployment area once they return home, as not many CCs publish the disciplinary actions taken against misconduct by their peacekeepers. The UN still faces the same problem of misconduct. As recently as January 2016, fresh allegations of sexual abuse against UN peacekeepers were made in relation to peacekeepers in the Central African Republic (MINUSCA). It was alleged that French and Georgian peacekeepers¹¹¹ sexually abused young children (including the rape of two girls) in exchange for food or money.¹¹²

4.8 Gender, as a Means for Inclusive Security in UN Peacekeeping

UN peacekeeping faces widely varied challenges, so a one-fits-all solution would not be the wisest thing to do. This section does not mean to oversimplify the problems UN

peacekeeping forces face; however, it is an attempt to focus on the issue of peacekeeper misconduct in terms of sexual exploitation and abuse. This particular issue is important because, as noted by the investigator of the UN mission to the Congo, “substantiated allegations of sexual exploitation and abuse do not arise in an isolated way. They are always linked to other forms of misconduct, either financial or [through] staff mismanagement, or abuse of power.”¹¹³ Hence, sexual exploitation is not only a violation of rights, but also often reflects other problems of discipline and mismanagement that are the key foundation of peacekeeping missions. Sexual exploitation and abuse are rooted in gender-based violence representing “harm perpetrated against a person’s will [that] results from power inequalities ... based on gender roles.”¹¹⁴ As stated in subsection 1.4, gender-based violence occurs not only against women and girls, but also against men and boys. However, conflict is commonly measured using physical quantitative measures of how many people have been killed or disabled; yet, when qualitative measuring is used, it only focuses on violence that takes place in public, not in private, and is hidden from the crowd (such as rape) - hence gender-based violence is often marginalised. Whilst war and armed conflict tend to victimise men as they are killed on the battlefield, women and children are often targeted by other forms of violence, including sexual violence, sexual abuse, trafficking, as well as death from HIV/AIDS, pregnancy and honour killings resulting from rape.¹¹⁵ Consequently, assessing conflict only from physical and public measurement is biased towards the male experience, because women and children’s experiences are not taken into account, making the solution to conflict as partial and hence less sustainable. Therefore, for UN peacekeeping to be able to create inclusive security, which considers the different needs of men, women, boys and girls in handling conflict, the organisation should more adequately implement a gender perspective in its operations.

The UN Department of Peacekeeping is aware that it needs to improve its mission gender perspective. The Lessons Learned Unit of UN DPKO in 2000 admitted that the UN’s past missions have not been gender-balanced; and the issues of particular concern to women have not been highlighted.¹¹⁶ The UN adopted a gender perspective based on the UN Charter, Universal Declaration of Human Rights, and the Convention on the

Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination against Women (CEDAW). The approach taken by the UN in implementing a gender perspective is the pursuit of a *gender balance* by assessing the degree to which women and men hold the full range of positions, and the importance of *gender-mainstreaming* by considering the implications for women and men from UN actions, policies and programmes. The UN aims to take into account the differing experiences between women and men peacekeepers within the organisation. Thus, in addition to the standard measurement of operational success, the effects of peacekeeping missions on local women, and the support given to local women to be involved in peace processes will become extra metrics in the evaluation of peacekeeper performance. For example, the fact is that a UN senior manager never had one complaint of sexual harassment from amongst those working for him, whilst a women officer working in the field under his jurisdiction consistently reported cases of sexual harassment and abuse of power.¹¹⁷ The UN is also committed to begin information analysis and data disaggregation by sex and age to support gender-sensitised programmes and budget planning, so that UN managers can evaluate whether gender equality goals have been met.¹¹⁸ Despite progress taking longer than earlier expected (for example, the sex-segregated data for peacekeepers only became available from November 2009 onwards, rather than from the originally planned date of 2000), the gender perspective has now been implemented in UN peacekeeping missions, becoming an on-going work-in-progress.

The basic framework for a UN peacekeeping gender perspective implementation is the first UN Security Council Resolution No. 1325 on Women, Peace and Security that was adopted in 2000. Resolution 1325 requests women's active participation in conflict prevention, conflict resolution, peace processes, post-conflict peace-building and governance.¹¹⁹ It also calls for effective protection of women from sexual violence in conflict and the mainstreaming of a gender perspective in all aspects of peace operations. Since that time, the UNSC has learned from experience in the field and formulated several resolutions in regard to women in conflict, namely:

- **UN Security Council Resolution No. 1327 adopted in 2000** – that reaffirms the role of women in conflict prevention and resolution and peacebuilding; and

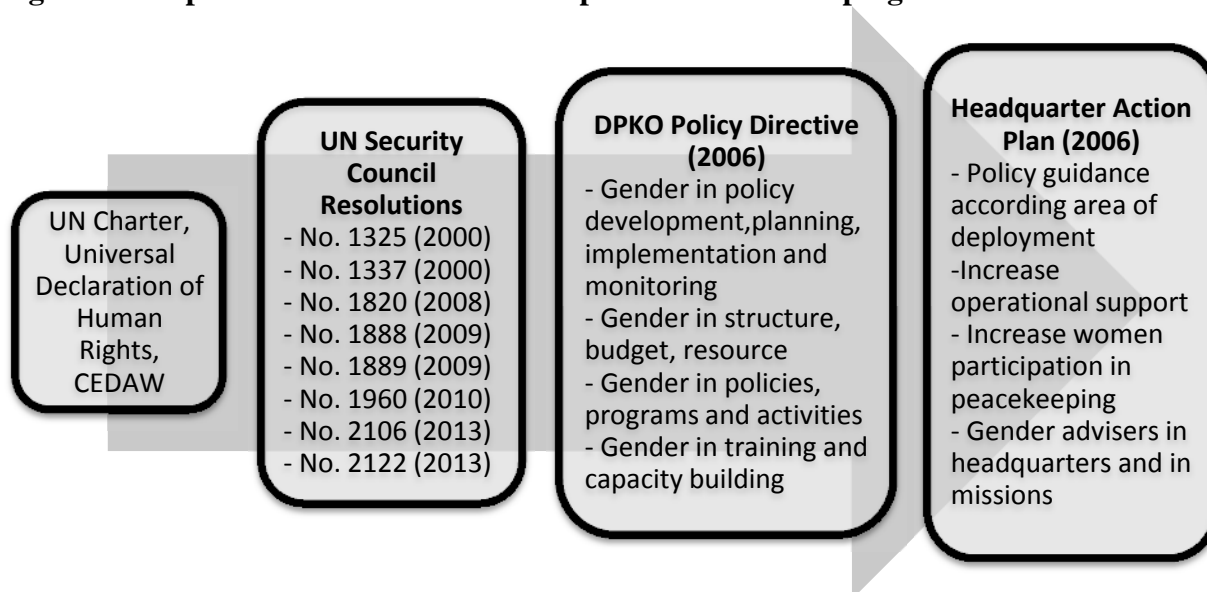
fully endorses the urgent need to mainstream a gender perspective into peacekeeping operations.

- **UN Security Council Resolution No. 1820 adopted in 2008** – that calls for armed actors to end the practice of using sexual violence against civilians and for all parties to counter impunity and provide effective protection for civilians. It also calls for the need to develop mechanisms including training of personnel, deployment of more women to peace operations, enforcement of zero-tolerance policies and strengthening the capacities of national institutions.
- **UN Security Council Resolution No. 1888 adopted in 2009** – that calls for strengthening the implementation of Security Council Resolution 1820 through assigning leadership. It specifically asks for the appointment of a Special Representative of the UN Secretary General to address sexual violence, as well as for rapid deployment of teams of experts and advisors for situations of concern.
- **UN Security Council Resolution No. 1889 adopted in 2009** – that calls for the UN Secretary General to submit to the Security Council a set of indicators for use at the global level to track implementation of Security Council Resolution 1325.
- **UN Security Council Resolution No. 1960 adopted in 2010** – that provides an accountability system for implementation of Security Council Resolutions 1820 and 1888. It mandates the UN Secretary General to list parties credibly suspected of being responsible for sexual violence in conflict within annual reports' annexes. The Resolution also calls for the establishment of monitoring and reporting arrangements specific to conflict-related sexual violence.
- **UN Security Council Resolution No. 2106 adopted in 2013** – that calls for perpetrators of sexual violence in conflict to be held accountable. This resolution also stresses the importance of women's political and economic empowerment.
- **UN Security Council Resolution No. 2122 adopted in 2013** – that calls to address persistent gaps in the implementation of UN women, peace and security agenda through requesting UN peacekeeping mission leadership to assess the abuses of women in armed conflict and post-conflict situations and peacekeeping missions to address the security threats and protection challenges faced by women and girls in armed conflict and post-conflict setting. This Resolution also recognises the continuing need to increase women's participation and consideration of gender-related issues in armed conflict prevention and resolution discussion, the maintenance of peace and security and post-conflict peacebuilding.

As the UN is an organisation with a bureaucratic structure, these Security Council Resolutions can only be implemented using the UN DPKO Policy Directive that becomes workable after it is translated into the Action Plan.¹²⁰ The UN Policy Directive

on Gender Equality in Peacekeeping Operations that elaborates the principles and requirements for implementing UNSC Resolution 1325 (2000) on Women, Peace and Security was only adopted in 2006. The Policy Directive contains managerial demands: firstly, to incorporate a gender perspective into the development of policy, planning, implementation and monitoring of peacekeeping operations; secondly, to incorporate gender into the structure, resources and budget of the mission; and, thirdly, to introduce gender-mainstreaming into all the policies, programmes and activities of the mission. For this Policy Directive to be implemented, the UN headquarters formulated an Action Plan that contains policy guidance on gender equality according to the area of deployment, the need for increased operational support for gender-mainstreaming, and a call for increased participation of women in peacekeeping (military, police and at the political level).¹²¹ The progressive implementation of policies designed to promote a gender perspective are listed in Figure 4.3, below.

Figure 4.3 Implementation of Gender Perspective in Peacekeeping Missions



Source: Adapted from the: *UN Women Evaluation Office, Evaluation of Gender-mainstreaming in United Nations Peacekeeping Activities (MONUC / MONUSCO) in the Democratic Republic of the Congo*, (New York: UN Women, 2010), p. 34.

As highlighted earlier, there are many foci required for implementing an all-embracing gender perspective in UN peacekeeping operations. From the UN DPKO gender-mainstreaming assessment, recommendations for further implementation include: revising the UN mission mandate to include specific references to the affirmation of

equal rights for women and men and a commitment to gender-balancing and -mainstreaming; having at least one woman and a senior gender advisor in mission planning and assessment; and requiring peacekeeping medical units to include at least one female physician and an obstetrics and gynaecology doctor as well as a counselling component.¹²² Moreover, if the mission is located in an area having gender segregation, then community relations officers should include women officers to access the entire population of the host country, gender balance should be attempted for senior positions, policy-level positions must receive gender training *prior* to her/his appointment, periodic reports to the Secretary General should include a report on the mission's gender-balancing and mainstreaming, lessons learned from the mission's previous experience and relevant cases from other missions should be implemented, requests to CCs should specifically ask that female personnel be provided, it should be demanded that member states include the importance of having women personnel and mainstreaming gender issues in regional and national training curricula and courses on peace operations, especially those sponsored by the Training Unit of DPKO.¹²³ There are many means for implementing a gender perspective in UN peacekeeping, but as resources are constantly limited, both UN peacekeeping missions and the associated analysis should focus on what can provide the greatest impact.

This study concentrates on gender-balancing, especially the contribution of women peacekeepers in UN missions. The contribution of women in peacekeeping missions is not unique but the presence of women peacekeepers has been proven to bring positive impacts.¹²⁴ For host countries, the presence of women peacekeepers provides support and improves access to public participation for the local women.¹²⁵ For the mission, women peacekeepers oblige male peacekeepers to become more reflective and responsible, broadening the skills and performance styles available within a mission, often having the effect of reducing confrontation and conflict.¹²⁶ This applies especially to senior women peacekeepers, because of their important role in pushing through remedies for the “macho, male-bonding, hard-drinking style of senior leadership in [some] field missions that are inherently hostile to and exclusive of women.”¹²⁷ The next chapter focuses on UN efforts to expand the role and professionalism of women

peacekeepers, both in percentage and absolute terms, through improving peacekeeping training through the adoption of a more gender-sensitised approach.

Reference and Notes

¹ Richard Connaughton, 'British Peacekeeping Doctrine: A Critique', in D. S. Gordon and F. H. Toase, *Aspects of Peacekeeping*, (Routledge: London, 2013), p. 203.

² Alex Bellamy and Paul Williams, *Understanding Peacekeeping, Second Ed.*, (Cambridge: Polity Press, 2010), pp.3-5, and Sunil Ram, *The History of United Nations Peacekeeping Operations During the Cold War: 1945 to 1987*, (Williamsburg, VA: Peace Operations Training Institute, 2008), p. 3.

³ Barry Buzan and Richard Little, *International System in World History*, (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000), p. 200.

⁴ Duncan Bell, 'Before the Democratic Peace: Racial Utopianism, Empire and the Abolition of War', *European Journal of International Relations*, Vol. 20, No. 3, September 2014, pp. 647-670

⁵ Erwin Schmidl, 'The Evolution of Peace Operations from the Nineteenth Century', *Small Wars and Insurgencies*, Volume 10, Issue 2, 1999, pp. 4-5

⁶ Donald Daniel, Katrin Heuel and Benjamin Margo, 'Distinguishing among Military Contributors', in Donald C. F. Daniel, Patricia Taft and Sharon Wiharta (Eds), *Peace Operations: Trends, Progress, and Prospects*, (Washington DC: Georgetown University Press, 2008), pp. 27-8, and Michael Doyle and Nicholas Sambanis, *Making War and Building Peace: United Nations Peace Operations*, (New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 2006), pp. 12-4.

⁷ George Ikenberry, *After Victory: Institution, Strategic Restraint and the Rebuilding of Order after Major Wars*, (New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 2001), pp. 80-116.

⁸ Erwin Schmidl, *Op. Cit.*, p. 7.

⁹ Alex Bellamy and Paul Williams, *Op. Cit.*, pp. 73-5.

¹⁰ See, William Meldicott, *Bismarck, Gladstone and the Concert of Europe*, (London: Athlone Press, 1956).

¹¹ Erwin Schmidl, *Op. Cit.*, p. 8.

¹² 'Europe May Curb Albania', *The New York Times*, 26 May 1914.

¹³ The war itself took the lives of around 20 million people and creating generalised poverty and social dislocation that impacted to the untamed widespread Spanish influenza that killed 20 million people immediately after the war. Alex Bellamy and Paul Williams, *Understanding Peacekeeping, Op. Cit.*, p. 76.

¹⁴ 'The Covenant of the League of Nations', Preamble, accessed via *The Avalon Project: Document in Law, History and Diplomacy*, http://avalon.law.yale.edu/20th_century/leagcov.asp, September 2014.

¹⁵ Listed from the earliest joining: Ecuador, Costa Rica, Brazil, the Empire of Japan and Germany, Egypt, Argentina, Australia, Belgium, Bolivia, the British Empire, Canada, Chile, the Republic of China, Colombia, Cuba, Czechoslovakia, Denmark, El Salvador, France, Greece, Guatemala, Haiti, Honduras, British India, Italy, Liberia, the Netherlands, New Zealand, Nicaragua, Norway, Panama, Paraguay, Persia/Iran, Peru, Poland, Portugal, Romania, Siam, Spain, Sweden, Switzerland, the Union of South Africa, Uruguay, Yugoslavia, Venezuela, Austria, Bulgaria, Finland, Luxembourg, Albania, Estonia, Latvia, Lithuania, Hungary, Ireland, Ethiopia, the Dominican Republic, Mexico, Turkey, Iraq, the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, Afghanistan and Ecuador.

¹⁶ James Allan, *Peacekeeping in International Politics*, (Basingstoke: Macmillan and IISS), pp. 27-32.

¹⁷ Alex Bellamy and Paul Williams, *Understanding Peacekeeping, Op. Cit.*, p. 79.

¹⁸ James Allan, *Op. Cit.*, p. 77.

¹⁹ Christopher Bartlett, *The Global Conflict*, (Harlow: Longman Publishing, 1992), pp. 153-8.

²⁰ Edward Carr, *The Twenty Years of Crisis: An Introduction to the Study of International Relations, 2nd Edition*, (New York: Palgrave, 2001).

²¹ *Ibid.*, p. 80.

²² Ramesh Thakur, *The United Nations, Peace and Security*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006), p. 33

²³ 'United Nations Armed Forces', *UN-Archives*, New York: DAG-1/2.3. Box 42, file 399.

- ²⁴ Esref Aksu, *The United Nations, Intra-State Peacekeeping and Normative Change*, (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2003), pp. 76-77.
- ²⁵ Carl Bildt, 'Dag Hammarskjöld and United Nations Peacekeeping', *UN Chronicle*, Vol. 48 Issue 2, 2011, pp. 5-7.
- ²⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 5
- ²⁷ 'A Brief History of UNEF', Ms, c. 1958, *UN Archives*, New York: DAG-1/2.2.5.5.1, Box 9 and Nathan Pelcovits, *The Long Armistice: UN Peacekeeping and the Arab-Israeli Conflict, 1948-1960*, Boulder: Westview, 1993), pp. 123-7.
- ²⁸ Erwin Schmidl, 'Peace Operations Between War and Peace', (London: Frank Cass, 2001), p. 10
- ²⁹ Second Report of the Secretary-General on the Feasibility of UN Emergency Force, 6 November 1965 (A/3302).
- ³⁰ 'Chapter VI: Pacific Settlement of Disputes', Charter of the United Nations, accessed via <http://www.un.org/en/documents/charter/chapter6.shtml>, October 2014. Emphasis added.
- ³¹ William Durch, 'Introduction', in William Durch, *The Evolution of UN Peacekeeping*, (Basingstoke: Macmillan, 1994), pp. 1-15.
- ³² Lee Michael Katz, 'World Peacekeeping: Do Nation-States Have a "Responsibility to Protect?"', *Issues in Peace and Conflict Studies: Selections From CQ Researcher*, (California: Sage Publications, 2011), p. 16.
- ³³ Alex Bellamy and Paul Williams, *Op. Cit.*, p. 85.
- ³⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 89.
- ³⁵ Erwin Schmidl, 'Peace Operations Between War and Peace', *Op. Cit.*, p. 11.
- ³⁶ *Ibid.* and Trevor Findlay, *The Use of Force in UN Peace Operations*, (Oxford: Oxford University Press and SIPRI, 2002), pp.80-93.
- ³⁷ Alex Bellamy and Paul Williams, *Understanding Peacekeeping*, *Op. Cit.*, pp. 183-85.
- ³⁸ Christopher Bellamy, 'If You Can't Stand the Heat ... New Concepts of Conflict Intensity', *RUSI Journal*, Vol. 143, No. 1, 1998, pp. 25-31.
- ³⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 93.
- ⁴⁰ See, John Hillen, *Blue Helmets: The Strategy of UN Military Operations*, (Dulles, VA: Brasseys, 1998); John Mackinlay, *A Guide of Peace Support Operation*, (Providence, RI: Thomas J. Watson Institute for International Studies, 1996) and John Mackinlay and Jarat Chopra, 'Second Generation Multinational Operations', *Washington Quarterly*, Vol. 15, No. 3, 1992, pp. 113-31.
- ⁴¹ Trevor Findlay, *Op. Cit.*, p. 161, Ruth Wedgwood, 'The Evolution of United Nations Peacekeeping', *Cornell International Law Journal*, Vol. 28, 1995, pp. 631-40, and UN Term, 'Chapter VI 1/2 Operation', <http://unterm.un.org/dgaacs/untERM.nsf/e7c98d129407654185256991007f1aaf/60e287d6ffdb6a0485256a00000751e9?OpenDocument> accessed October 2014.
- ⁴² 'Chapter VII: Action with Respect to Threats to the Peace, Breaches of the Peace, and Acts of Aggression', Charter of the United Nations, accessed via <http://www.un.org/en/documents/charter/chapter7.shtml>, October 2014. Emphasis added.
- ⁴³ Funmi Olonisakin, *Reinventing Peacekeeping in Africa*, (The Hague: Kluwer International Law, 2000).
- ⁴⁴ See, Mary Kaldor, *Old and New Wars*, (Cambridge: Polity Press, 1999).
- ⁴⁵ See, Michael Doyle, Ian Johnstone and Robert Orr, *Keeping the Peace*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press).
- ⁴⁶ Oliver Ramsbotham and Tom Woodhouse, *Encyclopedia of International Peacekeeping Operations*, (Santa Barbara: ABC-Clio, 1999), p. 176.
- ⁴⁷ Alex Bellamy and Paul Williams, *Understanding Peacekeeping*, *Op. Cit.*, pp. 195-98.
- ⁴⁸ Boutros Boutros-Ghali, *Agenda for Peace*, (UN Secretariat: New York: June 1992)
- ⁴⁹ Erwin Schmidl, 'Peace Operations Between War and Peace', *Op. Cit.*, pp. 14-16.
- ⁵⁰ Gideon Rose, 'The Exit Strategy Delusion', *Foreign Affairs*, Vol. III, Jan./Feb. 1998, pp.56-67.
- ⁵¹ 'Haiti Background: Summary', *United Nations Mission in Haiti*, accessed via <http://www.un.org/en/peacekeeping/missions/past/unmihbackgr1.html>, October 2014.
- ⁵² See. Ugo Caruso, *The Interplay between Council of Europe, OSCE, EU and NATO*, (Bozen: European Academy's Institute for Minority Rights, 2007)
- ⁵³ Alex Bellamy and Paul Williams, *Understanding Peacekeeping*, *Op. Cit.*, p. 89
- ⁵⁴ Birger Heldt, 'Trends from 1948 to 2005: How to View the Relation between the United Nations and Non-UN Entities', in Donald C. F. Daniel, Patricia Taft and Sharon Wiharta (Eds), *Peace Operations: Trends, Progress, and Prospects*, (Washington DC: Georgetown University Press, 2008), p. 25.

-
- ⁵⁵ Erwin Schmidl, 'Peace Operations Between War and Peace', (London: Frank Cass, 2001), p. 11.
- ⁵⁶ List of the latest and past UN peacekeeping operations can be seen here <http://www.un.org/en/peacekeeping/operations/current.shtml> and <http://www.un.org/en/peacekeeping/operations/past.shtml>, October 2014
- ⁵⁷ Chris Perry and Adam C. Smith, *Trends in Uniformed Contributions to UN Peacekeeping: A New Dataset, 1991–2012*, (New York: International Peace Institute, June 2013), p. 6.
- ⁵⁸ Birger Heldt, *Op. Cit.*, pp. 23-25.
- ⁵⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 25.
- ⁶⁰ Richard Gowan and Megan Gleason, *UN Peacekeeping: The Next Five Years*, (New York: New York University Center on International Cooperation, 2012), p. 14
- ⁶¹ Calculated from UN Peacekeeping statistics, see 'Troop and police contributors archive (1990 - 2013)', UN Peacekeeping website, http://www.un.org/en/peacekeeping/resources/statistics/contributors_archive.shtml, October 2014.
- ⁶² UN peacekeeping forces annual growth is calculated from UN Peacekeeping statistics, see 'Troop and police contributors archive (1990 - 2013)', *Ibid.*
- ⁶³ Donald Daniel, Katrin Heuel and Benjamin Margo, 'Distinguishing among Military Contributors', in Donald C. F. Daniel, Patricia Taft and Sharon Wiharta (Eds), pp. 27-46.
- ⁶⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 32.
- ⁶⁵ Richard Gowan and Megan Gleason, *Op. Cit.*, p. 2
- ⁶⁶ *Ibid.*
- ⁶⁷ Type of governance that is pseudo-democracy or having partly democracy and partly autocratic, where the elites maintain in power despite the existence of democratic procedures. See, David C. Jordan, *Drug Politics: Dirty Money and Democracies*, (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1999), p. 21.
- ⁶⁸ Donald Daniel, Katrin Heuel and Benjamin Margo, *Op. Cit.*, p. 35.
- ⁶⁹ *Ibid.*, pp. 30, 39.
- ⁷⁰ World Bank, 'What are Middle-Income Countries?', Financial Year 1990-2006, accessed October 2014 <http://web.worldbank.org/WBSITE/EXTERNAL/EXTOED/EXTMIDINCCOUN/0,contentMDK:21453301~menuPK:5006209~pagePK:64829573~piPK:64829550~theSitePK:4434098,00.html> and See IISS, *The Military Balance 2013*, (IISS: 2013), pp. 286-415.
- ⁷¹ 'Chapter VII: Action with Respect to Threats to the Peace, Breaches of the Peace, and Acts of Aggression', Charter of the United Nations, accessed via <http://www.un.org/en/documents/charter/chapter7.shtml>, October 2014. Emphasis added.
- ⁷² Alex Bellamy and Paul Williams (eds.), *Providing for Peacekeepers: The Politics, Challenges and Future of United Nations Peacekeeping Contributions*, (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2013), p. 11.
- ⁷³ *Ibid.*, p. 12 and John M. Owen, 'How Liberalism Produces Democratic Peace', *International Security*, Vol. 19, No. 2, Autumn 1994, pp. 123-24.
- ⁷⁴ Todd Sandler, 'The Impurity of Defense: An Application to the Economics of Alliances', *Kyklos*, Vol. 33, 1997, pp. 443-60.
- ⁷⁵ UN General Assembly, 13th Session – Annexes; Document A/3943 Para 160, p.28
- ⁷⁶ Chris Perry and Adam C. Smith, *Trends in Uniformed Contributions to UN Peacekeeping: A New Dataset, 1991–2012*, (New York: International Peace Institute, June 2013).
- ⁷⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 5.
- ⁷⁸ David Curan and Paul Williams, 'Peacekeeping Contributor Profile: The United Kingdom', *Providing for Peacekeeping*, October 2014.
- ⁷⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 9.
- ⁸⁰ Chris Perry and Adam C. Smith, *Op. Cit.*, p. 9.
- ⁸¹ *Ibid.*, and Hasmy Agam, 'Equitable Geographic Representation in the Twenty-First Century', in Ramesh Thakur (Ed.), *What is Equitable Geographic Representation in the Twenty-First Century*, Seminar Report, (New York: United Nations University, 1999), pp. 40-46.
- ⁸² Andrzej Sitkowski, *UN Peacekeeping: Myth and Reality*, (Westport: Praeger, 2006), p. 29.
- ⁸³ Arturo Sotomayor, 'Why Some States Participate in UN Peace Missions While Others Do Not? An Analysis of Civil-Military Relations and Its Effects on Latin America's Contributions to Peacekeeping Operations', *Security Studies*, Vol.19, No. 1, January 2010 pp. 160-195.
- ⁸⁴ See, 'Financing Peacekeeper', <http://www.un.org/en/peacekeeping/operations/financing.shtml>, accessed October 2014; Alex J. Bellamy and Paul D. Williams, *Providing Peacekeepers: The Politics, Challenges, and Future of United Nations Peacekeeping Contributions*, (Oxford: Oxford University

Press, 2013), p. 218; Kabilan Krishnasamy, ‘‘Recognition’ for Third World peacekeepers: India and Pakistan, *International Peacekeeping*, Vol. 8, No. 4, 2001, pp. 56-76.

⁸⁵ Contributing countries such as Uganda and Burundi obtained training given by US-owned security company Northrop Grumman prior to UN mission deployment to Darfur. See, Elizabeth Dickinson, ‘For tiny Burundi, big returns in sending peacekeepers to Somalia’, *Christian Science Monitor*, December 2011. See also, Donald Daniel, Katrin Heuel and Benjamin Margo, *Op. Cit.*, p. 39.

⁸⁶ Alex Bellamy and Paul Williams, *Providing Peacekeepers*, *Op. Cit.*, p. 20.

⁸⁷ *Ibid.*

⁸⁸ Sandra Whitworth, *Men Militarism and UN Peacekeeping A Gendered Analysis*, (Boulder: Lynne Rienner, 2004), pp. 24-5.

⁸⁹ Outbreak of cholera in Haiti taken place from 2010 to 2013 and killed 8,300 people and sickened 650,000 people. See Matthew Bigg, ‘U.N. peacekeepers likely caused Haiti cholera’, 30 June 2011; Danielle Powell, ‘Haiti, The UN and Cholera: A Timeline’, *Al Jazeera*, 21 August 2014 and Rick Gladstone, ‘Rights Advocates Suing U.N. Over the Spread of Cholera in Haiti’, *The International Herald Tribune*, 8 October 2013

⁹⁰ See ‘Statement of the Secretary-General on Receiving the Report of the Independent Inquiry Into the Actions of the United Nations During the 1994 Genocide in Rwanda’, *UN Security Council Document*, S/1999/1257, December 1999, Annex; United Nations, ‘Report of the Secretary-General Pursuant to General Assembly Resolution 53/35: The Fall of Srebrenica’, 15 November 1995 and Human Rights Watch, ‘The Fall of Srebrenica and the Failure of UN Peacekeeping Bosnia and Herzegovina’, *Human Rights Report*, Vol. 7, No. 13, October 1995.

⁹¹ UN General Assembly and Security Council, *Report of the Panel on United Nations Peace Operations*, UN Document No A/55/305–S/2000/809, 21 August 2000.

⁹² William J. Durch, Victoria K. Holt, Caroline R. Earle and Moira K. Shanahan, *The Brahimi Report and the Future of UN Peace Operations*, (Washington DC: Henry L. Stimson Center, 2003), p. 6.

⁹³ *Ibid.*, p. 51; UN, ‘Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination against Women (CEDAW)’, <http://www.un.org/womenwatch/daw/cedaw/> accessed October 2014; and Megan Bastick, Karin Grimm and Rahel Kunz, *Sexual Violence in Armed Conflict, Global Overview and Implications for the Security Sector*, (Geneva: DCAF, 2001), p. 169.

⁹⁴ Including in Cambodia, the Democratic Republic of the Congo, East Timor, Eritrea, Haiti and Liberia. Megan Bastick, Karin Grimm and Rahel Kunz, *Op. Cit.*, p. 169.

⁹⁵ United Nations General Assembly, ‘Investigation into Sexual Exploitation of Refugees by Aid Workers in West Africa’, Note by the Secretary-General, UN Document number A/57/465, 11 October 2002 and *Note for Implementing and Operational Partners on Sexual Violence and Exploitation: The Experience of Refugee Children in Guinea, Liberia and Sierra Leone*, (London: UNHCR and Save the Children-UK, February 2002)

⁹⁶ United Nations Secretariat, ‘Special Measures for Protection from Sexual Exploitation and Sexual Abuse’, *Secretary-General’s Bulletin*, UN Document number ST/SGB/2003/13, 9 October 2003.

⁹⁷ *Ibid.*

⁹⁸ Amnesty International, *So does that mean I have rights? Protecting the human rights of women and girls trafficked for forced prostitution in Kosovo*, (London: AI, 2004), <http://www.amnesty.org/en/library/asset/EUR70/010/2004/en/55dae004-d5e4-11dd-bb24-1fb85fe8fa05/eur700102004en.html>

⁹⁹ *Ibid.* and ‘UN police officers probed over Kosovo trafficking’, *Reuters*, 5 July 2001.

¹⁰⁰ US Department of State, *Country Reports on Human Rights Practices: Serbia and Montenegro*, Kosovo Section 5 – Trafficking in Person, 25 February 2004, <http://www.state.gov/j/drl/rls/hrrpt/2004/41706.htm>, October 2014: ‘‘(A)n UNMIK police commander were found in off-limits premises and sent home in 2003. The June 2003 case against an UNMIK police officer and three Kosovo Albanians arrested on suspicion of involvement in a child prostitution ring was dismissed due to insufficient evidence gathered from the victims’ testimony.’’

¹⁰¹ Colum Lynch, ‘U.N. Says Its Workers Abuse Women in Congo’, *The Washington Post*, 27 November 2004.

¹⁰² *Ibid.*

¹⁰³ Peacekeepers ‘Abusing Children’, *BBC News*, 27 May 2008 and Corrina Csaky, *No One to Turn to: The Under-Reporting of Child Sexual Abuse by Aid Workers and Peacekeepers*, (London: Save the Children UK, 2008).

-
- ¹⁰⁴ United Nations General Assembly, 'A Comprehensive Strategy to Eliminate Future Sexual Exploitation and Abuse in United Nations Peacekeeping Operations', Letter from the Secretary-General to the President of the General Assembly, UN Document A/59/710, 24 March 2005.
- ¹⁰⁵ *Ibid.* and United Nations Press Release, 'Security Council condemns 'in the strongest terms' all acts of sexual abuse, exploitation by UN peacekeeping personnel', UN Document No. SC/8400, 31 May 2005.
- ¹⁰⁶ United Nations General Assembly, *A Comprehensive Review of a Strategy to Eliminate Future Sexual Exploitation and Abuse in United Nations Peacekeeping Operations*, Resolution adopted by the General Assembly, UN Document No. A/RES/59/300, 30 June 2005.
- ¹⁰⁷ Despite the main reason of the deputy-chief of investigator to resign is the masking of his office findings UN peacekeepers smuggling gold and conducting weapon trafficking in Congo, this article may serve as relevant example as to how the UN softens the negative finding revealed by its own investigation body. Matthias Basanisi, 'Who Will Watch the Peacekeepers?', *The New York Times*, 23 May 2008.
- ¹⁰⁸ Colum Lynch, *Op. Cit.*; and see, for example, UNMIK Regulation 2000/47, 'On the Status, Privileges and Immunities of KFOR and UNMIK and Their Personnel in Kosovo', 18 August 2000.
- ¹⁰⁹ Megan Bastick, Karin Grimm and Rahel Kunz, *Op. Cit.*, p. 172.
- ¹¹⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 173
- ¹¹¹ Nick Cumming-Bruce, *Ibid.*
- ¹¹² Nick Cumming-Bruce, 'Peacekeepers Accused of Sexual Abuse in Central African Republic', *The New York Times*, 29 January 2016 and UN News Centre, 'Fresh Allegations of Sexual Abuse Made against UN Peacekeepers in Central African Republic', *Press Release*, 5 January 2016.
- ¹¹³ Nicola Dahrendorf, *Sexual Exploitation and Abuse: Lessons Learned Study, Addressing Sexual Exploitation and Abuse in MONUC*, (New York: UN DPKO, March 2006), p. 10.
- ¹¹⁴ Reproductive Health Response in Conflict Consortium, *Gender-based Violence Tools Manual: For Assessment and Program Design, Monitoring & Evaluation in Conflict-Affected Settings*, (New York: RHRC Consortium, 2004), p.11.
- ¹¹⁵ Megan Bastick, Karin Grimm and Rahel Kunz, *Op. Cit.*, p. 18 and Louise Olsson, *Gender Equality and United Nations Peace Operations in Timor Leste*, (Leiden: Martinus Nijhoff Publishers, 2009), p. 26.
- ¹¹⁶ UN Lesson Learned Unit DPKO, *Mainstreaming a Gender Perspective in Multidimensional Peacekeeping Operation*, (New York: DPKO, July 2000), p. 3.
- ¹¹⁷ *Ibid.*, Fn.10.
- ¹¹⁸ UN General Secretariat, *Report on the Status of Women in the Secretariat*, UN Document No. A/53/376
- ¹¹⁹ UN Security Council, *Security Council Resolution 1325 on Women, Peace and Security*, UN Document No. S/RES/1325, 31 October 2000.
- ¹²⁰ UN Women Evaluation Office, *Evaluation of Gender-mainstreaming in United Nations Peacekeeping Activities (MONUC / MONUSCO) in the Democratic Republic of the Congo*, (New York: UN Women, 2010), Annex 3, p. 34.
- ¹²¹ *Ibid.*, pp. 34-5.
- ¹²² UN Lesson Learned Unit DPKO, *Op. Cit.* Part II.d.
- ¹²³ *Ibid.*, pp. 19-22.
- ¹²⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 4
- ¹²⁵ Elisabeth Rehn and Ellen Johnson Sirleaf, *Women, War and Peace: The Independent Experts' Assessment on the Impact of Armed Conflict on Women and Women's Role in Peace-building*, (New York: United Nations Development Fund for Women, 2002), p. 63.
- ¹²⁶ *Ibid.*
- ¹²⁷ UN Department of Peacekeeping Operation, Fn.10

Chapter 5

The Case for ‘Gender-Sensitised’ UN Peacekeeper Training

5.1 Introduction

This chapter seeks to explore two further enabling objectives of the study, namely, III, tracing the major UN policies supporting women’s involvement in peacekeeping operations over the five decades from 1957 to 2014, and, IV, analysing the pre-deployment training of UN Peacekeeping troops (p. 15). The process of examining these two objectives necessitates an assessment of how gender sensitisation, or the process of accommodating the different needs of women and girls, as well as men and boys (p.46), is integrated into the training of UN peacekeepers. Chapter 5 starts with an overview of UN gender policy in peacekeeping operations, and this reveals the strategic need to support gender-mainstreaming. This is achieved through taking account of the differing policy impacts on women and men from gender balancing and the expanded roles and numbers of women peacekeepers. The chapter will then expound the historical emergence and evolution of women in peacekeeping operations, explaining how, despite increases in the numbers of women peacekeepers, they still lack presence in the decision-making arena, and how training could be a way to raise women’s profile, responsibility and engagement. Thereafter, the chapter evaluates the UN peacekeeper training modules that have incorporated gender as an integral part of the standard training package. Lastly, the UN training modules are reviewed, using the existing literature on gender training, to establish whether its quality and appropriateness can be improved.

5.2 Overview of UN Commitment on Gender Issues

The UN Charter (1945) Preamble has declared its commitment to humanity without discrimination. This commitment towards equality is also expressed through non-discrimination under the bases of gender:

“We the peoples of the United Nations are determined to save succeeding generations from the scourge of war, which twice in our lifetime has brought untold sorrow to mankind, and to reaffirm faith in fundamental human

rights, in the dignity and worth of the human person, in the equal rights of men and women and of nations large and small...”¹

Reassertion of this UN commitment is shown in the Charter’s Article 1 (3) regarding the international organisation’s *raison-d’etre* to be achieved through no distinctions based on sex:

“To achieve international co-operation in solving international problems of an economic, social, cultural or humanitarian character, and in promoting and encouraging respect for human rights and for fundamental freedoms for all without distinction as to race, *sex*, language, or religion.”²

Similarly in respect and observance of human rights and fundamental freedom, in its Article 55 (C):

“Universal respect for, and observance of, human rights and fundamental freedoms for all without distinction as to race, *sex*, language, or religion.”³

Despite non-discrimination policy being endorsed by the UN, not every member state believes in the notion of women’s equality. The UN adopts a human-rights based approach on women’s equality, meaning that it focuses on legal rights and treaty-based solutions for changing the power structure and relationships to create a just society.⁴ However, there are member states that limit women’s rights due to their local culture, including, but not limited to, practices of sex selection, honour killings, female genital cutting, female child marriage as well as beauty practices.⁵ Thus, to promote women’s empowerment and equality, the UN established internal agencies to influence member states towards gradually adopting the agenda.

5.2.1 UN Handling of Gender Related Issues

The UN focuses its efforts to endorse women rights through the Commission on the Status of Women (CSW) under the Economic and Social Council, in 1946. The CSW members are elected by a UN body, the UN Economic and Social Council, that deals with welfare and they hold the position for four years each term. The UN CSW functions as a global policy-making body devoted to the advancement of women. It meets annually to evaluate progress on gender equality, to set global standards, as well

as to identify the challenges to the promotion of gender equality, formulating policies to tackle these challenges.⁶ The organisation has been effective in influencing global policy-making through incorporating women-oriented policies in the UN's global agenda, including the 1975 First International UN Conference on Women, the 1995 Beijing Platform for Action (emphasising women's empowerment), and the 2000 Millennium Development Goals (MDGs) aimed at solving problems ranging from hunger and poverty, health, education, the environment, child mortality, maternal health, women's empowerment and developing a global partnership for development.⁷

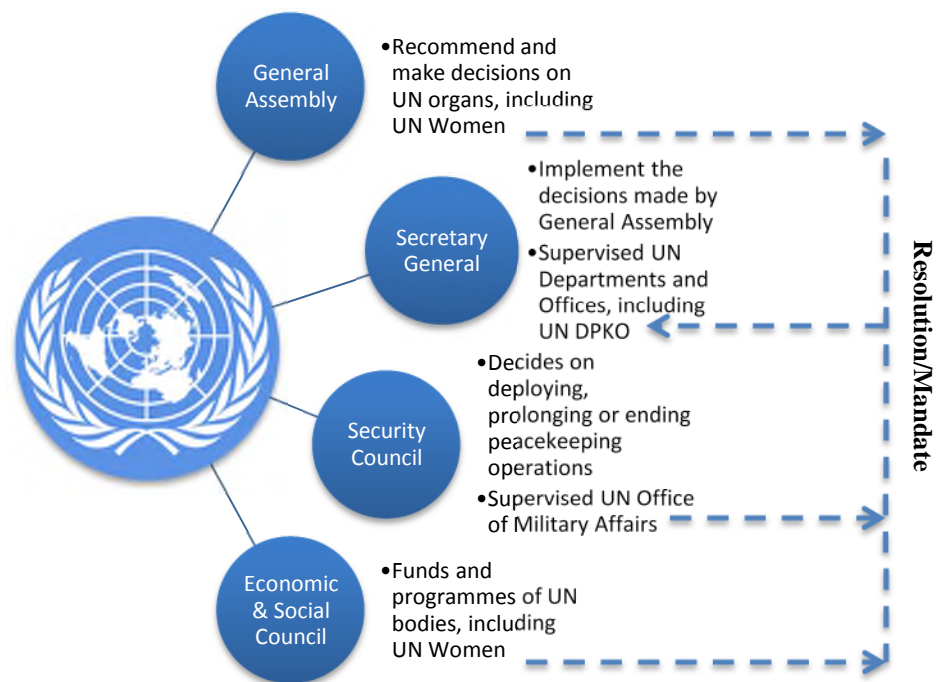
Acknowledging the importance of women's issues and understanding the existence of work diversity in advancing gender diversity, the UN established four other bodies. Firstly, there is the 1946 establishment of a UN Division for the Advancement of Women (UN DAW). The UN DAW was tasked to be the secretariat for UN World Conferences on Women, supplying updates to the UN CSW. Secondly, there is the UN International Research and Training Institute for the Advancement of Women (UN INSTRAW), which was launched in 1976. The UN INSTRAW is assigned to conduct research, training and knowledge management to achieve gender equality and women's empowerment.⁸ Thirdly, there is the UN Development Fund for Women (UNIFEM). Created in 1978, UNIFEM is tasked with providing financial and technical assistance to facilitate women's empowerment and gender equality. UNIFEM's activities centre on campaigns, such as ending violence against women, reducing women's exclusion and poverty and supporting MDGs.⁹ Fourthly, the UN has established an Office of Special Adviser to the Secretary-General on Gender Issues and Advancement of Women (UN OSAGI). The UN OSAGI began life in 1997, and was tasked to review and strengthen the implementation of MDGs and the Beijing Platform of Action for Women's Empowerment.¹⁰ Although segregation of tasks was deemed necessary to solve different problems faced by women around the world, the presence of multiple UN bodies focusing on women's empowerment were increasingly troubling as they added an administrative burden to the organisation.

The existence of a number of UN institutions focusing on various women issues indeed displayed the international organisation's commitment. However, such a commitment

increases competition for UN's limited resources and creates external party confusion when different UN women organisations pursue overlapping projects. The pressure of funding alongside member states pushing for the organisation to be more efficient, led to the UN General Assembly adopting a 2009 resolution seeking to establish a dedicated UN entity to address the well-being of women.¹¹ A year later, a second resolution was adopted to transfer the mandates and functions of UN DAW, UNIFEM, UN INSTRAW and UN OSAGI to a newly establish UN 'Entity for Gender Equality and the Empowerment of Women', referred to generically as UN Women, with headquarters in New York, with operations commencing in 2011.¹² This effort of merging several UN bodies working on women issues into one organisation was aimed at resolving the fragmentation of actions, scattered resources and inadequate authority that the differing agencies faced. However, the jury is still out regarding the effectiveness of such a move, as it is still very much in the process of implementation.

There remains the need for a dedicated UN body that oversees issues relating to women in security, especially in peacekeeping operations, but considering the recent organisational mergers, it is highly improbable that such focused body will be created soon. After 2010, the only UN body focusing on women issues is UN Women. Importantly, though, one of its mandates is to assist other bodies within the international organisation to advance women's equality in the UN's policies and efforts.¹³ This mandate is used by UN Women to observe how gender equality and empowerment of women have been implemented in the UN Department of Peacekeeping Operations, and thus to provide support for the UN DPKO. The UN's organisational chart in relation to women and peacekeeping is illustrated in Figure 5.1, located on the next page. However, for the UN Women to influence the work of the UN DPKO requires a policy base, a resolution, that justifies a mandate for peacekeeping to work in advancing gender equality and women's empowerment before UN Women can advise and assist the UN DPKO. To establish whether the UN peacekeeping Executive is mandated to address gender equality and women's empowerment issues, it is necessary to explore the historical origins of UN policy on women and security.

Figure 5.1: The United Nations System Highlighting UN Women’s Relations to the UN Department of Peacekeeping (UN DPKO)



Source: Adapted from the United Nations Department of Public Information, *The United Nations System*, UN Doc. No. DPI/2470rev.3-13-38229, August 2013.

5.3 Overview of UN Policy on Gender in Peacekeeping Operations

When the international feminist movement gained momentum in the 1970s, the UN General Assembly declared 1975 as the International Women’s Year, and the subsequent decade as the UN Decade on Women.¹⁴ The Decade, covering the period between 1976 and 1985, coincided with independence movements developing worldwide, and the UN supported these movements by supporting women’s rights.¹⁵ At the time, the UN agenda to improve the conditions of women was heavily focused on economic and educational empowerment. The global UN agenda initiated regional programmes, such as the Africa Investment Plan (AIP), the Economic Commission for Latin America and the Caribbean (ECLAC), to help ‘localise’ the idea of women’s involvement in development, highlighting the importance of women’s roles in their national economies.¹⁶ However, such an approach does not cater for all facets of women’s lives, especially those in conflict and post-conflict areas, as it is impossible to focus on getting sustainable jobs while one’s survival hangs in the balance.

Women, men, girls and boys are affected differently by conflict and post-conflict conditions. For women and girls, armed conflict increases their risk of sexual and gender based violence, aside from the disadvantages of living in a gendered economy (being the first to be made redundant when resources are tight), gendered social and political roles (being obliged to sitting on the fence, due to being stereotyped as weak, under-trained and inexperienced in facing conflict situations), gendered displacement (women and children are the first to be evacuated), and gendered health support (health aids commonly overlook women needs, such as menstrual hygiene, as well as sexual and reproductive health).¹⁷ Meanwhile, men are more often trained, armed and mobilised as combatants; and the ones 'expected' to be wounded and killed in armed conflict, and those who survive possess the power to dictate the course of conflict. Women, frequently, are viewed as defenceless, unable to provide security for themselves and others.¹⁸ Women are often mobilised in conflict solely to cook, clean and care for the men, with examples including the 1860's American Civil War and the 1990's Bosnian war, on the Bosnian government side.¹⁹ In post-conflict areas, where previously women were mobilised alongside men, they now struggle to be recognised and involved in the peace negotiations and post-conflict peace-building. Women are rarely seen at the negotiations table. Research undertaken on 17 post-conflict peace negotiations between 1992 and 2012 noted that, on average, women accounted for just 9 per cent of the negotiating delegations.²⁰ After the peace-agreement is signed, even fewer women are recognised as former fighters or combatants, limiting their ability to obtain assistance in conflict and post-conflict demobilisation programmes.

Research undertaken by Elisabeth Rehn and Ellen Johnson Sirleaf in post-conflict Sierra Leone and Timor Leste, indicate that female fighters are generally not acknowledged for their contribution in the conflict, and thus not eligible to form part of the demobilisation programme that offered participants language and computer training, as well as a lump sum of US\$100 to start a local business.²¹ Similarly in peace negotiations, research undertaken by Britton and Price note that despite women fighting to support the struggle for independence, women's demands to participate in the formal negotiation and post-conflict political activities were regarded as unpatriotic, causing

women's interest groups to be side-lined.²² As the UN is involved in assisting conflict cessation and post-conflict organisation, feminists as well as member countries demanded that more gender-sensitised programmes be offered, assisting the needs of women in both peace and security.²³ Aware that the agenda of women and security had increased in importance after the end of the Cold War, the UN began to develop the policy area to provide a more gender-sensitised approach to its missions deployed in conflict and post-conflict environments.

5.4 Gender-Based Violence as a Point of Entry for UN Peacekeeping

The entry point for the UN in assisting women in conflict situations is through gender-based violence, defined by the UN Convention on the Elimination of Discrimination Against Women (CEDAW) as “violence that is directed against a woman because she is a woman or that affects women disproportionately.”²⁴ Even though the term ‘gender’ is not only applicable for women, this convention appears to imply that the UN recognises violence against women as a significant concern of gender-based violence, and therefore needs to be dealt with seriously. In 1995, violence against women was identified by UN member states at the Women’s Conference in Beijing as one of the 12 critical areas of concern, representing an obstacle to the objective of equality, development and peace.²⁵ Thereafter, concerns were raised on the conduct of UN peacekeepers deployed in operational zones. Research done by Mazurana *et. al.* demonstrate that UN miscalculations about women and girls’ roles and experiences in conflict and post-conflict areas “undermines the efforts of peacekeeping and peace-building, civil society and women’s organisations to establish conditions necessary for national and regional peace”.²⁶ The early deployment of UN peacekeeping operations was deemed gender insensitive and thus maintained the condition of inequality.

The displacement and extreme poverty facing women due to conflict has forced women, girls and boys to engage in ‘survival sex’, trading sex for food, security, shelter or money in order to provide for themselves and their families.²⁷ Deploying poorly trained peacekeepers might mean that they are prone to also be involved as the patrons of such activities. The relatively high salaries of peacekeepers, in comparison with local people,

combined with the “hyper-masculine values and culture that forms the basis of military [combat] training programmes from which peacekeepers are drawn” is said to be the underlying reason why sexual exploitation and abuse cases have increased during UN peacekeeper deployment.²⁸ The unintended impact of peacekeeping has created bad publicity for the UN and forced it to review its procedures; however, without a steering policy to guide UN officials and peacekeepers, even greater problems may occur in the future. For example, the case of UN peacekeeping gender insensitive comments and policy direction occurred in Cambodia, when UN peacekeepers were involved in sexual exploitation and abuse in deployment areas. This led the Cambodian Women’s Development Association to criticise the actions of the UN Transitional Authority (UNTAC) that was deployed in war-torn Cambodia from February 1992 to September 1993. The women’s association pointed out that the mission has quadrupled the number of prostitutes from 6,000 to 25,000, leading to a rise in the number of HIV/AIDS patients in the country.²⁹ This criticism forced the peacekeeping authorities to respond by “warning their men to be more discreet ... not to frequent brothels in uniform ... (and) to ship an additional 800,000 condoms to Cambodia.”³⁰ Hence, it can be said that the conduct of peacekeepers of UNTAC was not an isolated incident, but rather, was acknowledged and perhaps endorsed by the institution, especially when the UNTAC Head of Mission at the time, Mr Yasushi Akashi, attempted to tone down the issue by stating, “boys will be boys”.³¹ The incident also begs the question as to “where are the women in the peacekeeping missions?” It also highlights the need for a change of institutional policy that respects women, as well as increased women participation in UN peacekeeping missions.

After adverse publicity on UN peacekeeper misconduct, the UN was galvanised to address the women’s disadvantaged roles in conflict and post-conflict scenarios; in essence, the UN began to formulate a policy on gender and security. There was a belated realisation that not only is it necessary to increase protection of women and girls, it is also critical to acknowledge women’s ability to participate in peacekeeping and post-conflict peacebuilding. Since the mid-1990s, the UN has conducted expert group meetings on gender, peace and conflict under its Division for the Advancement of Women (since 2011 merged into UN Women).³² Meanwhile, for the UN DPKO, the

first major study on how to mainstream a gender perspective in UN operations was started in 1999. The research was conducted by independent researchers outwith the UN DPKO, though significantly the work was initiated and funded by the body. The early research findings validated the view that UN operations should focus on developing sensitivity mainstream gender training, for the following reasons: firstly, UN operations should increase women's representation and participation at all levels in the organisation; secondly, they should support and recognise the work of local women in the peace processes; thirdly, UN operations should ensure that women's unique needs are recognised alongside those of men; and lastly, the UN needs to resolve the negative behaviour of peacekeeper and peace operational personnel in terms of reducing violence, abuse and the use of local women.³³ These findings were presented in 2000 at the UN Peacekeeping Lessons Learned Unit seminar in Windhoek, Namibia, a country that was celebrating ten years of independence following support by a UN mission.

5.5 UN Frameworks on Women, Peace and Security

The May 2000 UN seminar in Windhoek, Namibia, focusing on the 'Mainstreaming Gender Perspective in Multi-dimensional Peace Support Operations' was the first international public platform in which the UN had depicted gender as an important part of its peacekeeping operations. The seminar gave birth to Namibia Plan of Action that advises on the adjustments that should be made in nine broad fields of negotiation in ceasefire or peace agreements, covering peacekeeping operation mandates, leadership, planning, structure and resources of peacekeeping missions, peacekeeping mission recruitment, training, peacekeeping operational procedures, monitoring, evaluation and accountability and also public awareness.³⁴ The advice given in the 2000 Namibia Plan of Action created a realisation that the UN did not have a policy approach to direct and support women in peace and security. Following the Plan of Action, several UN Security Council Resolutions were issued under the banner of 'women, peace and security'.

The UNSC resolutions under women, peace and security, as mentioned in Sub-Chapter 4.8, have become the basic framework for the UN to gender-sensitise its peace

operations. The resolutions are UNSC resolution No. 1325 that requires women's active participation in all stages of peacemaking and peacekeeping; No. 1327 (2000) that reaffirms the role women can play in conflict prevention and resolution, and also peacebuilding; No. 1820 (2008) that finally acknowledges the systematic use of sexual violence as a weapon and tactic of war; No. 1888 (2009) that calls for strengthened efforts to end sexual violence against women and children in armed conflict, emphasising, importantly, the criticality for all military and police personnel to undertake adequate training to carry out their responsibilities; No. 1889 (2009) that calls upon the Secretary-General to develop a strategy, including appropriate training, and to take measures to increase women's participation in United Nations political, peacebuilding and peacekeeping missions; No. 1960 (2010) that requests the Secretary General to establish monitoring, analysis and reporting arrangements on conflict-related sexual violence; No. 2106 (2013) that demands accountability for perpetrators of sexual violence in conflict, while at the same time recognising that survivors should receive appropriate justice – including reparations; and No. 2122 (2013) that encourages TCCs and PCCs to increase the percentage of women military and police in UN peacekeeping deployment.³⁵ Even though the UN's commitment to incorporate gender as a core element of peacekeeping missions has come a long way since the process began in 2000, several critiques, including that of Jones and Otto point out that for an international organisation established in 1945, the UN Security Council has taken an unacceptably long time to adopt gender as an important component in mission effectiveness.³⁶ However, based on the increased frequency of women and security related resolutions adopted by the UNSC in recent times, the UN appears at last to recognise the importance of women in establishing and maintaining peace and security.

Resolutions on women, peace and security adopted by the Security Council need to be translated from high-level strategic policy into operational plans and guidelines. Presaged through this framework, UN DPKO and UN Department Field Support (DFS) have summoned research, and issued guidelines on the implementation of policy on women in peacekeeping operations. For the period 2004 to 2014, there were 14 documents issued by UN DPKO and DFS that function as reference material, containing baseline data and a road map for implementing gender-mainstreaming in peacekeeping

operations. The documents are listed in Table 5.1, below. These guidelines allow review of past efforts, and how to further support the inclusiveness of a gender perspective into the partnership within peacekeeping missions.

Table 5.1: UN DPKO and DFS Gender-mainstreaming Guidelines and Action Plans

2004	Gender-mainstreaming in UN Peacekeeping Operations, Progress Report Gender Resource Package for Peacekeeping Operations
2005	DPKO Under-Secretary-General Policy Statement on Gender-mainstreaming
2006	DPKO Policy Directive: Gender in UN Peacekeeping Operations Gender-mainstreaming Policy Guidelines Gender Equality in UN Peacekeeping Operations, A Policy Directive Gender and Political Affairs Guidelines and Checklist for Desk Officers
2007	DPKO/DFS-DPA Joint Guidelines on Enhancing the Role of Women in Post-Conflict Electoral Processes
2008	Guidelines for Gender Adviser and Gender Focal Points
2010	Checklist for Senior Management Military Guidelines Gender Equality in Peacekeeping Operations DPKO/DFS Guidelines for Integrating a Gender Perspective into the Work of the UN Military in Peacekeeping Operations
2014	DPKO/DFS Gender Forward Looking Strategy (2014-2018)

Source: UN Women, *Repository: Resources and Tools for Capacity Development on Gender-mainstreaming within the United Nations System*, 9 June 2015 and Sahana Dharmapuri, 'Not Just a Numbers Game: Increasing Women's Participation in UN Peacekeeping', *Providing for Peacekeeping*, No. 4, (New York: International Peace Institute, July 2013), p. 5.

5.6 UN Peacekeeping: The Strategic Need for Gender Balancing

Between 1991 to 2001, after the post-Cold War period and prior to the beginning of the 'coalition of the willing' amongst self-interested nation states, often dubbed as the War on Terrorism, the concept of security expanded from state security to individual/human security; the latter being more aligned with the feminist's conceptualisation of security.³⁷ The widening concept of security provided civil society organisations and interest groups the opportunity to influence the UN Security Council's agenda. Especially for women's organisations and transnational feminist movements, the UN has been an important means of raising women's issues as part of a global agenda.³⁸ This was only possible because the UN is an intergovernmental organisation, which has the power to deploy human and financial resources, as well as to persuade member countries to accept new policies and goals. However, the UN is still open to the views

of non-state actors, and is anyway far from being the perfect vehicle for a women's movement.

Transnational feminists, including Jane Freedman (2012) and Roisin Burke (2014), criticise the UN for only adopting a 'limited' concept of gender, where it equates gender with women, and gender-mainstreaming with adding women.³⁹ This is shown by the implementation of UNSC Resolution 1325, which addresses gender-based violence by, in the beginning, focusing only on violence against women, and offering as the solution to this problem, the need to recruit more women into peacekeeping operations. Another example is the statement given by UN DPKO representatives in a 2000 meeting, who asserted that:

“Women's *presence* [in peacekeeping missions] improves access and support for local women; it makes male peacekeepers more reflective and responsible; and it broadens the repertoire of skills and styles available within the mission, often with the effect of reducing conflict and confrontation. *Gender-mainstreaming* is not just fair, it is beneficial.”
(Italics added by author)⁴⁰

Although there is evidence as to how the presence of women military allow forces to gain and improve communication with local women, especially in sex-segregated societies,⁴¹ the extent to which this happens in practice may be over-stated, if not incorrect, because gender-mainstreaming goes beyond the number of women represented, but rather focuses on the transformational change effected, including recognising the needs of women and girls, along with men and boys, at every stage of policy-making and policy-implementation. The reason why the UN equates gender with women, may well reflect the way the UN works, men still reflecting the standard-bearer of normality.⁴² Therefore, the way the UN has chosen to address gender in its peace operations is by increasing the number of women in its missions; in other words, simply 'adding women and stir[ring]', but this does not automatically mean it 'mainstreams' gender, or takes into the account women and girls' needs, or for that matter those of men and boys.

Gender-balancing, as explained in Sub-Chapter 2.4, is an attempt to close the gap between the numbers of women and men engaging in specific activities, especially important when related to public roles, leadership and decision making.⁴³ A gender-balancing approach follows the critical-mass theory developed by Kanter (1977) and Dahlerup (1988) that draws a connection between the minimum numbers of participants in parliament needed to yield a meaningful policy impact.⁴⁴ The theory identifies a 30 per cent minimum representation for women to have political impact, and less than that means their presence will only be a token presence.⁴⁵ In relation to security, the UN peacekeeping authorities believe that the presence of women, or gender-balancing, is important because it upholds the rights of women and men to participate equally in security creation, and ensures that the security forces are representative of society as a whole, despite the fact that their presence will not be a panacea for peacekeeping operational success, as other factors, including coordination, logistics, local institutional capacity-building and thorough planning for the eventual handover to the local government are also at play. However, it has been argued by Fitzsimmons (1998), Beilstein (2000), Cockburn and Hubic (2002), and Mazurana (2004) that women's presence positively affects the male-dominated peacekeeping structure by providing more diverse skills, such as communication and negotiation, especially in areas where there is gender separation in society.⁴⁶ Despite its importance, the UN peacekeeping establishment is sluggish in realising the need to have more gender-balance in its forces. The first UN peacekeeping mission in 1948 took place in the Middle East to monitor the Israel and Arab armistice agreement, yet there was no woman peacekeepers involved in the United Nations Truce Supervision Organization (UNTSO). Likely because UN member states only began deploying women peacekeepers in 1957; indeed, the UN itself did not call upon member states to deploy women until 1990s.⁴⁷

In 1992, Secretary General Boutros Boutros-Ghali issued *An Agenda for Peace*, offering analysis and recommendations to improve peacemaking and peacekeeping. Yet, it missed the opportunity to elaborate on the importance of women's meaningful participation in peace and security and the under-representation of women in peacekeeping operations. The Agenda grouped women as a 'most vulnerable group', conflating them with children.⁴⁸ Hence, the Agenda focuses more on women in need of

protection, and overlooks their potential to be part of the security and peace framework, missing the opportunity to assert that there is a lack of women representation in peacekeeping missions. At the time the document was written, the number of female peacekeepers was very few. Between 1957 and 1989, the number of female military personnel never surpassed 0.1 per cent of total peacekeepers, equal to just 20 women, and only slowly increasing to 1 per cent or 255 women between 1989 and 1992.⁴⁹ These meagre percentages of women peacekeepers reflected mainly nurses in medical units.⁵⁰ Therefore, the UN was blinded to the importance of women roles due to two reasons: firstly, there were simply too few of them, and, secondly, those that were in the UN did not assume leadership or decision-making positions.

Without the presence of women to allow field mission personnel to reach the local population, especially in areas that have sex-segregated cultures, the goal of UN peace operations to incorporate gender perspective into its missions – acknowledging the different needs of women, girls, men and boys so that peacekeeping activities can be conducted effectively – will be difficult to attain. However, this should not be the reason to limit women peacekeeper roles to only deal with women and girls in the area of deployment. As gender affects both women and men; the subject is not limited to women. An example of this wider perspective of gender occurred in 2009 when the UN mission for Liberia (UNMIL) appointed a male military gender officer to work under the force commander of mission.⁵¹ The action suggests that improving gender equality is a task that can be pursued by both women and men. As much as increasing the number of women in missions is an important goal for UN peacekeeping authorities, empowering men to be able to engage on gender-related work also supports the goal for creating equality taking both sexes' perspectives into account.

5.7 Emergence of Women in Peacekeeping

The importance assigned to improving the status of women at the UN Secretariat was only highlighted by the end of 1994, when the organisation became “concerned [by] the serious and continuing underrepresentation of women ... particularly at the higher decision-making levels”, as noted by General Assembly Meeting Report.⁵² Only a year

later, the organisation acknowledged the lack of women in posts relating to peacekeeping, peacemaking and international tribunals, especially at senior professional levels. This was probably due to the member nations armed forces being almost exclusively male, discouraging – if not dis-incentivising – women’s participation in combat roles, or any ‘roles that are primarily intended and designed with the purpose of requiring individuals on the ground to close and kill the enemy’,⁵³ usually because these roles required them to work in a small mixed-unit with men. For instance, statements following the 1992 Tailhook scandal, suggested that the US Navy and Marine Corps, viewed women soldiers within a culture of hyper-sexualisation, perceiving them as “prostitutes and lesbians simultaneously”.⁵⁴ The scandal, however, was said to have removed the barriers blocking women’s roles in combat in the US military.⁵⁵ Similar developments unfolded in the Australian Defence Force Academy (ADFA) Skype scandal, leading to a lowering of the barriers enabling women to serve in combat positions by 2016. Yet, such developments have not happened in all nations, and therefore there is a need for international encouragement for greater participation of women in the armed and security forces, eventually allowing more women to be deployed for international operations. In fact, the UN had begun to specifically request the troop- and police-contributing countries (TCC/PCCs) to increase their contributions of women peacekeepers as far back as 1995, projecting the target of 50 per cent equal participation of women and men by the year 2000, including field missions.⁵⁶ Although the UN General Assembly has indicated that the organisation would welcome more women soldiers, the UN has little, if any, control of the selection and allocation of peacekeeping troops. This is because the UN troop, police and financial resources depend on the contribution of member countries.

The UN DAW’s magazine acknowledges the UN’s limitations in influencing the member states’ highest ranking military authorities, or the Armed Forces Chief of Staff, in deciding the deployment of national military in peacekeeping missions. In spite of UN requests for greater numbers of women peacekeepers, “member states still may restrict or prohibit women’s participation in UN peacekeeping”.⁵⁷ The same UN body also noted in 1995 that the more countries allow women to serve in combat roles, the higher the likelihood that these countries will deploy women peacekeepers. Those

countries that allowed women's engagement in combat roles in the early 1990s were Belgium, Canada, Denmark, France, Luxembourg, the Netherlands, Norway, Sweden, the United States, Venezuela and Zambia.⁵⁸ The first recorded UN mission recording an increase in women peacekeepers was the Mission for the Referendum in Western Sahara (MINURSO) that reached a percentage of 10.2 per cent of all the mission's peacekeepers in 1993.⁵⁹ The reason for this is two-fold, firstly, the troop contributing countries of France, Australia and the United States deployed high numbers of peacekeeping staff, including women, and, secondly, a large medical unit presence in MINURSO consisted of female nurses and doctors, underscoring the reality that women in peacekeeping mission posts were often limited to noncombat roles.

In a 1994 appraisal of UN peacekeeping operations, it was the relatively developed countries that deployed women peacekeepers, experienced in combat or field operations (not office work). Australia deployed its first female soldiers in 1991 to the UN Transnational Authority in Cambodia (UNTAC); women from Britain's armed forces were deployed in support roles in the Peacekeeping Forces in Cyprus (UNFICYP) and Yugoslavia (UNPROFOR); Finland and Denmark sent their women peacekeepers to several UN missions; and France deployed its first female officer to a UN Protection Force in Croatia, Bosnia and Herzegovina.⁶⁰ At the time the only developing country that deployed women peacekeepers was Ghana, deploying an infantry company composed of female and male soldiers to serve in refugee camps in Rwanda in a UN Assistance Mission (UNAMIR).⁶¹ Developed countries could afford more economic and educational opportunities for women, translating into a more equal society, allowing women greater mobility, as well as access to jobs and to holding public decision-making roles, compared to the developing countries. However, the statistics available to measure such relations in the 1990s were relatively sparse.⁶² The number of women UN military peacekeepers reached 1 per cent in the mid-1990s, while UN women police officers stood at only at 0.7 per cent.⁶³ At the UN Headquarters peacekeeping office, the first female military officer took her post in 1994, seconded by the Royal Netherlands Army to the logistics division of UN DPKO.

A panel appointed by the UN Secretary General Kofi Annan to assess the conduct of peace operations in 2000 further increased the importance of UN peacekeeping operations through the participation of women. The panel assessed UN peacekeeping failures in the 1990s – including the 1992 sexual harassment allegations in Cambodia, the 1994 complaints of genocide in Rwanda, the 1995 failure to assuage the civilian massacre in Srebrenica (Bosnia and Herzegovina) and issued recommendations through what was dubbed the Brahimi Report. As mentioned in Subsection 4.7, one of the Report’s recommendations highlights the necessity of having a “fair geographical and gender distribution” in the mission, and emphasising the need of UN personnel to be sensitive to gender and cultural differences.⁶⁴ This statement is restated after the failure to obtain 50 per cent women UN staff and the Namibia Plan of Action to mainstream gender perspectives in peace operations, as acknowledged in 2000. At the time, women made up four per cent of police and three per cent of military UN operations personnel, and represented only by 18 per cent women directorship at the UN peacekeeping headquarters and none at senior director level;⁶⁵ and this was in spite of Article 8, UN Charter 1945, pledging its commitment to non-differentiation in recruiting its staff and executing body.⁶⁶ It was also revealed that the UN did not take a periodic record of sex-segregated data of the peacekeepers, and, thus, a regular record was only available from 2000 onwards, and sex-segregated data from each TCC/PCC only became available in late 2009.

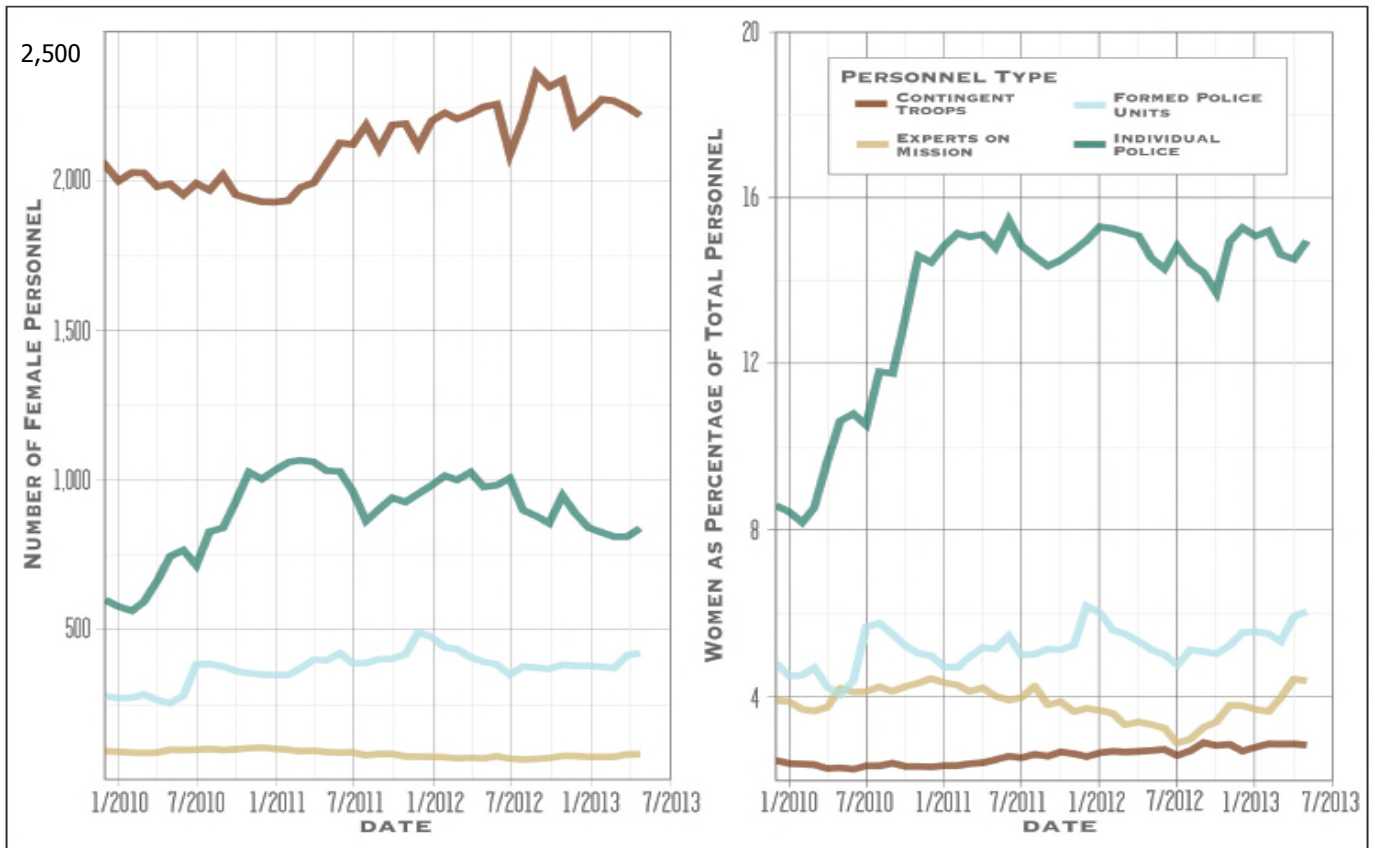
As mentioned in Sub-Chapter 5.4, UN peacekeepers since the 1990s have attracted a series of allegations of sexual exploitation and abuse from the host populations. However, not until November 2004 did Secretary-General Kofi Annan acknowledge the gravity of such allegations, arising from global media attention directed towards alleged sexual exploitation and abuse by peacekeepers operating in the Democratic Republic of the Congo.⁶⁷ Media reports even touched on the UN peacekeepers threatening UN investigators, and bribing witnesses exposing the existence of peacekeepers bartering food for sex, soliciting prostitutes, and engaging in rape and paedophilia.⁶⁸ A year later, the ‘Prince Zeid Report’ published its findings on sexual exploitation and abuse perpetrated by UN peacekeeping personnel. The Report recognised that the UN Secretariat and member states have the responsibility to address issues of sexual

exploitation and abuse to improve the credibility of UN peace operations. In the Zeid Report's basic measures for organisational accountability, one of the requirements is "to increase in the percentage of female peacekeeping personnel. This would facilitate the mission's task of making meaningful contact with vulnerable groups and non-governmental organizations in the local community in order to eliminate sexual exploitation and abuse."⁶⁹ The Report made the connection that the presence of more women peacekeepers, especially in senior positions, would encourage the reporting of abuse and discourage sexual exploitation and abuse.⁷⁰ This argument put forward by the Zeid Report has positioned women as 'mothers' that discipline the 'boys', and does not touch upon the professional capability of women as peacekeepers in their own rights.

Sex-segregated data made available after the Zeid report, in 2009, confirmed that the participation of female uniformed personnel remained low. The goal of 50 per cent women and men equal participation, including field missions, was massively under-achieved. The UN Police launched 'The Global Effort' initiative to increase the percentage of female police serving in peacekeeping missions, with the aim of reaching 20 per cent by 2014, deploying teams of 140 police officers in formed police units (FPU) as well as individual police officers (IPOs). India deployed all-female police units to Liberia in 2007, followed by Bangladesh to Haiti in 2009, and Rwanda to Darfur in 2010. The steps to encourage women participation were followed by the UN Office of Military Affairs calling on TCCs to deploy more women soldiers.⁷¹ However, after five years, UN Gender Statistics in December 2014 indicated that peacekeeping operations comprise only 3.2 per cent military women and 9.5 per cent policewomen, making uniformed women participation of just 4 per cent of total UN forces.⁷² Acknowledging this, the goal of achieving more gender-balance in UN peacekeeping forces is extended until 2020.⁷³ Nevertheless, statistics should not be the only indicator of progress or stagnation. It is important to remember that UN force statistics is only a snapshot at a particular time when the data are being collected. Therefore, there are limitations regarding the timeliness of data collection time; for example, whether it is prior or post the PCC/TCCs' schedule of rotation, or whether it is impacted by specific events, such as Christmas or Ied holidays. It may be better, then, to compare longitudinal data, capturing a period of time so that the trend of increasing or decreasing

women’s participation can be better captured. Figure 5.2 illustrates the trend of women participation in UN peacekeeping operations between 2010 and mid-2013.

Figure 5.2: Women in UN Peacekeeping Operations, Number and Percentages of Total Personnel Worldwide



Source: Sahana Dharmapuri, ‘Not Just a Numbers Game: Increasing Women’s Participation in UN Peacekeeping’, *Providing for Peacekeeping*, No. 4, (New York: International Peace Institute, July 2013), p. 5.

As seen in Figure 5.2 the increase of uniformed women in peacekeeping mission is not straightforward. Despite the fluctuations, the trend shows increased women participation. However, a challenge with the statistical data is that it does not portray the ‘quality’ of the women peacekeepers deployed, and, consequently, there is a need for in-depth qualitative examination of data in order to clarify “where the women are deployed in peacekeeping missions”, “in which missions” and “in which capacity”. Of course, their performance also needs to be evaluated, as well as whether the increase of women peacekeepers, as hypothesised by the Zeid report, has provided the expected result of reducing the volume of sexual abuses allegedly perpetrated by peacekeepers. From the

investigations made by the UN on reported incidents of sexual exploitation and abuse, the volume does show a decline, as shown in Table 5.2.

Table 5.2: Reported UN Peacekeeper Incidents of Sexual Exploitation and Abuse

	2005 (1 year)	2008-2013 (6 years)
Military	193	266 (average 45 per year)
Civilian	123	176 (average 30 per year)
Police	24	64 (average 11 per year)
Unidentified	0	26 (average 5 per year)
	340	532 (average 89 per year)

Source: “Special measures for protection from sexual exploitation and sexual abuse,” Report of the Secretary General, primarily containing the report of incidents in 2005, 24 May 2006 [UN doc. A/60/861] and Evaluation of the Enforcement and Remedial Assistance Efforts for Sexual Exploitation and Abuse by the United Nations and Related Personnel in Peacekeeping Operations, UN Office of Internal Oversight Service, 12 June 2015, IED-15-001.

Unfortunately, as evidenced in Table 5.2, the UN did not collect data on alleged peacekeeper sexual exploitation and abuse prior to 2005, even though the first allegation dated back in 1990s.⁷⁴ Moreover, as the UN did not collect data in a consistent periodic manner, any attempt to determine whether the UN’s add-women-and-stir approach has achieved its purpose in reducing peacekeeper sexual exploitation and abuse is still far from perfect because the organisation does not publish the numbers of sexual harassments experienced amongst the peacekeepers themselves. The quantitative data on sexual exploitation and abuse may also understate the real situation on the ground, because collection is difficult. This is due to, firstly, survivors often feel ashamed to report sexual exploitation, and, secondly, even though the presence of women peacekeepers may encourage reporting, an individual woman peacekeeper –whom they report to – may only assume a temporary posting, due to rotation schedules. Therefore, the local female victim does not have the assurance that if she reports an incident, its resolution will pre-date the repatriation of the initial woman investigator.

5.8 (Lack of) Women’s Participation in Peacekeeping Leadership

Gender-balancing or an add-women-and-stir approach was criticised by Sarah Childs and Mona Krook for its descriptive character, rather than a more substantive

transformation approach.⁷⁵ The argument goes that the presence of women may not be enough strengthen to gender promotion policy-making, if the women are only in administrative and supporting roles. What is important, argue Childs and Krook, is to communicate the excellent performance of successful women in top positions, so that they act as role models to generate significant policy impacts in the improvement of women’s work positions.⁷⁶ Therefore, it is important to analyse to what extent women can undertake leadership roles in peacekeeping, otherwise their presence acts only as an extension of masculine authority. For example, if women peacekeeper roles are limited only to the tactical level, interacting with survivors of sexual- and gender-based violence, and simply reporting their observations, their presence will be superficial, with limited impact on pursuing significant change in the efficacy of peacekeeping operations. The UN peacekeeping leadership and chain of command is illustrated in Figure 5.3, below.

Figure 5.3: UN Peacekeeping Operations Authority, Command and Control Structure, with Special Focus on the Military Chain of Command



*SRSGs: Special Representatives of the Secretary-General

**DSRSGs: Deputy Special Representatives of the Secretary-General

Source: Adapted from *UN Peacekeeping Operations: Principles and Guidelines*, (New York: UN DPKO and DFS, 2008), p. 67.

As illustrated by the Figure, the tactical level is where the ‘boots on the ground’ consists of peacekeepers, formed from military and police units, and individuals, as well as

civilian staff, perform in mission locations to implement the UN's mandate. The operational level consists of the Head of Mission and a leadership team formed by military, police and unit heads. Strategic decision-making relate to the starting and ending of missions, including its mandate, as agreed by the UN Security Council with advice from the Head of Missions, holding the rank of Special Representative of the Secretary-General (SRSG). The women in UNSC, who are diplomats representing member states, remain small, peaking at 33 per cent between 2000 and 2009, but declining to 19 per cent thereafter.⁷⁷ In 2010, there were just two women SRSGs and three women as Deputy SRSGs leading the 16 UN peacekeeping missions.⁷⁸

On the operational side, the Head of a UN Mission is a senior UN representative, having the authority over all UN activities in mission areas, directing all mission components and ensuring unity amongst all UN entities.⁷⁹ In a multi-dimensional mission, the Head of UN Mission is usually a high-ranking civilian diplomat approved by the host government. Meanwhile, for traditional missions requiring only a military component, the Head of the Military Unit (or Force Commander) becomes Head of UN Mission. The UN Force Commander has the control of all military personnel in the mission and she/he is a military officer. Likewise, the Head of the UN Police Unit (or Police Commissioner) exercises control over all members of police components in the mission.⁸⁰ The UN mission leadership positions including Head of Mission, Force Commander, Police Commissioner and senior civilian staff are appointed by the UN Secretary General under the nomination of TCCs.⁸¹ Therefore, the nomination of women for a UN mission leadership post is dependent on the agreement of member states, and not many are open to endorse women moving up the ranks, agreeing only to limited publicity for such posts, even leaving these posts unadvertised, so that the pool of applicants is constrained to the 'old boys' network.⁸² Research is thus required to investigate whether women are simply reluctant to apply for peacekeeping leadership roles, or whether a 'glass ceiling' exists through lack of information or permission, to apply for senior positions.

The first woman appointed as UN Head of Mission was in 1992, when Margaret Joan Antsee of the United Kingdom was invited to lead the UN Angola Verification Mission

(UNAVEM II). The number of UN women Heads of Missions increased substantially between 2002 and 2012. Some six women Heads (SRSGs) and five deputy Heads (DSRSGs) were appointed to lead 28 peacekeeping missions over this period, but inevitably the numbers declined thereafter.⁸³ Similarly, there was a lack of women's representation in UN peacekeeper leadership positions in the security forces, such as Force Commanders and Police Commissioners. The first female police commander to be appointed was Deputy Inspector General Seema Dhundia, commander of the world's first all-female (Indian) UN peacekeeping force, leading 103 female officers and 22 male staff serving in logistics roles for the 2007-08 deployment in Liberia (UNMIL).⁸⁴ Meanwhile, the first woman military contingent commander, Navy Captain Luzviminda Camacho of the Philippines, was appointed in 2013-14, leading a mixed-unit of 146 men and 10 women to Haiti (MINUSTAH).⁸⁵ It was only in 2014 that the first female military force commander was appointed. Major General Kristin Lund of Norway began service on August 2014 for the UN mission to Cyprus (UNFICYP), under the Head of Mission who is also a woman.⁸⁶ It is rare for females to be appointed as a UN Peacekeeping Head of Mission; however, appointment of a female military force commander is even rarer (as mentioned above, the first was only in 2014). Since 2010, the UNFICYP mission has been headed by a diplomat, Lisa Buttenheim, and, as leadership roles are selected by the Secretary General and the UNSC, perhaps the selection of Major General Lund became possible because of the precedent of the earlier female leadership appointment. This of course would need further research to investigate.

Barriers to the appointment of women in leadership positions are selected from a relatively small pool of qualified female candidates. These are highly political appointments at senior UN levels of leadership, and selection is dependent on member state endorsement, especially for diplomat-level appointees. The male-dominated UN Secretariat is said to maintain a bias against appointing women to 'serious' missions.⁸⁷ This is particularly the case in appointing women for military leadership, as one diplomat stated, not all member state diplomats are comfortable to "take the guns away from the men",⁸⁸ implying that armed-conflict is still perceived as a male-exclusive domain, despite UN attempts to overcome such stereotyping. Alternatively, if guns

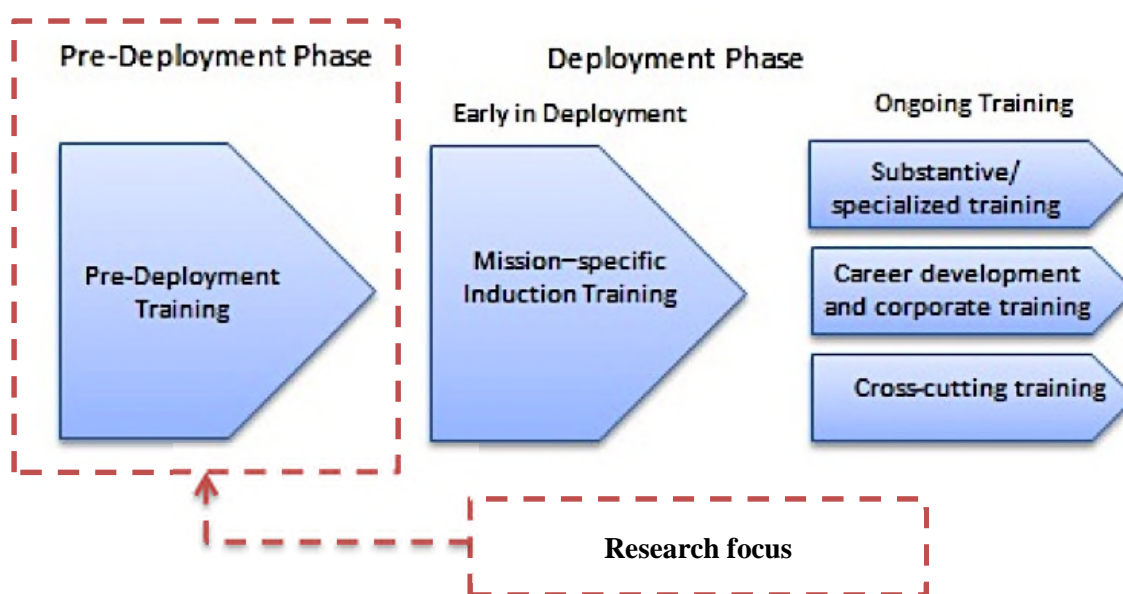
cannot be taken from men, then arguably similar opportunities should also be granted to women to hold the guns. Yet, the prospects for this are poor. UN member countries' women security personnel cite several impediments hampering women's participation in peacekeeping mission, including family responsibilities, especially the inability to bring family members to peacekeeping areas as most are designated as non-family duty stations.⁸⁹ However, for the women peacekeepers that do participate, they mention the incentives, including career advancement, economic benefit, the sharing of experiences and meeting multinational colleagues and the opportunity to contribute to the stabilisation and peace in conflict and post-conflict zones, as all representing the reasons why they decided to join UN peace missions.⁹⁰ It seems likely, therefore, that if the incentives for women peacekeepers are increased, there may well be greater numbers of women willing to engage in UN security decision-making as well as peacekeeping. From an interview with a UN Gender Adviser in New York, it was revealed that the organisation has considered increasing the incentives for women to work in peacekeeping jobs, especially in leadership positions.⁹¹ However, this reform has not yet been implemented due to limited resources.

5.9 Importance of Pre-Deployment Training

One field of endeavour that could support greater women's participation, in terms of quality, quantity, and gender-sensitising cultural change is peacekeeping pre-deployment training (PDT). In the military profession, personnel must undergo rigorous training and education programmes in order to be deemed worthy of promotion to access higher level work and, also, arguably, for international deployment, such as peacekeeping.⁹² Particularly for UN peacekeeping missions, military personnel are moulded to become peace agents that subscribe to the precepts of impartiality and minimal use of force, rather than coercion. The UN peace missions usually consist of unarmed individual military observers and lightly armed troops. Therefore, to adjust the mind-set of national armed forces, UN PDT has the power to transform the military from "war manager" to "soldier diplomat."⁹³ The PDT would better equip potential peacekeepers, informing them about the UN mission as well as the local context in which it operates.

If UN PDT includes the topics of gender sensitivity and gender equality in its training, potential peacekeepers would know that women, men, girls and boys in the area of deployment are affected differently by conflict, and that peacekeepers are there to provide an example of equal gender relations. Especially for potential women peacekeepers, they would have a better understanding that their work could affect the local population in a positive manner – as role models for women’s public participation, encouraging reports on sexual exploitation and abuse,⁹⁴ and therefore increasing interest for women to be part of peacekeeping missions to make greater impact. As illustrated in Figure 5.3, below, PDT is the start of a process of UN peacekeeping training in order to prepare them for the deployment phase. PDT moulds military and security forces to become effective peacekeepers. Therefore, the training should contain general values and doctrine that all peacekeepers ought to follow, before they are given mission-specific knowledge and skills.

Figure 5.4: UN Peacekeeping Training Phases



Source: Adapted from UN Peacekeeping Resource Hub, 'Training', <http://research.un.org/en/peacekeeping-community/Training> accessed 10 September 2015.

PDT, if it is designed well, could also encourage higher numbers of women to participate as peacekeepers. The UN invites member states to voluntarily contribute peacekeepers on missions, and it lists specific requirements for military peacekeepers to

handle expected tasks, including monitoring peace agreements, patrolling on foot and in a vehicle; to work and live in conditions of hardship and physical danger; provide accurate verbal and written reports in the mission's working language (English or French); and be physically and mentally fit for working on strenuous operations.⁹⁵ If potential peacekeepers have some of these skills, then they would have a greater possibility to pass the pre-deployment qualification test. One example is Ghana where the economic conditions limit the ability of families to afford vehicles, and those households that have a vehicle normally only have one, primarily used by the husbands; hence, most women lack the opportunity to get a licence and practise driving skills.⁹⁶ The lack of a driving capability limits Ghanaian women security forces from applying to participate in peace support operation. Therefore, the provision of PDT is suitable to the needs of both potential women and men peacekeepers. Conversely, PDT takes place in the home country of the peacekeepers, and is the responsibility of the Troop Contributing Countries (TCCs). This creates a problem because not all TCCs have the same policies and priorities regarding training, making quality standardisation difficult. More troubling is that since the early 2000s most of the top TCCs are developing countries (a shift from the early 1990s when the top TCCs were the developed countries of the UK, France, Canada and the Netherlands),⁹⁷ so the former had relatively fewer resources to provide adequate training, especially on gender issues.⁹⁸ It is common knowledge that when there is resource limitation, TCCs tend to focus on the technical and operational aspects of deployment, such as preparing for logistics, rather than focusing on gender equality and needs.

5.10 UN Imperative for Gender-Sensitised Training

The UN recognised the importance of gender-sensitised training after the recommendation of President of the Security Council, Anwarul Karim Chowdhury from Bangladesh, on his International Women's Day statement calling for specialised training for all peacekeeping personnel on the protection, special needs and human rights of women and children in conflict situations, 8 March 2000.⁹⁹ In the months that followed, the recommendation was included in the Namibia Plan of Action on Mainstreaming a Gender Perspective in Multidimensional Peace Support Operations, including training as one of its actionable points, summarised as follows:

- Calling TCCs to increase the percentage of women in training
- Mainstreaming gender issues to be included in regional and national training curricula and peace operations courses
- UN DPKO should provide gender-aware materials for TCCs so that these elements can be incorporated into national PDT programmes
- Upon arrival at mission areas, peacekeepers should undergo obligatory induction training on gender issues, including: codes of conduct, culture, history and social norms of the host country; CEDAW; and sexual harassment and assault.¹⁰⁰

These points were restated in UNSC Resolution 1325 issued in the same year that requested: (i) the Secretary-General to provide 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; and (ii) the member states to incorporate such elements into their national pre-deployment training programme.¹⁰¹

In 2008, the UNSC Resolution 1820 for the first time recognised the systematic use of sexual violence as a weapon of war and reaffirmed the earlier request to the UN Secretary General to develop and implement appropriate training programmes for all UN peacekeepers. The training materials help peacekeepers to better prevent, recognize and respond to sexual, gender and other forms of violence against civilians, and urges troop and police contributing countries to take appropriate preventative action, including pre-deployment and in-theatre awareness training, and other actions to ensure full accountability in cases of such conduct involving their personnel.¹⁰² Other UNSC resolutions on women, peace and security that highlight training are Resolution No. 1888 (2009) encouraging member states to deploy greater numbers of female military and police personnel, and to provide all personnel with adequate training to carry out their responsibilities;¹⁰³ Resolution No. 1889 (2009) that calls upon the Secretary-General to develop a strategy, including appropriate training, to increase the numbers of women appointed;¹⁰⁴ Resolution No. 1960 (2010) that welcomes the provision of scenario-based training materials on combating sexual violence for peacekeepers and encourages Member States to use them;¹⁰⁵ Resolution No. 2016 (2013) that calls for all pre-deployment and in-mission training of TCC/PCCs' contingents to include training

on sexual and gender-based violence, taking into account the distinct needs of children;¹⁰⁶ and Resolution No. 2122 (2013) that further encourages TCCs and PCCs to provide all military and police personnel with adequate training to carry out their responsibilities, as well as to increase the percentage of women in deployment.¹⁰⁷

UNSC resolutions on women, peace and security, especially the first resolution No.1325 (2000), became the legislative basis for the UN to conduct peacekeeping training on the protection, rights and particular needs of women, as well as on the importance of involving women in all peacekeeping activities.¹⁰⁸ Having this basis, the UN DPKO gender-inclusiveness training is conducted through a two-pronged approach: firstly, it provides training on gender awareness to both female and male peacekeepers, and, secondly, it caters for the specific needs of female peacekeepers by conducting separate training to increase women's involvement in peacekeeping. The first training materials for integrating gender into peacekeeping operations was issued by UN DPKO in 2002 and implemented shortly thereafter, with a revised edition issued in 2009. Meanwhile, special female military officer course material was only piloted in 2015.¹⁰⁹ The nature and progress of the two approaches will be explained in the following subsection.

5.10.1 Co-Ed Gender in Peacekeeping Pre-Deployment Training

Gender training for peacekeepers is aimed at ensuring that personnel in missions have a common understanding of the equality and non-discriminatory values they need when working for the UN. Furthermore, training provides peacekeepers with the knowledge of social context, including gender dynamics in the areas where peace operations are carried out, increasing the awareness of the positive or negative impacts of peacekeeping personnel's actions in the host country. The UN asserts gender training is a requirement to improve the effective implementation of the mission's mandate, as well as "reducing both harmful forms of behaviour by peacekeeping personnel and unintended negative effects on mission policies and programmes."¹¹⁰ This statement indicates that the UN is aware that the impact of deploying multinational peacekeepers may not only be positive, but may also bear unintended consequences. However,

mitigation efforts may be challenging as peacekeepers come from different countries; hence, they have different cultural backgrounds, despite relatively similar military training (compared to the relatively less trained civilians).

The UN is faced with the delicate balance of sustaining the support of TCC/PCCs while also maintaining its legitimacy and acceptance in the area of missions, in turn, depending heavily on the conduct of peacekeepers on the ground. However, as already agreed in the 1995 General Assembly Resolution A/RES/49/37, member states recognise the responsibility to train their uniformed personnel prior to UN peacekeeping deployment and to facilitate this, the Secretary General is obliged to develop the training materials necessary. Therefore, the inclusion of gender content in UN peacekeeping training materials for contributing countries is a more actionable intervention to promote gender-sensitised peacekeepers, rather than stating gender-sensitivity as a requirement for every peacekeeper (difficult to measure) and demanding TCC/PCCs to appropriately punish perpetrators of gender- and sexual-exploitation and abuse (the UN does not have power to enforce). Peacekeeping training materials are given to both female and male trainee peacekeepers. However, it was only after the 1990s that women’s participation in UN peace missions began to increase, yet the numbers remain small to this day (see, Section 5.6 and 5.7 for the statistics).

First Generation Gender-Integrated UN Pre-Deployment Training Modules

The first UN peacekeeping mission was deployed in 1947, but it was only in 2002 that the Standardised Generic Training Modules (SGTM) for military and civilian police peacekeepers included gender in the curriculum.¹¹¹ These training modules are required for UN peacekeepers of all levels and categories. The standardised modules published by the UN DPKO included Prevention of Sexual Exploitation and Abuse (SGTM 5D) and Gender Equality in Peacekeeping (SGTM 17) delivered as part of 24 modules. The categorisation of SGTM materials is listed in Table 5.3.

Table 5.3: Standardised Generic Training Modules

Unit	Materials	Contains materials on gender
1A	Peacekeepers’ Introduction to the United Nations System	No

1B	Peacekeepers' Introduction to United Nations Peace Operations	No
2	Structure of United Nations Peace Operations	No
3	Legal Framework of United Nations Peace Operations	No
4	Stress Management	No
5A	Code of Conduct	No
5B	Cultural Awareness	No
5C	Child Protection	No
5D	Prevention of Sexual Exploitation and Abuse	Yes
6	Personal Security Awareness	No
7	Landmine and Unexploded Ordnance Awareness	No
8	Human Rights in Peacekeeping	No
9	Humanitarian Assistance	No
10	United Nations Civil–Military Coordination	No
11	Communication and Negotiation	No
12	Disarmament, Demobilization and Reintegration	No
13	Media Relations	No
14	Uniformed Personnel in Peacekeeping	No
15	Logistics in Peacekeeping	No
16A	HIV/AIDS	Yes, partially
16B	Malaria	No
16C	Basic Life Support	No
16D	Personal Hygiene.	No
17	Gender Equality in Peacekeeping	Yes

Source: UN DPKO, *Standardised Generic Training Modules*, (New York: UN, 2002)

As shown in the Table, there are only two modules in SGTM that fully contain materials relating to gender, and, therefore, this basic training only provides a small part of the overall suggested training time to bring gender awareness to potential peacekeepers. In the guidelines, SGTM 5D material takes 150 minutes minimum training time, while SGTM 17 should take a minimum 90 minutes, with one-third of both allocated for interactive review and discussion.¹¹² The suggested training time for both modules occupies 16 per cent of the 1,545 minutes total of the minimum suggested training time for SGTM.¹¹³ For the SGTM time allocation breakdown, see Appendix 3. Aside from these two modules, the gender-sensitised material also includes SGTM 16A on HIV/AIDS that quote the UNSCR 1325 on Women, Peace and Security, which highlights the importance of providing HIV/AIDS training for peacekeepers, prohibiting them from buying sex from prostitutes and exchanging money, employment and goods or services for sex.

Researcher’s assessment on the SGTM training modules is as follows:

- The sequence of SGTM 5D and 17 suggest that UN DPKO concentrates more on the sexual abuse than on endorsing gender equality in peacekeeping. Despite this pecking order, it should be acknowledged that gender equality is on the list.
- The SGTM 5D training material is straightforward in providing a warning to peacekeepers that their presence in the mission areas may alter the local population’s attitudes, creating positive and negative impacts. Hence, the training material may come across problematic, as seen in Figure 5.4, below, the statement “We create the demand – We are part of the problem”, implies peacekeepers generate the abuse.

Figure 5.5: Selected Slides from SGTM 5D



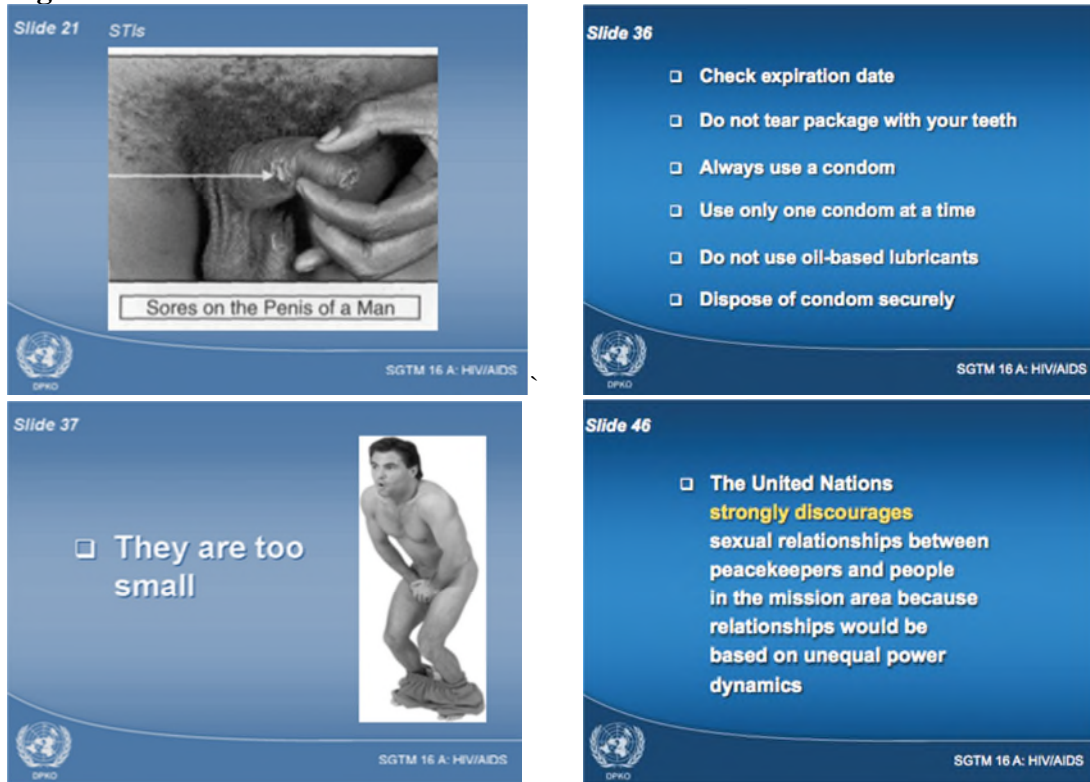
Source: UN DPKO, ‘SGTM 5D: Prevention of Sexual Exploitation and Abuse’, *Standardised Generic Training Modules*, (New York: UN, 2002)

- The SGTM 17 training material contains explanation of sex and gender, as well as the different impacts of conflict on women and men. This information would be more suitable to be given in the earlier modules, rather than the last, in order to provide initial information on how gender works and why women are often

the victim of conflict-related sexual abuse, as well as how peacekeepers can prevent and address it.

- In the material guidelines, the suggested time allocation to conduct SGTM 5D and 17 training is 150 minutes (10 per cent of total training time) and 90 minutes (6 per cent of total training time), respectively.¹¹⁴ On their own, they may not appear as a large proportion, yet the suggested time of SGTM 5D – Prevention of Sexual Exploitation and Abuse is actually the longest and SGTM 17 is the second longest if compared with the other modules having the average mean of 45 minutes. The suggested training time allocation suggests the seriousness UN DPKO attaches to training aimed at preventing sexual abuse.

Figure 5.6: Selected Slides from SGTM 16A



Source: UN DPKO, 'SGTM 16A: HIV/AIDS', *Standardised Generic Training Modules*, (New York: UN, 2002)

- The SGTM 16A material contains explanations on the HIV/AIDS virus and other sexually transmitted diseases with vivid imageries of human sexual organs as depicted in Figure 5.7, above. Interestingly, this training module includes a demonstration of how to use a condom properly via illustrative slides.¹¹⁵ The question should be asked as to the relevance of this information, given that peacekeepers are not allowed to have sexual relationships with people in the

mission areas. These slides, and the call to increase the numbers of women peacekeepers, subtly suggest that peacekeepers are anticipated to have sex with each other.

The SGTM only lasts for six years, and in 2008, the UN DPKO undertook a training assessment and discovered that only 40 per cent of peacekeepers had received pre-deployment training, with the majority of those being civilian peacekeepers (only 18.9 per cent received training), followed by police (66.9 per cent) and military (75.6 per cent).¹¹⁶ This low percentage of pre-deployment training led to the SGTM being simplified and repackaged, with the UN DPKO increasing its demand for member countries to conduct pre-deployment training before peacekeepers are sent on missions.

Second Generation Gender-Integrated UN Pre-Deployment Training Module

After the 2008 training review, the SGTM was phased out and replaced one year later by Core Pre-Deployment Training Materials (CPTM). The reason behind this change was because serious gaps had been identified in PDT. The issues not covered included the lack of standards for member-states to adequately prepare their military and police forces prior to deployment, the absence of mission-specific training and the over-emphasis on generic issues.¹¹⁷ In the same year that the training review took place, the UN Security Council issued Resolution 1820 recognising sexual violence as a tactic of war and demanding the institution of appropriate measures, including an improvement in peacekeeper training. Hence, the opportunity arose to address conflict-related sexual violence in this second generation UN peacekeeping training module, but the moment passed with only partial changes introduced.

Compared to the earlier SGTM version that contained 17 modules, the CPTM offered just 4,¹¹⁸ indicating a more concise training package of materials being offered, as well as a shorter suggested training time, perhaps to encourage CCs' peacekeeping training centres to fully deliver them. Instead of stand-alone modules, the CPTM gender training sections are delivered as parts of sub-units and therefore delivery is more difficult to

measure, and the training time on gender assessment provided in this section is approximate. The SGTM materials are listed in Table 5.4.

Table 5.4: Core Pre-deployment Training Materials

Unit	Topic	Contain materials on gender
Unit 1 Part 1	Introduction to UN Peacekeeping	No
Unit 1 Part 2	Fundamental Principles of UN Peacekeeping	No
Unit 2	Establishment and Operationalization of Security Council Mandates in Peacekeeping Operations How United Nations Peacekeeping Operations Function	No
Unit 3 Part 1a	International Law Relevant to Peacekeeping Operations	No
Unit 3 Part 1b	Human Rights Protection in UN Peacekeeping Operations	No
Unit 3 Part 1c	Women, Peace and Security: The Role of UN Peacekeeping Operations	Yes
Unit 3 Part 1d	Protection of Children: The Role of UN Peacekeeping Operations	No
Unit 3 Part 2	Working With Mission Partners	No
Unit 4 Part 1a	Introduction to Conduct and Discipline	No
Unit 4 Part 1b	The Consequences of Misconduct	Yes, partially
Unit 4 Part 1c	Sexual Exploitation and Abuse	Yes
Unit 4 Part 2	HIV/AIDS and UN Peacekeeping Operations	No
Unit 4 Part 3	Respect for Diversity	Yes, partially

Source: UN DPKO, *Core Pre-Deployment Training Materials, 1st ed.*, (New York: UN DPKO, 2009)

As shown in Table 5.4, above, there are only two materials that are dedicated to women and gender-sensitising (Unit 3 part 1c and Unit 4 Part 1c), while another material has only section on gender (Unit 4 and 3). Unit 3 Part 1c ‘Women, Peace and Security’ discusses how UN peacekeeping personnel can contribute to the promotion of gender equality and uphold the UN policy on gender equality on UN peace operations. Unit 4 Part 1b on sexual exploitation and abuse highlights the standards and behaviours peacekeepers are expected to maintain, such as prohibition of sexual activities with children, and the bartering of goods for sex. The material warns the peacekeepers not to conduct sexual exploitation, including procuring for sex, with interesting conduct and discipline scenarios, such as “Sven is a Military Observer. He developed a close relationship with his landlady, Amanna, who also does his cleaning. One night Sven returns from a reception for the Force Commander who has been visiting the district

where he is deployed. Sven is drunk. He has not had sex for eight months. He presses Amanna to come to his bedroom, urging her to make love with him. Is Sven's action prohibited? (Y/N)".¹¹⁹ With these scenarios, CPTM has arguably made training more interesting than SGTM. Unit 4 Part 3 'Respect for Diversity' advises peacekeepers to implement sensitivity in their interaction with the local population while they are in the mission area, as the local population may have different culture, norms, traditions and gender roles compared to the peacekeepers' backgrounds. However, the material advocates and respects women as equal to men as it is part of the UN's core organisational value.¹²⁰ The same topic of HIV/AIDS appears in the SGTM, but without the vivid imageries. This perhaps would make the material easier to deliver, especially in CCs where sex is considered taboo.

In the accompanying training guidelines, the minimum session time for the materials that focus on gender, Unit 4 Part 1c and Part 3, is 90 minutes and 120 minutes, respectively.¹²¹ The suggested training time for materials partly containing gender material, Unit 4 Part 1b and 3 Part 1c, is 60 minutes for each.¹²² When calculated, the four modules take up 33 per cent of the total 1,020 minutes of the prescribed minimum training time for CPTM.¹²³ The CPTM time allocation breakdown can be seen in Appendix 4. In comparison with the earlier SGTM training material, the allocated time for gender training is higher in the new training material. This indicates that UN DPKO is increasingly serious about increasing gender-sensitising and addressing sexual exploitation and abuse.

The researcher's assessment of the CPTM training modules is as follows:

- Compared to its predecessor, the CPTM are more simplified in terms of the lesser units it contains and it has shorter suggested training time (1,020 minutes compared to 1,545 minutes).
- The gender training materials sequence, of CPTM Unit 3 Part 1c – Women, Peace and Security, followed by Unit 4 Part 1b – Sexual Exploitation and Abuse, continued by Unit 4 Part 3 – Respect for Diversity, is an improvement from the earlier training materials. With CPTM structure of training materials,

prospective peacekeepers would understand the different security needs of men and women and aware of sexual- and gender-based violence, and these understandings would lead to a reasoning why sexual exploitation and abuse are included as serious misconduct.

- The CPTM material does not include the previous problematic slide stating peacekeepers in mission are creating demands for sexual exploitation, which can be considered as an improvement. However, the new material also does not include a slide mentioning the differences between sex and gender, which can be a setback because it loses the opportunity in explaining the distinction of the two terms that are often misused.
- The CPTM Unit 4 Part 1b has clearer explanation on how the UN address sexual exploitation and abuse, as well as the consequences that peacekeepers will bear in the instances of having found guilty as perpetrator, as can be seen in Figure 5.8.

Figure 5.7: Selected Slides from CPTM Unit 4 Part 1b



Source: UN DPKO, 'Unit 4 – Part 1, Conduct and Discipline', *UN Peacekeeping PDT Standards, Core Pre-Deployment Training Materials, 1st ed.*, (New York: UN DPKO, 2009). SEA is a UN terminology that stands for sexual exploitation and abuse.

- The CPTM Unit 4 Part 2 on HIV/AIDS and the UN Peacekeeping Operations is suggested to be delivered after Unit 3 Part 1c on Women, Peace and Security as it contains foundation for this module.¹²⁴ This module includes the acknowledgement that UN peacekeeping operations have been accused of spreading HIV/AIDS and it impacted to the credibility and legitimacy of the missions. Hence, this session highlights the reason why peacekeepers need to prevent HIV transmission for their own protection, as well as to protect the

missions’ legitimacy. This module does not include SGTM slide to warn peacekeepers not have sexual relationships with people in the mission area, despite the guidelines asking trainers to mention it as well as a reminder that the “UN strictly prohibits personnel from engaging in sexual activity with prostitutes or anyone under the age of 18”.¹²⁵

Figure 5.8: Selected Slides from CPTM Unit 4 Part 2



Source: UN DPKO, ‘Unit 4 – Part 1, Conduct and Discipline’, *UN Peacekeeping PDT Standards, Core Pre-Deployment Training Materials*, 1st ed., (New York: UN DPKO, 2009)

The CPTM covers basic pre-deployment training materials for all prospective peacekeepers. To increase knowledge and skills in a particular area, peacekeepers still need to study Specialised Training Materials (STMs) tailored for their specific roles in a mission area, whether it is for an infantry battalion, UN civil-military cooperation or child protection. The STM that relates to gender is ‘STM on Protection of Civilians and Prevention and Response to Conflict-related Sexual Violence’. The course is designed for peacekeepers working at the operational and tactical levels, including battalion level and police unit commanders, and above.¹²⁶ The course sensitises prospective peacekeepers to the different security threats faced by women and men in a conflict zone, as shown in Figure 5.10, located overleaf, mentioning that “It has probably become more dangerous to be a woman than a soldier in armed conflict”. However, this may come across as paradoxical for women soldiers who work as peacekeepers.

Figure 5.9: Selected Slides from STM on Protection of Civilians and Prevention and Response to Conflict-related Sexual Violence



Source: UN DPKO and DFS, *Specialized Training Material on Protection of Civilians and Prevention and Response to Conflict-related Sexual Violence*, (New York: UN DPKO, 2009).

Two out of the six modules within the course highlight peacekeepers' crucial roles in addressing and preventing sexual violence, and takes around 360 minutes (or 50 per cent) of the total minimum suggested training time.¹²⁷ This course is a good example of gender-integrated pre-deployment training, because it is only an option amongst ten other STMs, and not all prospective peacekeepers would undertake the course. The researcher's findings from fieldwork in the three country case studies of Indonesia, Philippines and Country A, indicate that all the trainers on this particular STM course are women,¹²⁸ arguably reinforcing the stereotype that protecting civilians and addressing conflict-related sexual violence is the work of women. The training provides women peacekeepers with the necessary expertise to support their interaction role with SGBV survivors; however, male peacekeepers should also have the knowledge to be able to address this issue. Otherwise, women peacekeepers will be trapped in roles relating to SGBV, while male peacekeepers would not be sensitised enough to the importance of this issue.

5.10.2 Special Female Peacekeeping Pre-Deployment Training

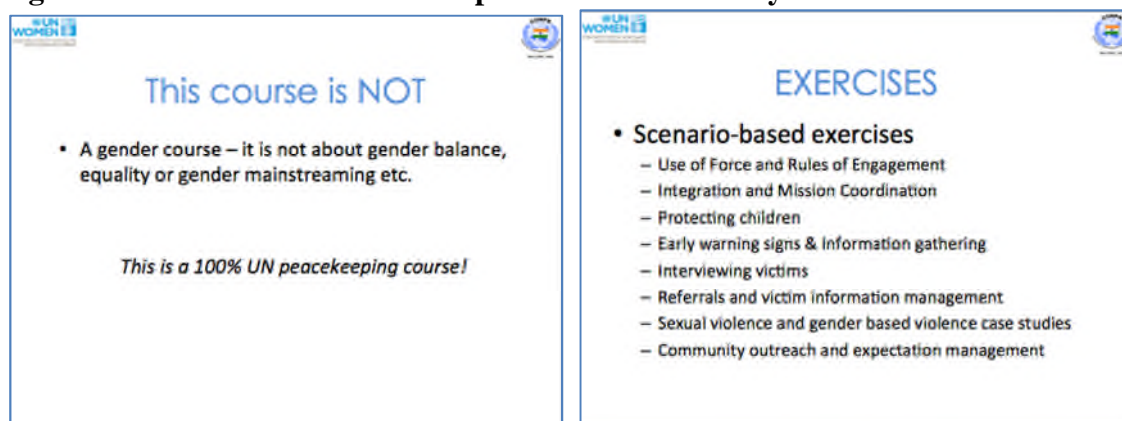
At the time this research began in 2013, the UN DPKO did not have a dedicated course to support member states in the training of their female military officers. Later, in 2015, when the researcher conducted her internship at UN Women Multi-Country Office of India, Bhutan, Maldives and Sri Lanka in 2015, she learned that UN Women Headquarters New York and Country Office India, supported by the Governments of

Netherlands, Norway and India had developed new training guidelines for a female military officer's course.¹²⁹ The new training was devised as a tool to increase women's participation in peacekeeping and peacebuilding, given the extremely low number of female military officers on UN peace operations. The training derives from a study published by Karpowitz, Mendelberg and Shaker (2012), and reflects Elizabeth Aries' findings in the late 1990s that in a male-dominated environment, women participate less than when they are in a majority environment.¹³⁰ Although the study by Karpowitz, *et al.* may not precisely reflect the conditions of the military and policewomen taking part in peacekeeper training, it is useful to learn whether women peacekeepers perceive pre-deployment training to be adequate and appropriate for their needs. This is especially important for female peacekeepers, who are 'burdened' with stereotypes that they are better communicators, compared with their male counterparts, when dealing with women in deployment areas, that they are more adept in dealing with survivors of sexual- and gender-based violence,¹³¹ and in the more traditional societies, that they are perceived as immoral for working closely with men.¹³²

A general review of the Special Female Military Officers Course (SFMOC) material, the schedule of which is included in Appendix 2, provides a contradictory statement in the opening slides of the training material. According to the slide, the training is not a gender course, but, as seen in Figure 5.8, "100% UN peacekeeping course" the training is regarded as being in compliance with UN peacekeeping pre-deployment training standards.¹³³ The course is formulated to "equip female military officers with the knowledge needed to enable them to meaningfully implement UN policies and guidance, as well as to support mission activities related to protecting women, children and civilians from all violence, including conflict-relating to sexual violence".¹³⁴ According to the training's learning objective, the knowledge that participants should receive includes: understanding how to identify the threats facing vulnerable groups – including women and children; the principles of peacekeeping and how military peacekeepers can play a role to protect vulnerable groups; the various international legal frameworks and UN resolutions; the Rules of Engagement and Use of Force issues; the means of integrating gender and the protection of civilians against violence; the roles and responsibilities of the various mission components in pursuing gender-

mainstreaming and protection of civilians; and the ability to effectively deal with protection issues including sexual violence.¹³⁵ Efforts to impart hands-on knowledge to interact with the local population is weaved into many of the topics taught through the scenario-based exercises of SFMOC, as listed in Figure 5.11, below, aimed at informing training participants on how to handle sexual- and gender-based violence and the provision of support to the victims of the violence. That said, along with heavy women-related materials, almost two full days out of the ten working days of the course is laden with gender-sensitised content. Hence, despite the claim that this is not a gender course, the SFMOC does have gendered impact, at least in empowering prospective uniformed women to become peacekeepers. This occurs in two ways: firstly, by encouraging equal participation via promoting an environment that is more supportive for women; and, secondly, by equipping prospective women peacekeepers with the skills to work effectively with other women in the local population.

Figure 5.10: Selected Slides from Special Female Military Officer Course



Source: UN Women, ‘Course Overview’, *Special Female Military Officers Course*, (Delhi: UN Women, 2015), slides 4 and 12.

The SFMOC was piloted in India and South Africa in 2015. There were 32 female military officers from 24 countries participating in the first SFMOC pilot in New Delhi and the second pilot sessions in Pretoria, attended by 39 female officers from 23 countries.¹³⁶ Hence, there are more than 70 women military officers from 47 countries who are now appropriately trained, but the nature of their deployment is still highly dependent on how the agreement between the TCCs and the UN DPKO, as well as the willingness to deploy women peacekeepers on individual deployment roles (as military observers who deploy separately from a team of other peacekeepers coming from the

same country). Based on email correspondence with a UN DPKO officer, so far the number of women participants of SFMOC who have deployed is still quite low.¹³⁷ It is still unknown whether UN DPKO will include the SFMOC as part of its pre-deployment training package that will be disseminated to all TCCs. The likelihood of this happening is slim, because it would be difficult for a contributing country to find large enough numbers of women peacekeepers to conduct a special female military officer course, unless it invites other TCCs to send their women peacekeepers for training.

5.11 Assessing Pre-Deployment Gender Training Material

The UN peacekeeping pre-deployment training material clearly demonstrates that the organisation's aim is to make peacekeeping forces more gender-sensitive, albeit the scepticism that such efforts represent tokenism rather than reforming the entire peacekeeper operational process.¹³⁸ Olivera Simic criticises the heavy military element in UN peacekeeping - characterising masculinity, whereby six out of every seven peacekeepers are soldiers.¹³⁹ According to this author, militarism (maintaining strong military capability to obtain particular goals) relies on dominant masculinity that reduces women to 'feminine' roles, with lower status and power, at a time, paradoxically, when peacekeeping is trying to include more women.¹⁴⁰ If the role of women is elevated only because of the essentialist stereotypes that reflect their more nurturing and peaceful disposition, assumptions advanced by Gerard DeGroot,¹⁴¹ this may further lower the professional status of women in comparison with their male counterparts. Gender and women in peacekeeping should not be viewed as simply additions, but rather as critical elements within a mission. Therefore, in spite of efforts to provide gender training, the UN appears to be reinforcing gender stereotypes, rather than taking serious steps to overcome both the root causes of women's unequal participation in peacekeeping operations and the sexual- and gender-based violence perpetrated by peacekeepers. In sum, then, the training materials should be reformed, along with UN peacekeeping attitudes on gender and women.

There are three ways to improve the gender-sensitising of UN peacekeeping training materials. Firstly, gender should be part of all peacekeeping training material, rather than form only a separate section. Even though a separate section on gender highlights the importance of the issue, it makes gender become exclusive and not an inherent part of peacekeeping training. This exclusiveness of gender training material has the potential to create a backlash, whereby women seek special treatment. However, obliging peacekeepers to understand the difference between sex and gender, as in SGTm, is important and should be re-introduced into the training material. Yet, the CPTM's inclusion of gender sensitivity as a part of the training material on 'Respect for Diversity' is worthy.

Secondly, having women-only training sessions for peacekeepers, such as the SFMOC, may address the specific needs of women that are not provided in the regular peacekeeping training, especially the specific knowledge relating to their perceived roles as first-class communicators with vulnerable groups in deployment areas – namely women and children. However, further research to investigate whether women feel the need to have their own training sessions and whether male peacekeepers also need specific training should be undertaken.

Thirdly, acknowledging an observation made by trainer Dean Laplonge, that often masculinity is missing from training conducted in a male-dominated industry, such as peacekeeping.¹⁴² Masculinity is defined as a set of attitudes and practices culturally deemed appropriate to men.¹⁴³ The training of masculinity would highlight that the 'problem' is not men in peacekeeping, but rather the existence of patriarchal values in the UN that rewards only the type of masculinity that protects the population with strength.

5.12 Summary

This chapter has presented the UN's evolving efforts to provide gender-sensitive pre-deployment training to accommodate the different needs of women and girls, along with men and boys in the deployment areas. Addressing the scandals of sexual exploitation

and abuse allegedly perpetrated by UN peacekeepers in the 1990s, the DPKO conducted damage control by increasing the number of women in its peace missions and by issuing Standardised Generic Training Modules in 2002. The training material was aimed at ensuring that future peacekeepers would be aware of UN values, and how its missions should operate. The 2008 training review revealed that these materials were insufficient. A year later, the UN Core Pre-deployment Training materials were published and they became the basis for member states to conduct PDT. Assessment of these training materials and their methods of delivery, divided into co-educational and special female officers training, highlighted two challenges: firstly, gender-mainstreaming is still a supplement of regular peacekeeping training, rather than an important part of the mission component; secondly, through assigning female peacekeepers to work in civil protection and communication posts with the local population – this acts as reducing the opportunities for women to perform in leadership positions, and as such, the UN reinforces gender stereotypes, the root causes of unequal participation in peacekeeping operations. The next chapter will analyse these problematical issues of UN peacekeeper training by applying the logic model and the training needs assessment methodology to the curriculum of the three Southeast Asian country case studies' international peacekeeper training centres.

References and Notes

¹ 'Preamble to the UN Charter', *Charter of the United Nations*, (San Francisco: United Nations, 1945), <http://www.un.org/en/documents/charter/preamble.shtml> accessed November 2014.

² Chapter I, *Charter of the United Nations*, (San Francisco: United Nations, 1945), <http://www.un.org/en/documents/charter/chapter1.shtml> accessed November 2014, italics added by author.

³ Chapter IX, *Charter of the United Nations*, (San Francisco: United Nations, 1945), <http://www.un.org/en/documents/charter/chapter9.shtml> accessed November 2014, italics added by author.

⁴ Elizabeth Porter and Anuradha Mundkur, *Peace and Security: Implications for Women*, (Brisbane: University of Queensland Press, 2012), p. 111.

⁵ These practices can be seen in countries such as India, China and Peru, as it was highlighted in Peggy Levitt and Sally Merry, 'Making Women's Human Rights in the Vernacular: Navigating the Culture/Rights Divide', in Dorothy Hodgson (ed.), *Gender and Culture at the Limit of Rights*, (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania, 2011), pp. 81-100.

⁶ 'Commission on the Status of Women – Overview', UN Women website, <http://www.un.org/womenwatch/daw/csw/> accessed November 2014.

-
- ⁷ United Nations, *The Millennium Development Goals Report: 2014*, (New York: United Nations, 2014), <http://www.un.org/millenniumgoals/2014%20MDG%20report/MDG%202014%20English%20web.pdf> accessed November 2014.
- ⁸ 'Who We Are: UN INSTRAW', <http://www.unfoundation.org/how-to-help/donate/instraw.html> accessed November 2014.
- ⁹ UNIFEM Fact Sheets, http://www.unifem.org/about/fact_sheets.php accessed November 2014
- ¹⁰ 'Transitional page of Office of the Special Adviser to the Secretary-General on Gender Issues and Advancement of Women', <http://www.un.org/womenwatch/osaginew/index.html> accessed November 2014
- ¹¹ UN Document, A/RES/63/311, adopted on 14 September 2009 and Connor Folley, 'The UN's Own Financial Crisis', *The Guardian*, 22 July 2009.
- ¹² Luisa Blanchfield, 'United Nations System Efforts to Address Violence Against Women', *US Congressional Research Service*, No. 7-5700, RL34518, 12 July 2012, p. 4.
- ¹³ UN Women, 'How We Work', <http://www.unwomen.org/en/how-we-work> accessed November 2014.
- ¹⁴ United Nations, 'Global Issues: Women', <http://www.un.org/en/globalissues/women/> accessed November 2014.
- ¹⁵ Margaret Snyder, 'Unlikely Godmother : the UN and the Global Women's Movement', in Myra Marx Ferree and Aili Mari Tripp (Eds.), *Global Feminism: Transnational Women's Activism, Organizing and Human Rights*, (New York: New York University Press, 2006), pp. 26-50.
- ¹⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 26.
- ¹⁷ Dyan Mazurana, Angela Raven-Roberts, Jane Parpart and Sue Lautze, 'Introduction', in Dyan Mazurana, Angela Raven-Roberts and Jane Parpart (Eds.), *Gender, Conflict and Peacekeeping*, (Maryland: Rowman & Littlefield Publisher, 2005), pp. 4-11.
- ¹⁸ Cordula Dittmer and Maja Apelt, 'About Intervening in Vulnerable Societies', in Helena Carreiras and Gerhard Kümmel (eds.), *Women in the Military and in Armed Conflict*, (Wiesbaden: VS Verlag für Sozialwissenschaften, 2008), pp. 72-4.
- ¹⁹ Richard Nelson Current, *American History: To 1877*, (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1987), p.411 and Usha Kar, 'Much Ado About Knitting: The Experience of Bosfam (Bosnia)', in Fenella Porter, Ines A. Smyth, Caroline Sweetman (eds.), *Gender Works: Oxfam Experience in Policy and Practice*, (London: Oxfam, 1999), p. 20.
- ²⁰ UN Women, *Women's Participation in Peace Negotiations: Connections between Presence and Influence*, (New York: UN Women, 2012), p. 7.
- ²¹ Elisabeth Rehn and Ellen Johnson Sirleaf, *Women, War and Peace: The Independent Experts' Assessment on the Impact of Armed Conflict on Women and Women's Role in Peace-building*, (New York: UNIFEM, 2002), p. 116.
- ²² Hannah Britton and Taylor Price, "'If Good Food is Cooked in One Country, We Will All Eat from It": Women and Civil Society in Africa', in Ebenezer Obade (Ed.), *The Handbook of Civil Society in Africa*, (New York: Springer, 2014), pp. 299-301.
- ²³ Countries that put UN in great pressure to focus on women and gender sensitive areas are Sweden and Norway because they support the financing of UN programmes. J Ann Tickner, 'A Feminist Critique of Political Realism', in Peter Beckman and Francine D'Amico (eds.), *Women, Gender and World Politics: Perspectives, Policies and Prospects*, (Connecticut: Greenwood Publishing, 1994), pp. 29-40 and Louise Olsson, *Gender Equality and United Nations Peace Operations in Timor Leste*, (Leiden: Martinus Nijhoff Publishers, 2009), pp. xi.
- ²⁴ UN Convention on the Elimination of Discrimination Against Women, General Recommendation No. 19 (11th session, 1992).
- ²⁵ 'Action for Equality, Development and Peace', Beijing Platform of Action, The UN Fourth World Conference on Women, Beijing, September 1995, <http://www.un.org/womenwatch/daw/beijing/platform/violence.htm> accessed August 2015.
- ²⁶ Dyan Mazurana, *Op. Cit.*, pp. 1-2.
- ²⁷ Jena McGill, 'Re-Reading the Zero Tolerance Approach to Sexual Exploitation and Sexual Abuse in United Nations Peace Support Operations', *Journal of International Peacekeeping*, Vol. 18, Issue 1-2, 2014, pp. 1-44.
- ²⁸ Alex Bellamy and Paul Williams, *Understanding Peacekeeping*, Second Ed., (Cambridge: Polity Press, 2010), pp.370-371.

²⁹ Sandra Whitworth, *Men, Militarism and UN Peacekeeping: A Gendered Analysis*, (Lanham: Lynne Rienner Publisher, 2004), p. 67.

³⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 69.

³¹ “Profile: Bureaucrat at large in the Balkans: Yasushi Akashi, almost painfully diplomatic UN envoy”, *The Independent*, 30 April 1994 and Colum Lynch, “U.N. Faces More Accusations of Sexual Misconduct”, *The Washington Post*, 13 March 2005.

³² Torunn Tryggestad, ‘State feminism going global: Norway on the United Nations Peacebuilding Commission’, *Cooperation and Conflict*, Vol. 49, No. 4, 2014, p. 470.

³³ Louise Olsson, ‘Gendering UN Peacekeeping: Mainstreaming A Gender Perspective in Multi-Dimensional Peacekeeping Operations’, *Report No. 53*, (Uppsala: Department of Peace and Conflict Studies, Uppsala University, 1999) and Judith Stiehm, *Mainstreaming a Gender Perspective in Multidimensional Peace Support Operations*, Report prepared for the UN DPKO’s Lessons Learned Unit, (New York: UN DPKO, 2000).

³⁴ See ‘Winhoek Declaration and Namibia Plan of Action’, http://www.un.org/womenwatch/osagi/wps/windhoek_declaration.pdf accessed November 2014.

³⁵ United Nations Security Council Resolution, S/RES/2122 (2013), especially paragraphs 9, 16 and 18. Department of Peacekeeping Operation and Department of Field Support, *Gender Advisory Team Annual Progress Report 2010*, (New York: UN Secretariat, 2010), p. 11; Lakshmi Puri, ‘UN Women welcomes the unanimous adoption of Security Council Resolution 2106 on Conflict-Related Sexual Violence’, *UN Women Press Statement*, 27 June 2013 and ‘UN Security Council Adopts New Resolution, Urges Women’s Full Inclusion in Peace Talks and Transitional Justice’, *UN Women Press Statement*, 18 Oct 2013.

³⁶ Adam Jones, ‘Does ‘Gender’ Make the World Go Round? Feminist Critiques of International Relations’, *Review of International Studies*, Vol. 22, No. 4, October, 1996, pp. 405-429 and Dianne Otto, ‘Power and Danger: Feminist Engagement with International Law Through the UN Security Council’, *Australian Feminist Law Journal*, Vol. 32, 2010, pp. 97-121

³⁷ Jutta Joachim, ‘Framing Issues and Seizing Opportunities: The UN, NGOs, and Women’s Rights’, *International Studies Quarterly*, Vol. 47, 2003, pp.247-74 and Ann Tickner, *Gendering World Politics: Issues and Approaches in the Post Cold War Era*, (New York: Columbia University Press, 2001), pp. 36-64.

³⁸ Annika Kronsell and Erika Svedberg, ‘Introduction: Making Gender, Making War’, in Annika Kronsell and Erika Svedberg (eds.), *Making Gender, Making War: Violence, Military and Peacekeeping Practices*, (Oxon: Routledge, 2012), p. 11.

³⁹ Jane Freedman, ‘A Gendered Protection for the ‘Victims’ of War: Mainstreaming Gender in Refugee Protection’, in Annika Kronsell and Erika Svedberg (eds.), *Making Gender, Making War: Violence, Military and Peacekeeping Practices*, (Oxon: Routledge, 2012), pp. 121-34; Roisin Burke, ‘Shaming the State: Sexual Offenses by UN Military Peacekeepers and Rhetoric of Zero Tolerance’, in Gina Heathcote and Diane Otto (eds.), *Rethinking Peacekeeping, Gender Equality and Collective Security*, (Hampshire: Palgrave, 2014), pp. 70-98 and Olivera Simic, ‘Moving Beyond The Numbers: Integrating Women into Peacekeeping Operations’, *Norwegian Peacebuilding Resource Centre Policy Brief*, March 2013, pp. 1-2.

⁴⁰ Elisabeth Rehn and Ellen Johnson Sirleaf, *Op. Cit.*, p.63.

⁴¹ The United States deployed female engagement teams in Afghanistan to obtain greater reach to local population. See, US National Defence University, *Women in the Frontlines of Peace and Security*, (Washington DC: US National Defence University Press, 2014), pp. 143-44. Author interview on 4 November 2015 with former female peacekeeper whom name and country of citizenship does not want to be mentioned revealed that she was managed to enter a widow village in Sudan to collect information, because the UN peacekeeper military observer before her were all male and they are not allowed to enter the village because of their sex.

⁴² R. W. Connell, *Masculinities*, (Cambridge: Polity Press, 1995), p. 212.

⁴³ Chantal de Jonge Oudraat, ‘UNSCR 1325: Conundrums and Opportunities’, *International Interactions*, Vol. 39, No. 4, 2013, pp. 614-621.

⁴⁴ Rosabeth Kanter, ‘Some Effects of Proportions on Group Life’, *American Journal of Sociology*, Vol. 82, No. 5, 1977, pp. 965–90; Rosabeth Kanter, *Men and Women of the Corporation*, (New York: Basic Books, 1977) and Drude Dahlerup, ‘From a Small to a Large Minority: Women in Scandinavian Politics’, *Scandinavian Political Studies*, Vol. 11, No. 4, 1988, pp. 275–97.

⁴⁵ Drude Dahlerup, *Op. Cit.*, p. 294.

- ⁴⁶ Tracy Fitzsimmons, "Engendering a New Police Identity?", *Peace Review*, Vol. 10, No. 2, 1998, pp. 269-274; Jill Beilstein, "The Role of Women in United Nations Peacekeeping", *Women 2000*, Vol. 1, December 1995; Cynthia Cockburn and Meliha Hubic, "Gender and the Peacekeeping Military A View From Bosnian Women's Organizations" in Cynthia Cockburn and Dubravka Zarkov (Eds.), *The Postwar Moment: Militaries, Masculinities and International Peacekeeping*, (London:Lawrence and Wishart, 2002), and Dyan Mazurana Does Women Matter in Peacekeeping? Women in Police, Military and Civilian Peacekeeping", *Canadian Woman Studies*, Vol. 22, No. 2, 2003, pp.64-71.
- ⁴⁷ Department of Policy Coordination and Sustainable Development, 'The Role of Women in United Nations Peacekeeping', *Women 2000*, (New York: UN DAW, December 1995), p. 1
- ⁴⁸ Boutros Boutros-Ghali, *Agenda for Peace*, (UN Secretariat: New York: June 1992).
- ⁴⁹ Department of Policy Coordination and Sustainable Development, *Op. Cit.*, p. 1.
- ⁵⁰ Sahana Dharmapuri, 'Not Just a Numbers Game: Increasing Women's Participation in UN Peacekeeping', *Providing for Peacekeeping*, No. 4, (New York: International Peace Institute, July 2013), p. 2.
- ⁵¹ UNIFEM and DPKO, *Addressing Conflict-Related Sexual Violence: An Analytical Inventory of Peacekeeping Practice*, (New York: October 2012), p.39.
- ⁵² A/RES/49/167, UN General Assembly Resolution of the 94th plenary meeting, 23 December 1994.
- ⁵³ Paul Cawkill, Alison Rogers, Sarah Knight, and Laura Spear, 'Women in Ground Close Combat Roles: The Experiences of other Nations and a Review of the Academic Literature', *Defence Science and Technology Laboratory UK Paper*, No. DSTL/CR37770 V3-0, (London: UK MoD, September 2009)
- ⁵⁴ Katharine Moon, 'Military Prostitutes and Hypersexualization of Militarized Women', in Francine J. D'Amico and Laurie Weinstein (eds.), *Gender Camouflage: Women and the U.S. Military*, (New York: New York University Press, 1999), p. 213.
- ⁵⁵ Jean Zimmerman, *Tailspin: Women at War in the Wake of Tailhook*, (New York: Doubleday, 1995).
- ⁵⁶ A/RES/50/169, UN General Assembly Resolution of the 95th plenary meeting, 27 October 1995, paragraphs 9 and 59.
- ⁵⁷ Department of Policy Coordination and Sustainable Development, *Op. Cit.*, p. 2.
- ⁵⁸ *Ibid.*
- ⁵⁹ Janet Belilstein, 'The Expanding Role of Women in United Nations Peacekeeping', in Jenifer Turpin (ed.), *The Women and War Reader*, (New York: New York University Press, 1998), p. 143.
- ⁶⁰ Department of Policy Coordination and Sustainable Development, *Op. Cit.*, p. 3.
- ⁶¹ *Ibid.*
- ⁶² As reflected in UNDP, 'Progress in Gender Equality', *Human Development Report 1995*, (New York: UNDP, 1995), pp.48-53, 57-62.
- ⁶³ *Ibid.*
- ⁶⁴ Karen Barnes, 'Reform or More of the Same? Gender-mainstreaming and the Changing Nature of UN Peace Operations', *York Consortium on International and Security Studies Working Paper*, Number 41, October 2006, p. 9.
- ⁶⁵ Elisabeth Rehn and Ellen Johnson Sirleaf, *Op. Cit.*, p. 64.
- ⁶⁶ "The United Nations shall place no restrictions on the eligibility of men and women to participate in any capacity and under conditions of equality in its principal and subsidiary organs." See, Chapter III, *Charter of the United Nations*, (San Francisco: United Nations, 1945), <http://www.un.org/en/documents/charter/> accessed November 2014, italics added by author.
- ⁶⁷ UN News Centre, 'Annan Vows to End Sex Abuse Committed by UN Mission Staff in DR of Congo', 19 November 2004, <http://www.un.org/apps/news/story.asp?NewsID=12590&Cr=democratic&Cr1=congo#.Velq1p2qqko> accessed March 2015.
- ⁶⁸ Colum Lynch, 'U.N. Sexual Abuse Alleged in Congo', *Washington Post*, 16 December 2004 and Marc Lacey, 'In Congo War, Even Peacekeepers Add to Horror', *The New York Times*, 18 December 2004.
- ⁶⁹ UN General Assembly, 'A Comprehensive Strategy to Eliminate Future Sexual Exploitation and Abuse in United Nations Peacekeeping Operations', A/59/710, 24 March 2005, paragraph 47.
- ⁷⁰ *Ibid.*
- ⁷¹ Sahana Dharmapuri, *Op. Cit.*, pp. 2-3.
- ⁷² UN Department of Peacekeeping Operations, 'Gender Statistics by Mission for December 2014', <http://www.un.org/en/peacekeeping/contributors/gender/2014gender/dec14.pdf> accessed 4 September 2015.

-
- ⁷³ Secretary General Press Release, 2012, *Op. Cit.*
- ⁷⁴ “Special measures for protection from sexual exploitation and sexual abuse,” Report of the Secretary General, primarily containing the report of incidents in 2005, 24 May 2006 [UN doc. A/60/861]
- ⁷⁵ Sarah Childs and Mona Lena Krook, ‘Critical Mass Theory and Women’s Political Representation’, *Political Studies*, Vol. 56, No. 3, 2008, pp. 725-36.
- ⁷⁶ *Ibid.*
- ⁷⁷ Mirva Lempiainen, ‘More Women Sit on the UN Security Council, but What Does It Mean?’, *Pass Blue Covering the UN*, 30 April 2014, <http://passblue.com/2014/04/30/more-women-sit-on-the-un-security-council-but-what-does-it-mean/> accessed 5 October 2015.
- ⁷⁸ UN Department of Peacekeeping Operations in cooperation with the UN Department of Public Information, ‘Fact Sheet: United Nations Peacekeeping’, UN Document No. DPI/2429/Rev.7, March 2010, p. 2.
- ⁷⁹ Patrick Cammaert and Ben Klappe, ‘Authority, Command, and Control in United Nations-led Peace Operation’, in Terry Gill and Dieter Fleck, *The Handbook of the International Law of Military Operations*, (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2010), p. 160.
- ⁸⁰ *Ibid.*
- ⁸¹ Kelly Neudorfer, *Sexual Exploitation and Abuse in UN Peacekeeping: An Analysis of Risk and Prevention Factor*, (London: Lexington Books, 2015), p. 10.
- ⁸² Elisabeth Rehn and Ellen Johnson Sirleaf, *Op. Cit.*, p. 65.
- ⁸³ Sahana Dharmapuri, *Op. Cit.*, pp. 3-4 and United Nations Security Council, *Report of the Secretary-General on Women and Peace and Security*, S/2012/732 (2012), pp. 11, 13.
- ⁸⁴ ‘Commander of Indian Female UN Police Unit Arrives in Liberia with Advance Team’, *UN News Centre*, 22 January 2007.
- ⁸⁵ Carmella Fonbuena, ‘PH’s First Woman Peacekeeping Commander Off to Haiti’, *Rappler*, 29 October 2013 and Chiara Zambrano, ‘Meet PH’s First Female Peacekeeper Commander’, *ABS-CBN News*, 15 October 2014.
- ⁸⁶ ‘First UN Female Force Commander Takes Reins in Cyprus’, *UN News Centre*, 11 August 2014.
- ⁸⁷ Nadine Puechguirbal, ‘Discourses on Gender, Patriarchy and Resolution 1325: A Textual Analysis of UN Documents’, *International Peacekeeping*, 2010, Vol. 17, No. 2, p. 182.
- ⁸⁸ Camille Pampell Conaway and Jolynn Shoemaker, *Women in United Nations Peace Operations: Increasing the Leadership Opportunities*, (Georgetown: Women In International Security Georgetown University, July 2008), p. 25.
- ⁸⁹ Jolynn Shoemaker and Allison Adams-Alwine, ‘Women’s Leadership and the United Nations in the Global Women’s Rights Movement’, Karen O’Connor, *Gender and Women’s Leadership: A Reference Handbook, Volume 1*, (California: Sage Publication, 2010), p. 313 and Dharmapuri, *Op. Cit.*, p. 17.
- ⁹⁰ Francesco Bertolazzi, ‘Women with a Blue Helmet: The Integration of Women and Gender Issues in UN Peacekeeping Missions’, *UN-Instraw Working Paper*, 2010, p.13.
- ⁹¹ Skype interview with United Nations Gender Advisor, 22 July 2015.
- ⁹² Arturo C. Sotomayor, *The Myth of the Democratic Peacekeeper: Civil-Military Relations and the United Nations*, (Maryland: John Hopkins University Press, 2014), p. 69.
- ⁹³ *Ibid.*, p. 70.
- ⁹⁴ Elisabeth Rehn and Ellen Johnson Sirleaf, *Op. Cit.*, p. 69 and Elisabeth Rehn and Ellen Johnson Sirleaf, p. 314.
- ⁹⁵ UN Police Division Minimum Recruitment Requirements ‘UN Requirements for Serving as a UN Military Observer in a Mission’, <http://www.defence.gov.au/ADFWC/peacekeeping/meom.asp> and ‘UN Police Division Minimum Recruitment Requirements’, <http://www.un.org/en/peacekeeping/sites/police/requirements.shtml> accessed November 2015.
- ⁹⁶ Harry Ford, ‘Evaluating the Operational Effectiveness of West African Female Police Officers’ Participation in Peace Support Operations: The Case of Ghana and Nigeria’, *Kofi Anan International Peacekeeping Training Centre Occasional Paper*, No. 23, September 2008, p. 19.
- ⁹⁷ Edward Luck, *UN Security Council: Practice and Promise*, (Routledge: Oxon, 2006), p. 75.
- ⁹⁸ Francesco Bertolazzi, *Op. Cit.*, p. 22.
- ⁹⁹ ‘Peace Inextricably Linked with Equality between Women and Men Says Security Council, in International Women’s Day Statement’, *UN Security Council Press Release*, SC/6816, 8 March 2000.
- ¹⁰⁰ ‘Winhoek Declaration and Namibia Plan of Action’, *Op. Cit.*, Point 6.
- ¹⁰¹ United Nations Security Council Resolution, S/RES/1325 (2000), especially points 6 and 7.

-
- ¹⁰² United Nations Security Council Resolution, S/RES/1820 (2008), especially points 6 and 7.
- ¹⁰³ United Nations Security Council Resolution, S/RES/1888 (2009), especially point 19.
- ¹⁰⁴ United Nations Security Council Resolution, S/RES/1889 (2009), especially point 4.
- ¹⁰⁵ United Nations Security Council Resolution, S/RES/1960 (2010), especially point 11.
- ¹⁰⁶ United Nations Security Council Resolution, S/RES/2106 (2013), especially points 8 and 14.
- ¹⁰⁷ United Nations Security Council Resolution, S/RES/2122 (2013), especially point 9.
- ¹⁰⁸ Peacekeeping Best Practice Unit - UN DPKO, *Gender Resource Package for Peacekeeping Operations*, (New York: UN, 2004), p. 45.
- ¹⁰⁹ *Ibid.* and UN DPKO and UN Women, *Special Female Military Officers Course*, 2015. Information on special female military officers course was obtained when Author conducted her intership at UN Women India, May-July 2015. For online presence of the course, see, 'Special Technical Course for Female Military Officers', *UN Women Asia and the Pacific News*, 13 March 2015, <http://asiapacific.unwomen.org/en/news-and-events/stories/2015/03/special-technical-course-for-female-military-officers> accessed June 2015.
- ¹¹⁰ Peacekeeping Best Practice Unit - UN DPKO, *Op. Cit.*, p. 45.
- ¹¹¹ *Ibid.*, p. 123 and Minna Lyytikäinen, 'Gender Training for Peacekeepers: Preliminary Overview of United Nations Peace Support Operations', *Gender, Peace & Security Working Paper 4*, (Santo Domingo: UN INSTRAW, 2007), p. 10.
- ¹¹² See, UN DPKO, *Training Guidelines of SGTM 5 D: Prevention of Sexual Exploitation and Abuse*, 2002, p. 2 and UN DPKO, *Training Guidelines of SGTM 17: Gender Equality in Peacekeeping*, 2002, p. 2.
- ¹¹³ Calculated by author from UN DPKO, *Standardised Generic Training Modules*, (New York: UN, 2002).
- ¹¹⁴ *Ibid.*
- ¹¹⁵ UN DPKO, *Training Guidelines of SGTM 16 A: HIV/AIDS*, 2002, p. 9.
- ¹¹⁶ Integrated Training Service UN DPKO, Report on Strategic Peacekeeping Training Needs Assessment, October 2008, p. 5.
- ¹¹⁷ Integrated Training Service Policy, Evaluation and Training Division UN DPKO, *Report on the Strategic Peacekeeping Training Needs Assessment*, (New York: UN DPKO, 2008), p. 19.
- ¹¹⁸ UN DPKO, 'Introduction to the Core Pre-Deployment Training Materials', *UN Peacekeeping PDT Standards, Core Pre-Deployment Training Materials, 1st ed.*, (New York: UN DPKO, 2009), p.3.
- ¹¹⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 49.
- ¹²⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 92.
- ¹²¹ UN DPKO, 'Unit 4 Standards, Values and Safety of UN Peacekeeping Personnel', *UN Peacekeeping PDT Standards, Core Pre-Deployment Training Materials, 1st ed.*, (New York: UN DPKO, 2009), p.77.
- ¹²² UN DPKO, 'Unit 3: Effective Mandate Implementation', *UN Peacekeeping PDT Standards, Core Pre-Deployment Training Materials, 1st ed.*, (New York: UN DPKO, 2009), p. 3.
- ¹²³ Calculated by author from UN DPKO, *Standardised Generic Training Modules*, (New York: UN, 2002).
- ¹²⁴ UN DPKO, 'Unit 4 Part 2: HIV/AIDS and UN Peacekeeping Operations', *UN Peacekeeping PDT Standards, Core Pre-Deployment Training Materials, 1st ed.*, (New York: UN DPKO, 2009), p. 55.
- ¹²⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 68.
- ¹²⁶ UN DPKO and DFS, 'Module 1: Overview of the Protection of Civilians', *Specialized Training Material on Protection of Civilians and Prevention and Response to Conflict-related Sexual Violence*, (New York: UN DPKO, 2009), UN Doc. No. 1905-07-03, p. 1.
- ¹²⁷ Calculated by author from UN DPKO and DFS, *Specialized Training Material on Protection of Civilians and Prevention and Response to Conflict-related Sexual Violence*, (New York: UN DPKO, 2009).
- ¹²⁸ Field research in Indonesia Peacekeeping Training Centre, India Centre of UN Peacekeeping and the Philippines Peacekeeping Operation Centre was conducted between July 2014 to September 2015.
- ¹²⁹ Interview with UN Women Multi Countries Office India, Bhutan, Maldives and Sri Lanka Program Manager Smita Mitra in New Delhi, 16 April 2015.
- ¹³⁰ Christopher F. Karpowitz, Tali Mendelberg and Lee Shaker, 'Gender Inequality in Deliberative Participation', *American Political Science Review*, August 2012, pp. 1-15 and Elizabeth Aries, 'Gender Differences in Interaction: A Reexamination', in Daniel Canary and Kathryn Mahwah (eds.), *Sex*

Differences and Similarities in Communication: Critical Essays and Empirical Investigations of Sex and Gender in Interaction, (New Jersey: Lawrence Erlbaum, 1998), pp. 21-36.

¹³¹ Helena Carreiras, *Gender and the Military: Women in the Armed Forces of Western Democracies*, (Oxon: Routledge, 2006), p. 66.

¹³² Lucy Noakes, *Women in the British Army: War and the Gentle Sex, 1907–1948*, (New York: Routledge, 2006), p. 45.

¹³³ UN Women, 'Course Overview', *Special Female Military Officers Course*, (Delhi: UN Women, 2015), slide 4.

¹³⁴ *Ibid.*, slide 5.

¹³⁵ *Ibid.*, slides 6-8.

¹³⁶ Rineeta Naik, 'Special Technical Course for Female Military Officers', *UN Women Asia and the Pacific Press Release*, 13 March 2015 and Ryan Lenora Brown, 'Would More Female Soldiers Improve UN Peacekeeping Missions?', *Christian Science Monitor*, 21 September 2015.

¹³⁷ Email correspondence with UN DPKO officer that has wished to be unnamed, 29 December 2015.

¹³⁸ Dharmapuri, *Op. Cit.*, p. 8 and Kristen Cordell, 'Security or Tokenism: Evaluating Role of Women as Peacekeepers within the United Nations Department of Peacekeeping', *Peace Research Institute Oslo Paper*, November 2011.

¹³⁹ Olivera Simić, 'Does the Presence of Women Really Matter? Towards Combating Male Sexual Violence in Peacekeeping Operations', *International Peacekeeping*, 2010, Vol. 17, No. 2, p. 189.

¹⁴⁰ *Ibid.*

¹⁴¹ Gerard J. DeGroot, 'A Few Good Women: Gender Stereotypes, the Military and Peacekeeping', in Louise Olsson and Torunn L. Tryggestad (eds), *Women and International Peacekeeping*, (London: Routledge, 2001), p. 34.

¹⁴² Dean Laplonge, 'The Absence of Masculinity in Gender Training for UN Peacekeepers', *Peace Review*, 2015, Vol. 27, No. 1, pp. 91-99

¹⁴³ David Buchbinder, *Masculinities and Identities*, (Melbourne: Melbourne University Press, 1994).

Chapter 6

Training Needs Assessment – Case Studies of Indonesian, Filipino and Country A Women Peacekeepers

6.1 Introduction

All three of this study's country case studies – Indonesia, Philippines and Country A – are located in Southeast Asia. This region contributed a total of 96 female peacekeepers to UN peace missions around the world (as per December 2014).¹ The number represents only 2.5 per cent of the total 3,800 peacekeepers (men and women) deployed by this region across the world at that time; these figures based on its 2.1 million strong armed forces.² There is therefore much potential for the region's contribution to the UN to grow in future years. Southeast Asia's female to male population distribution at the end of 2013 was 50.3 per cent,³ indicating that the region has an almost equal potential for deploying both women and men. However, this population gender split contrasts markedly that in the labour market, showing only a 44.2 per cent female participation.⁴ This percentage is still lower for females holding managerial and senior official positions, hovering at just 20 per cent regionally, except for the Philippines, which has a significantly higher ratio, at around 50 per cent.⁵ The data indicate that a barrier exists, limiting women's participation in the job market, especially in leadership positions, which tend to be male-dominated. The armed forces offer a good example of a male dominant career sector, making it an interesting and relevant area for intellectual investigation by proponents of the international feminism school. Women's participation in uniformed roles is especially important for the UN, as it aims to increase the numbers of uniformed women peacekeepers to 20 per cent – a goal originally set to be achieved by 2014, but now stretched to 2020.⁶

The purpose of this chapter is to address the research question as to whether women make a difference in United Nations peacekeeping missions, and, if so, to what extent has PDT supported their performance in operational zones. The analysis will seek to

explore three of the seven enabling objectives of the thesis (pp. 15-6), namely, V, analysing the pre-deployment training given to peacekeepers in the country case studies of Indonesia, the Philippines and Country A and, VI, assessing the effectiveness of pre-deployment training in enabling women peacekeepers to perform at work. In pursuit of these objectives, the chapter is structured according to the first six stages of the logic model (pp. 59, 62) and training needs assessment (p. 61) framework designed to assess the effectiveness of PDT for women peacekeepers. The chapter begins with a section explaining the fieldwork approach and limitations, followed by an overview of the analytical framework that will be adopted to evaluate PDT. The framework provides the structure for the chapter, and concludes with a summary of the findings.

6.2 Fieldwork Approach and Limitations

This chapter analyses the research data collected through in-country fieldwork, primarily interviews, between June 2014 and November 2015. The fieldwork includes an internship taken with UN Entity for Gender Equality and the Empowerment of Women (UN Women) on Women, Peace and Security unit that provides gender training for UN peacekeeping. The internship proved useful for gaining access to officials at the UN New York headquarters to probe policy positions taken on issues relating to women uniformed peacekeepers and their training. For example, the UN DPKO manages UN peace missions, and these are also supported by several other UN bodies, including the UN Department of Field Support (UN DFS) for logistics, finance and information, communications and technology, the UN Development Programme (UNDP) for post-conflict reconstruction, the UN High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR) and related missions, the UN Institute for Training and Research (UNITAR) for training related to disarmament, demobilization and reintegration, and by the UN Women for training and issues related to women empowerment, gender-mainstreaming and advocacy for increasing women's participation in peacekeeping. Although the work of these various UN organs does not necessarily conflict, different organs have differing scope and goals. Hence, the present study examines only a fraction of the gigantic scale of UN peacekeeping operations, yet it is a valuable one, because of its original focus. The researcher managed to interview two officials working at UN Women and one working at UN DPKO, though they wished to remain anonymous. Contacting UN officials at the

New York HQ for data was a time-consuming process. After a long time had elapsed, the UN officials did respond to queries by providing references to UN press releases and reports. Thus, aside from the primary data obtained through interviews, the researcher also accessed UN peacekeeping archives to furnish quantitative data. The archives only began to store sex-segregated data since late 2009, and UN peacekeeper demographics and gender-breakdowns are unavailable before that time.

Across all three country case studies in Southeast Asia, the researcher managed to obtain interviews from a spectrum of women peacekeepers, trainers and decision-makers using semi-structured interview questions. In Indonesia, the researcher interviewed 30 respondents, including 18 women peacekeepers, seven trainers and five decision-makers. In the Philippines, the researcher interviewed 19 respondents, consisting of 10 women peacekeepers, seven trainers and two decision-makers. Finally, in Country A, only 12 respondents were interviewed, comprising nine women peacekeepers and three trainers. The full break down of respondents can be seen in Table 3.2 (p. 94). In the country case studies, interviews were mostly conducted through face-to-face interviews (58 respondents, or 95 per cent), while the rest was through email correspondence. All but two respondents were content that their personal identification be anonymised, because it allowed them to speak more openly about gender interaction, both as uniformed personnel in their own country, and on UN deployment. Those who allowed their identity to be revealed are referenced in this study according to their rank or position.

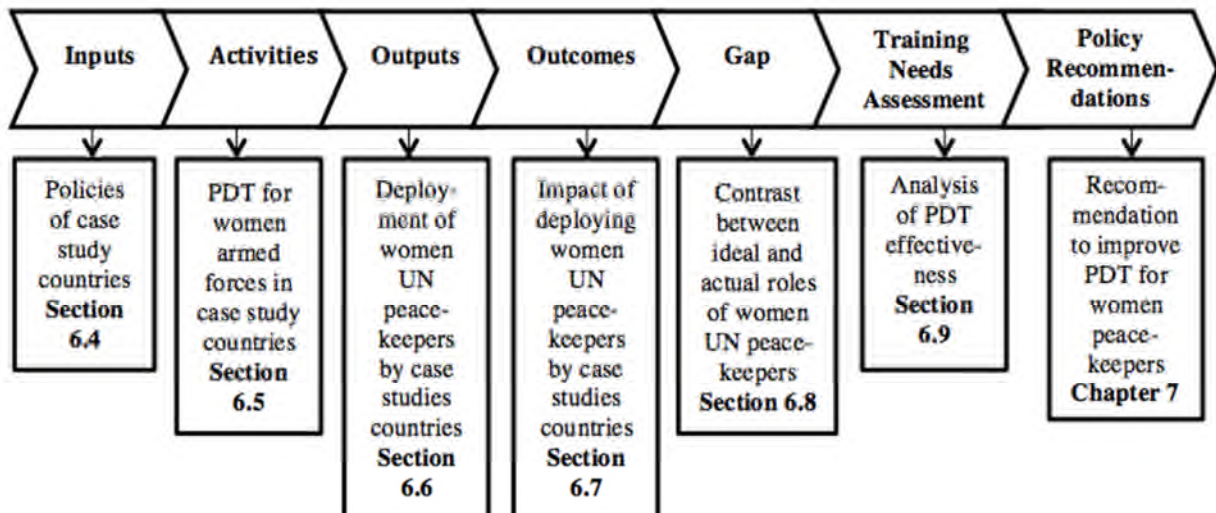
The differing numbers of respondents in each of these countries is due to the researcher facing language and other field limitations. The researcher is only able to speak *Bahasa* Indonesia and English, but not the Filipino and Country A languages, making communications in the interviews a far more challenging process. During the researcher's fieldwork in Indonesia, the country was preparing for its general election and the then lame duck president was pushing for the country to increase its international peacekeeping mandate. The researcher also witnessed the Filipino people's concerns for the safety of their peacekeepers after a contingent was encircled by Syrian rebels, whilst another contingent in Liberia was endangered by an outbreak of the Ebola

disease. These events reduced the willingness of the Philippines to deploy peacekeepers on UN missions, with obvious knock-on effects for conducting PDT. Finally, the fieldwork in Country A was hampered by political instability and internal security problems, reducing the training and deployment of local UN peacekeepers.

6.3 Analytical Framework

This chapter will use the logic model and training needs assessment to analyse PDT in the country case studies. The logic model was developed by the World Bank to assess outcomes for its projects. The model follows a linear process of tracing selected ‘inputs’ for specific activities to provide certain measurable ‘outputs’ and less certain ‘outcomes’ (Chapter 1, p. 7). These ‘outcomes’ are compared with the ideal goals of the activities in order to find disparities between optimum *versus* real performance (Chapter 2, pp. 62). Thereafter, this so-called ‘gap’ will be examined using the training needs assessment (TNA) approach developed by Jean Barbazette (p. 61) to determine policy recommendations for performance improvements. The flow of analysis in Chapter 6 is illustrated in the Logic Training Needs Assessment Model in Figure 6.1, below.

Figure 6.1: Logic Training Needs Assessment Model



Source: Adapted from Paul Gertler, Sebastian Martinez, Patrick Premand, Laura Rawlings and Christel Vermeersch, *Impact Evaluation in Practice*, (Washington DC: World Bank, 2011), pp. 24-6, Donald Kirkpatrick, *Evaluating Training Programs: The Four Levels, 2nd ed.*, (San Francisco: Berrett-Koehler, 1996) and Jean Barbazette, *Training Needs Assessments: Methods, Tools and Techniques*, (San Francisco: Pfeiffer-Wiley, 2006).

Referring to Figure 6.1, the analysis begins with examining the inputs, which for this

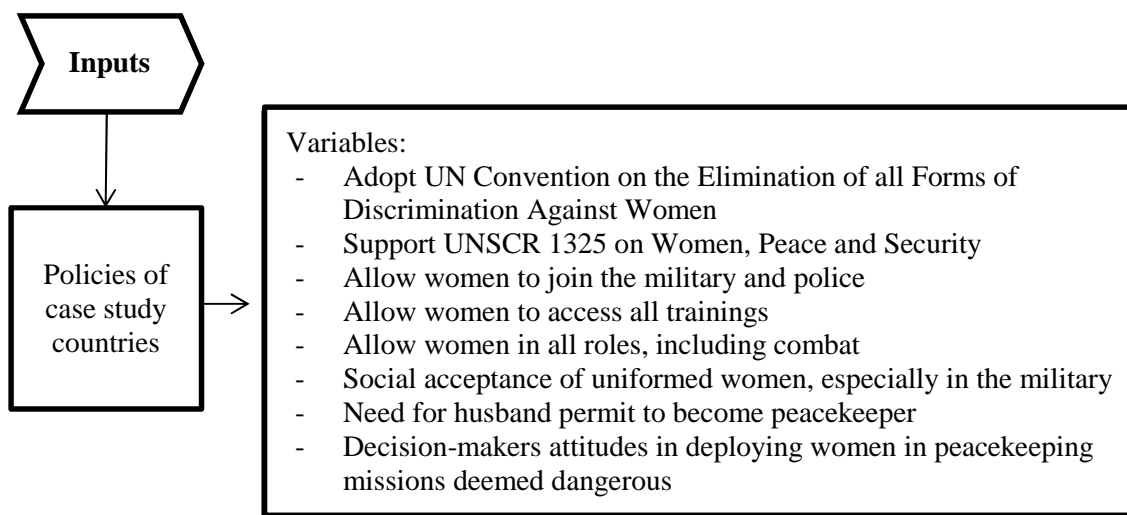
research focus on policy reviews of the country case studies engaged in UN peacekeeping operations, especially how open they are to allowing women's participation. The analysis then continues to examine the activities of PDT in the country case studies *apro po* the suitability of training modules and procedures, including the numbers of women involved in the training. Subsequently, analysis of outputs is undertaken through the deployment of women peacekeepers, including the quantity – their numbers, areas of mission, as well the periods of missions in which the women participated; and also the quality – the rank and types of deployment, whether deployed individually or in contingents. The analysis then explores outcomes, being the impact of deploying women peacekeepers on UN peacekeeping missions. The findings will then be contrasted against the women peacekeepers' expected roles, as endorsed by UN DPKO. Here, the goal will be to identify whether there is a training 'gap' between policy expectations and actual performance, and if so, why. The closing part of the analysis conducts a 'training needs assessment' of the interview narratives, to discover how best to close the gap by improving future training. A summary of findings will close this chapter. Study conclusions and policy recommendations will be provided in Chapter 7.

6.4 Policies Supporting Women in Country Case Studies - Inputs

This section discusses the inputs allowing PDT to take place. From the Subsection 2.9 Developing an Assessment Model (p. 59), inputs are defined as resources needed to support training of women peacekeepers. As argued by Jean Elshtain, there is an institutional attitude barrier working against women entering uniformed roles in societies.⁷ This barrier may not be true for all countries, because each country has different socio-historical and cultural backgrounds, but the feminist internationalism perspective adopted in this study presupposes that an artificial hierarchy works against women denying them social justice, and can only be removed by introducing transnational principles and standards (pp. 39-41). Therefore, the UN International Convention on the Elimination of all Forms of Discrimination Against Women (CEDAW) and UN Security Council Resolution 1325 on Women, Peace and Security (UNSCR 1325) call for greater emancipation for women in peacekeeping and post-conflict peacebuilding to support women's active participation in public roles. However,

the required international standards to facilitate this process may have differing effects dependent on national culture and history. Hence, this sub-section maps the different policy inputs that the country case studies have introduced in support of women’s participation in PDT (Figure 6.2, below).

Figure 6.2: Logic Training Needs Assessment Model – Inputs



Source: Adapted from Paul Gertler, Sebastian Martinez, Patrick Premand, Laura Rawlings and Christel Vermeersch, *Impact Evaluation in Practice*, (Washington DC: World Bank, 2011), pp. 24-6, Donald Kirkpatrick, *Evaluating Training Programs: The Four Levels, 2nd ed.*, (San Francisco: Berrett-Koehler, 1996) and Jean Barbazette, *Training Needs Assessments: Methods, Tools and Techniques*, (San Francisco: Pfeiffer-Wiley, 2006).

Before comparing policy inputs from each of the country case studies, an overview of their population and political system should be examined to provide a contextual backdrop to the local training of women peacekeepers.

Indonesia:

Amongst all the selected Southeast Asian UN peacekeeping contributor countries, Indonesia provides the highest number of personnel, with 1,844 personnel deployed as of December 2014, yet only 1.5 per cent of them were women.⁸ The Philippines, despite contributing significantly fewer numbers of peacekeepers, deployed a higher percentage of women peacekeepers – out of 166 personnel, some 6 per cent of them (10 in number) were women.⁹ The Southeast Asian country that deploys the highest percentage of women personnel is Country A, having 28 per cent of the total 25 peacekeepers (7

personnel) being women.¹⁰ The country's population gender-ratio is on average around 50:50,¹¹ thus there is much potential to grow the numbers of female peacekeepers. As mentioned in Subsection 5.6 (pp. 148-9), the UN highlights the specific needs of female peacekeepers to expand the 'reach' of its multinational forces, especially in sex-segregated communities, and to better accommodate the differing gender needs in conflict and post-conflict mission areas. However, the challenge that the country case studies face is the low participation rate of women in their security forces. The causes of women's low participation in the armed forces can partially be found by reference to the equality policies of each country.

The three country case studies possess democratic political systems. These systems provide the opportunity for women to pursue political and public office, acting at least partially to change the underlying structure of society by chipping away gender resistance to women holding positions of power.¹² Democracy is conducive for increasing female participation in public life, because it allows freedom of expression, transparency and equality amongst citizens.¹³ Hence, the freedom for women to be elected as parliamentary representatives and even prime ministers may trickle down to particular public sectors, such as the armed forces, making them more open and reflective of societal structures. This process occurred in Australia under Julia Gillard, reflected by Canberra announcing that all military roles, including combat, would be opened to women in 2011.¹⁴ Aside from having a supportive political system, it is also important that countries pursue policies that recognise equality, including the CEDAW, which pushes for equal opportunities for women to access all educational and vocational positions, including military careers.

Indonesia has been a member of the United Nations since 1950 and contributed peacekeepers to UN missions in Egypt/Israel as far back as 1957. Indonesia signed CEDAW in 1980 and ratified it four years later. Women can vote and be elected in national and local elections since 1949, when the first election took place. As of December 2015, Indonesia has one female head of state and 16.9 per cent of representatives in its national parliament are women.¹⁵ Eight out of 34 Cabinet members are women, even though the support structure for women to enter politics or assume

public roles is not well established. Maintaining the household and rearing children are still perceived as a women's principal responsibility. Moreover, there is a lack of affordable public facilities, such as day-care centres for children,¹⁶ and paternal leave for fathers to care for the children does not exist.¹⁷ There is no doubt that such social factors have constrained women to a largely traditional domestic role.

Indonesian women may choose to enter politics and several have been elected. However, women who are elected or appointed often have political leverage and networks through (male) relations that already sit in important positions in the government. This is exemplified by the example of the fifth, and the only female, President of Indonesia, Megawati Soekarnoputri (2001-2004), who is a daughter of the first President Soekarno (1945-1967). Although this patriarchal legacy in modern Indonesian politics is slowly eroding, as demonstrated by Surabaya city's recently elected first female Mayor Tri Rismaharini (2010-2015). Having women leaders demonstrate their leadership qualities, but it will not lead automatically to the adoption of more supportive policies for women. The fourth Indonesian President Abdurrahman Wahid, issued Presidential Instruction No. 9 in 2000, emphasising gender-mainstreaming in all government institutions. The instruction is directed to all head of government offices, including Chief of Military and Chief of Police Force.

The Indonesian military (*Tentara Nasional Indonesia* – TNI) and police forces (*Polisi Republik Indonesia* – Polri) have experienced delays in implementing the gender-mainstreaming presidential instruction. Although women have been allowed to enter the Indonesian military since 1960 (the Army; the Navy in 1962, and Air Force in 1963),¹⁸ they were not allowed to enter national basic military academy until 2013. Even today, women in the TNI still serve in a separate corps from the male personnel, and are barred from entering combat positions. The limitations on equal access to education and acceptance into combat roles have negatively affected women's promotion to higher ranks. As of 2015, the TNI has approximately just five per cent of its military establishment as women, with two holding the rank of General.¹⁹ The push to finally allow women to enter the national basic military academy was possibly due to the UN Secretary General Ban Ki-moon's visit to Indonesia in which he encouraged the

government to increase its numbers of female peacekeepers.²⁰ Meanwhile, since 2003, Polri fares better than the TNI in terms of allowing women to enter its national basic police academy and work in the same unit as male colleagues. In 2015, the Polri has around 5 per cent of its police force as women, with only one holding the rank of Inspector General.²¹ The Polri also had one woman heading the provincial or district police headquarters (*Polisi Daerah – Polda*) in Banten, West Java between 2008-2010,²² while the TNI has not witnessed any women leading its district military command (*Komando Distrik Militer – Kodam*). Hence, the Polri provides more career promotion opportunities for women than the TNI, which can also be read as better salary prospects. However, the TNI and Polri give the same salary for women and men holding the same rank, though they may obtain different benefits. Female personnel are eligible for a ‘make-up’ allowance of IDR50,000 (around £2.5).²³

The TNI seeks to maintain the femininity of its female personnel through its motto *Bukan mawar penghias tapi melati penjaga bangsa* – “Not a decorative rose, but jasmine the guardian of the nation’, and their non-involvement in combat roles - there has never been any opposition to women entering the security forces. What has been a concern during recent years, raised by international human rights groups and the media, has been the virginity test to become Indonesian police or military personnel.²⁴ From an interview with Indonesian decision-makers on UN peacekeeping deployment, the researcher gathered that the reason they deploy women is because they are not in frontline combat roles, and are phasing out women’s individual deployment (instead only posting them in battalions), as a measure to increase their safety.²⁵ There is also fear of the negative effects if Indonesian women peacekeepers are killed on deployment.²⁶ The decision-maker located at the Indonesian Peacekeeping Centre, and several former peacekeepers, note that prior to deployment married female personnel must submit a signed consent letter to the Centre from their husbands otherwise they will not be deployed.²⁷ Indonesia adopted UNSCR 1325 on Women, Peace and Security through Presidential Regulation No. 18/2014, Social Welfare Coordinating Minister Regulation No. 7/2014 and through the drafting of a National Action Plan; however, these regulations focus on women’s participation in peace building and conflict resolution within the country, rather than women inclusion for peace efforts

internationally, and do not demand reforms of male-dominated institutions like the military and the police forces.

The Philippines:

The second case study country, the Philippines, has been a member of the UN since 1945. Its first contribution to a UN peace mission was in 1963 to the Congo (ONUC – *Organisation des Nations Unies au Congo*). Manila signed CEDAW in 1980, and ratified it one year later. In the Southeast Asian region, women in the Philippines enjoy the highest level of empowerment. The *Magna Carta*²⁸ for Women in 2009 allows women's participation and equal employment in all segments of society, including in the security sector:

“The State shall pursue appropriate measures to eliminate discrimination of women in *the military, police, and other similar services*, including revising or abolishing practices that restrict women from availing of both combat and noncombat training that are open to men.”²⁹

In an interview with a member of the *Magna Carta*'s drafting committee representing the Armed Forces of the Philippines (AFP), the reason behind the country's decision to introduce a policy requiring women's equality in all sectors was due to pressure from the country's second female President Gloria Arroyo (2001-2010), the advocacy of the Philippines' civil society groups and also international resolutions, including UNSCR 1325 on Women, Peace and Security.³⁰ Another Filipino military officer leading the Women and Development Unit confirmed in a separate interview that women's achievements in national politics has provided a positive impact for women in the security sector. She mentioned the impact of the Philippines' first female President, Corazon Aquino (1986-1992), who offers an excellent example of women's public roles, espousing policy support for women, influencing the later opening of the country's basic military academy to women for the first time in 1993.³¹

Since the establishment of the Republic of the Philippines in 1898, the Philippines has witnessed the election of two female presidents (13 per cent) out of the total 15 presidents the country has elected, while as at 2015, there was only 25 per cent of

women holding ministerial positions in the cabinet and 26 per cent of women parliamentarians (on average, given a bicameral system).³² After a plebiscite, Filipino women are allowed to vote, and as well as elected into the government, since 1937. In 2013, the Philippines maintained its position in the top ten “Best places for women to live” for the seventh consecutive year.³³ It ranked higher than New Zealand and Switzerland in terms of women’s empowerment, and is the only country in Southeast Asia to hold such an elevated position. According to the World Economic Forum Report, women in the Philippines have enjoyed greater economic participation, improved job opportunity, increased wages and led the region in terms of political empowerment.³⁴ Yet, in addition to the public roles open to Filipino women, society still burdens them with domestic responsibility, though globalisation is slowly altering such attitudes.³⁵

Women’s admission to the security forces of the Philippines was delayed given their involvement in the country’s revolution against Spanish colonial power in 1896-98, in both frontline battles and in support roles. Only as late as 1963, were women finally admitted into formal military support roles in the auxiliary force, helping the AFP in non-combat duties, such as clerical work, logistics and health assistance.³⁶ Also in 1993, women were allowed to enter the national basic military academy and their roles expanded to include pilots, infantry and members of special force.³⁷ The 2009 Magna Carta for Women asserted there should be no wage discrimination between women and men in the AFP, and women can be leaders if they can prove they are capable. In August 2015, the Chief of Staff declared that the AFP is no longer a gendered institution, and provides equal opportunity for women and members of LGBT (lesbian, gay, bisexual and transgender) community, with the only limitation being the prohibition of cross-dressing in uniform.³⁸ Since that time, the numbers of women in the force has gradually grown. Pre-Magna Carta, the number of female cadets was limited to five per cent, both in the Philippines military and police force, but in 2015 the number had slowly increased to 18 per cent of the women accepted.³⁹

Following from the same legal bases, the Philippines National Police (PNP), in the similar manner as the AFP, opened its ranks to women. From the available data, the

Philippines in 2010 had women accounting for 8.7 per cent of its military, and 9.6 per cent of the police forces.⁴⁰ Philippines' President Manuel Roxas summed it well in his 1947 Independence Day reflection, "The women helped us in the war".⁴¹ The country accepts women working actively in the military, fighting alongside the men, from building trenches to operating machine guns. The country implemented UN Security Council Resolution 1325 on Women, Peace and Security by having a National Action Plan that includes reforms on the traditionally male-dominated institutions of the AFP and PNP, as well as related training and academic institutions, to further the involvement of women, especially on its peacekeeping missions.⁴² The national plan was the first in Southeast Asia and can be considered the most progressive in the region in advancing both the domestic and international roles of women. Filipino women are allowed to enrol to take peacekeeper exams and do not need their husband's permission if assigned on peace missions. It was also the first country in Asia where a woman led a mixed peacekeeping contingent.

Country A:

Country A has been a UN member state since 1946, deploying its first individual observers to a UN observer group in Lebanon, 1958, and later was the first unit to serve in UN peace operations in Cambodia in 1991. As with other Southeast Asian countries, families in Country A commonly value girls less than boys and domestic law favours husbands more than wives.⁴³ However, this situation is changing. The country ratified the Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination against Women in 1985. The country's 2007 Constitution asserted equal rights for women and men. There also now exist national laws allowing women to choose their own last name (2005), enjoy protection from trafficking (2008) and recently there was the introduction of a Gender Equality Act (2015). However, there is as yet no national laws touching on women's equal rights in the military and the police forces, as government agencies linked to national security are exempting women from combat roles, and, to some extent, security education. Country A follows a democratic political system. As at December 2015, it had some 6 per cent of women elected into parliament – this percentage being the lowest female political participation rate in Southeast Asia.⁴⁴ Yet, on the plus side, the country has already had one female head of state.

Country A imposes a two-year conscription period of involuntary drafting for males reaching 21 years of age, but not for females and third gender persons. However, the country's first experience of allowing women in the military was due to the shortage of male soldiers in World War II. This compelled the creation of 1941 a female military student training programme, from which the graduates would gain a lieutenant rank, the same as men. However, two years later, the then Prime Minister who introduced the measure, resigned, and the training was abolished. Country A's women were re-allowed to enter the military in 1953 after they graduated university. Since 1985, the Ministry of Defence has followed an equal opportunity policy, in which younger females, between the ages of 15 and 22 years, are allowed to enter reserve officer training corps.⁴⁵ This allows the military to have few women reaching the upper ranks, but until 2015 were still not allowed to attend national military academies, staff and war college.⁴⁶ This limitation on military educational attainment has lowered women's promotional opportunity. Culturally, men in country A are expected to respect women by being polite and protective; this attitude is also extended into the military forces.⁴⁷ However, this is not to say that there is gender inequality as the legal regulations mentioned above stated that the country and its institutions view women as equal.

It was only in 1986 that women were allowed to join the country's police force, soon proving to be useful in handling gender-sensitive cases. In the early 2000s, there were insufficient numbers of police women officers to staff the country's 1,444 police stations, and therefore women were allowed to enter the national basic police academy in 2009.⁴⁸ Most female police officers work on gender-related cases, desk-related roles and traffic management. From the available data, Country A had almost eight per cent of its police force accounted for by women in 2014, there are no available recent data on women's participation in the military, but 2007 data notes that women took around 12 per cent of police posts.⁴⁹ In 2007, the country's authorities began training women police and rangers to negotiate with insurgents. This is because previously the insurgent group mobilised women to bar government investigators, who were all male, to enter their sites. From the review of this, the decision to admit women into the security forces seemed to work.⁵⁰ There is no wage differentiation today between women and men in

the security forces of Country A, though women are still barred from combat roles. Based on field interviews, uniformed women are allowed to enrol to take exams to be UN peacekeepers.⁵¹ Likewise, women do not need permission from their husbands to go on deployment. Country A has implemented the UN Security Council Resolution 1325 by a Subcommittee on Women and the Promotion of Peace and Security, although until now, the resolution has not been adapted to blend with local regulations, nor has the country introduced a national action plan for the implementation of Resolution 1325.

Based on field research and interviews with decision makers in Indonesia, the Philippines and Country A, the researcher has identified several distinct characteristics associated with women in these countries' security sectors, specifically in the military and the police forces. A summary of these different policies and features impacting on women peacekeepers are listed in Table 6.1, below.

Table 6.1: Comparative Analysis of Attitudinal Barriers Facing Women Peacekeepers - Inputs

	Adopt UN CEDAW	Support UNSCR 1325 on Women Peace and Security	Women military and police officers	Women Military training	Women in all Military roles, including combat	Social acceptance of military women	Husband permission for women peacekeepers	Deployment on dangerous missions
Indonesia	Signed 1983/ Ratified 1990	Yes, with National Action Plan, but no support for women in the security sector	In the military 1960, the police since 1948	Yes, since 2013	No	Yes, but still maintains femininity	Yes, need to have husband's signed consent	No
Philippines	Signed 1983/ Ratified 1984	Yes, with National Action Plan, including support for uniformed women to join international peace	In the military since 1963, police since early 1990s	Yes, since 1993	Yes	Yes, but no 'cross-dressing' with military uniform	No	Yes, but with reservation

		mission						
Country A	Ratified 1985	Yes, without National Action Plan	In the military since 1941, police since 1986	No, women are not allowed to enter staff and war college	No	Yes, but women should be treated politely and given protection	No	Uncertain

Source: *UN Treaty Collection on the CEDAW*, status per December 2015 and Southeast Asia fieldwork, August 2014-November 2015.

Interviews with the Filipino decision makers who have the responsibility for deciding who to deploy (PD-1 and PD-2) indicate a level of confidence in allowing women to engage in combat roles, despite reservations regarding women’s postings on dangerous peacekeeping missions.⁵² The Head of the Philippines’ peacekeeping training school mentions that he does not want women to be killed as it would be bad publicity for the AFP, and lower morale.⁵³ The policy in Indonesia is stricter. Women are not allowed in combat roles, because Indonesian decision-makers express serious concerns about allowing women on the front-line and postings to dangerous UN deployment areas.⁵⁴ The reason, aside from wanting to protect women personnel, is the fear of dealing with their families if something happens; thus, the requirement for Indonesian women personnel to obtain written consent from their husbands to agree on peacekeeping deployment.⁵⁵

Country A has a mixed policy on women’s service in the security sector. Women are allowed to join the military and police forces, but they are not yet admitted to the Staff and War colleges, making promotion more difficult compared to their male colleagues. The country chooses women having the “knowledge, ability, strength, perseverance and willingness to accept the military code” and also are “as able as men” to enter the military.⁵⁶ Country A and the Philippines do not require women peacekeepers to obtain consent from their male spouses. Country A does not allow women in combat roles but does post individual female military observers on UN peacekeeping missions. In an interview with a Country A senior officer, she is confident that women can do the work entrusted to them, but the reality is that force commanders are still hesitant to deploy women on dangerous missions.⁵⁷

The feminist internationalism school (pp. 39-41) suggests that international treaties can encourage countries to change their women-related policies. The three country case studies have all adopted UN CEDAW and UNSCR 1325, and thus there is no doubt that international principles have acted to influence greater empowerment of women at the national level. To a certain extent, the adoption of these two international standards has generated national policy acceptance to allow women access to jobs, including uniform jobs, and, to a certain extent, combat roles. The influence of international standards is particularly true for the Philippines. In formulating a National Action Plan for women, peace and security, Manila also committed to elevating the role of women in peacekeeping, though similar pressure is not evident in Indonesia and Country A.

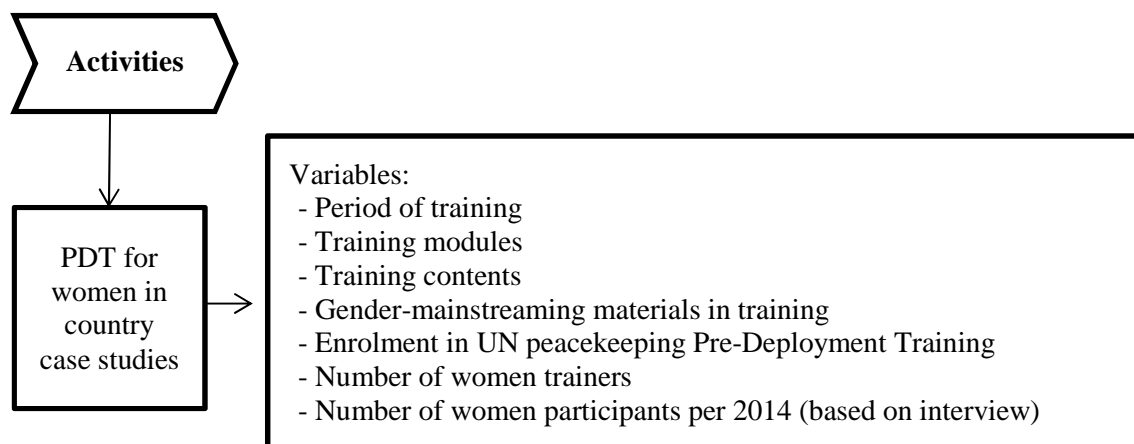
Although the feminist international school rationalises that the ‘international’ can lobby and change the ‘national’, it is unable to clarify why the implementation of international standards is so spotty. All the country case studies, have accepted and ratified the international standards, but implementation has been partial, or not at all, depending on the socio-cultural situation and existing policies. The UN advocates improvement in the position of women in society can be a strong push-factor for national policy change; however, it may also create a backlash dependent on the prevailing view of women’s liberation. Hence, to prevent this backlash, it may be useful to revisit Martha Nussbaum’s argument that focusing on women abilities and supporting the value of those abilities will change the pre-existing artificial social hierarchy.⁵⁸

6.5 Women’s PDT - Activities

This section analyses the second part of the logic model, i.e. activities. In this sense, activities refer to the pre-deployment training given to peacekeepers in the case study countries. All the country case studies provide peacekeeper training through funding from the United States Government-funded security assistance program supporting global peacekeeping – Global Peace Operations Initiative (GPOI).⁵⁹ Although GPOI organises regional training for CCs in Southeast Asia, this study will not assess the PDT conducted by the UN because this training only accommodates small selected numbers

of peacekeepers who often have already received training in their own country. The aim of this section is to analyse whether women from the country case studies have the same opportunity to undertake the PDT and become UN peacekeepers, graduating from the training in the same manner as their male-counterparts. This is important because other contingents' peacekeeping experiences in Africa suggest that women's effectiveness in peacekeeping roles suffers from a lack of basic skills, such as driving, skill-at-arms (weapons expertise), and even proficiency in the key languages used in deployment in the region – English and French. The latter should all have been taught in pre-deployment training (PDT), but had obviously not been taught to the required standard.⁶⁰ However, there are no publications on women peacekeeper experiences in Southeast Asia, but similar limitations are likely to exist. The analytical framework for this section is illustrated in Figure 6.3, below.

Figure 6.3: Logic Training Needs Assessment Model – Activities



Source: Adapted from Paul Gertler, Sebastian Martinez, Patrick Premand, Laura Rawlings and Christel Vermeersch, *Impact Evaluation in Practice*, (Washington DC: World Bank, 2011), pp. 24-6, Donald Kirkpatrick, *Evaluating Training Programs: The Four Levels, 2nd ed.*, (San Francisco: Berrett-Koehler, 1996) and Jean Barbazette, *Training Needs Assessments: Methods, Tools and Techniques*, (San Francisco: Pfeiffer-Wiley, 2006).

The first case study country, Indonesia, has been involved in UN peacekeeping missions since the late 1950s. However, the Indonesia Peacekeeping Training Centre (IPTC) was only established in 2007 under the authority of the Indonesian Armed Forces. The reason for Indonesia opening its own Training Centre, instead of sending its prospective peacekeepers to train in other countries is because the president at the time, President Susilo Bambang Yudhoyono, was a former peacekeeper and he viewed UN

peacekeeping operations as a means of increasing the TNI's military professionalism.⁶¹ The early peacekeeping Training Centre was located within the TNI Headquarters at Cilangkap, Jakarta. Based on the interviews with former peacekeepers who undertook PDT in Cilangkap, the training was only between three to four days in length.⁶² The first two days were for skills training, including driving, while the remaining days were for deployment area briefings in class. Based on this finding, it is highly unlikely that the PDT in Cilangkap complied with the 1,545 minutes (or around 26 hours) training time for required by the UN peacekeeping training materials at the time; that is, the Standardised Generic Training Materials – SGTM.⁶³ Despite the limited training time, one female peacekeeper interviewee mentions that she believed that the time spent on her training was useful for increase her skills so that she can be “at the same level” as her male peers, though she was not given specific training on gender awareness.⁶⁴ By contrast, another interviewee, a trainer, mentions that, “training is identical for both women and men, because the UN already considers their roles to be equal”.⁶⁵ The reason why the female peacekeeper believes her PDT has increased her skills to the same level as her male colleagues is perhaps due to the segregation of where women and men serve in the Indonesian Corps, as well as the lack of women personnel holding important roles, which make women personnel feel subordinate with men. It would be beneficial if the UN obliges all personnel to undertake PDT prior to deployment, as the interviewee suggests, it would increase peacekeeper confidence, particularly women personnel.

In 2012, in a bid to improve training as well as increasing the numbers of potential peacekeepers, the IPTC relocated to its own 262-hectare facility in Sentul, West Java. To illustrate the growth in peacekeeper numbers, in 2001 Indonesia only sent 59 personnel on UN peacekeeping missions, by 2007 the numbers had increased to 1,075 personnel and by 2012 they had reached 1,717 personnel.⁶⁶ In the new Peacekeeping Training Centre, PDT is conducted in approximately three weeks in a class room and one week in field simulation. This is much longer than previously was the case at Cilangkap. The UN also issued a new set of training materials, Core Pre-Deployment Training Materials – CPTM (explained in Section 5.10.1, pp. 170-175) indicating that 1,020 minutes or 17 hours was the required training time.⁶⁷ Interviews with trainers,

highlight that CPTM is taught at IPTC, along with Specialised Training Materials (STM), for specific roles (see, p. 174) and additional modules relating to the future mission areas. With the new, longer duration of training, the CPTM and STM were implemented thoroughly, including both classroom and outdoor training. The downside of the longer training period is that it may shorten the numbers of peacekeepers being deployed in the short term, because longer training would delay soldiers from being deployed. However, if planned carefully, for example by starting the training early, the shortage could be avoided. Nevertheless, in 2014, Indonesia trained and deployed more than 1,800 uniformed personnel, gaining the 16th top contributor rank in the world.⁶⁸ The country aims to be in the global top ten of UN peacekeeping contributors.

The reason why the IPTC is able to produce relatively high numbers of peacekeepers, aside from the bigger training complex, is because pass or fail examinations are not required for trainees. As stated by one of the trainers ... “I know the participants are listening when I question them, because they reply without hesitation. No need for a test, as everyone will pass”.⁶⁹ Peacekeeper trainees are preselected prior to enrolment in PDT, and, as such, most of them believe there is no need for examinations. Out of the seven Indonesian peacekeeping trainers interviewed, only one (or 14 per cent) said that there should be an examination to measure if the candidates have absorbed the knowledge given, otherwise there is no incentive for them to pay attention to the training.⁷⁰ The other trainers believed that as all the candidates are from government security and defence institutions, they already have the discipline and appropriate attitude to train seriously and to follow their superior’s orders.⁷¹ The candidates can only enroll on the PDT course relevant to their posting, meaning that participation is not open for all uniformed personnel. According to one former female peacekeeper:

“The opportunity to join peacekeeping operations is given by my section leader. He provided the reference for me to attend the selection process. I got accepted and then I attended the training prior to deployment.”⁷²

For Indonesia, the PDT is not an influencing factor for the numbers of women peacekeepers the country deploys, as no one fails the course. The selection process has been conducted prior to PDT enrolment, and the assessments include endurance tests,

psychological tests, computer proficiency tests, English tests and driving tests.⁷³ However, women candidates who have completed PDT may still not be deployed if the medical tests find her to be pregnant.⁷⁴ Aside from medical conditions, the former IPTC's Chief I Gede Sumertha KY notes that in her experience there have only been two reasons for women candidates failing the course, and one was because of inadequate English skills and the other was lack of permission from the husband.⁷⁵ English language training collaboration with the British Institute is offered to both men and women,⁷⁶ and it too does not have a fail/pass exam. Based on observations and interviews, Indonesia implements a non-differential PDT for male and female peacekeepers, and delivers a 'Women, Peace and Security' module as part of the UN CPTM. Training materials are renewed whenever the UN provides updates and when the returned peacekeepers share their field experiences with the Centre. There have been no reported negative feedback on the PDT; however, the class size can be rather too large. One Indonesian PDT trainer recalls that the largest class he taught consisted of 859 participants.⁷⁷ The high numbers of class participants poses as a challenge to maintaining the concentration of both trainer and participants. Only one per cent of the PDT trainers are female full-time staff at the IPTC, while the rest are men.⁷⁸ The numbers of women peacekeeper candidates are also very low. The trainers state that on average there are around just 10 women in a class filled between 600 to 800 men (or about 1.2 to 1.6 per cent), and this number reduces still further for officer training, often from 45 candidates there are no females at all.⁷⁹ This point is further discussed in sub-section 6.4 on the Output of peacekeeper training. There was no additional training on gender-mainstreaming in peacekeeping operations, nor were any special efforts made to increase the numbers of uniformed women deployed in UN missions.

The second case study country, the Philippines, conducts its pre-deployment training for uniformed personnel at the Philippines Peacekeeping Operations Centre (POC). For the armed forces, the training is conducted at Camp Aguinaldo, Quezon City, but in early 2010 it was relocated to Camp O'Donnell at Tarlac to provide space for outdoor training in addition to class room lectures.⁸⁰ Although the task of the Centre is also to deploy and manage Filipino peacekeepers, deployed all over the world, training is also seen as an important POC role. While the Philippines has contributed to UN peace missions since

1963, the Centre was only established in 2002, the same year as the UN published its first standardised training materials (SGTM), implying that the earlier training was conducted in an *ad hoc* manner. Since the opening of the POC, the Philippines has managed to increase the numbers of peacekeepers it deploys, albeit slowly, due to the country's internal security problems, namely the Communist insurgency and unrest in the southern part of the country.⁸¹ In 2002, Manila deployed 196 personnel to UN peacekeeping missions, and in 2005, the number grew to 483 personnel, peaking in 2009 at 1,062 personnel.⁸² Unlike Indonesia that has the goal of increasing its peacekeepers, the Philippines is seeking to reduce its contribution. The Philippines' contribution fell drastically from 908 in 2010, to 176 peacekeepers in December 2014 as the country decided to conduct an emergency withdrawal.⁸³ This is partly due to safety concerns due to the UN's refusal to better arm Filipino peacekeepers despite the attacks they suffered in the Golan Height (2013).⁸⁴

The POC provides several types of PDT training. Firstly, there is the UN CPTM, which runs for three weeks. Secondly, there is UN specialisation training on mission specific rules of engagement, and this course lasts for four weeks. Thirdly, there is an enhancement course to refresh driving skills and office administrative skills, including computer skills for three weeks. Lastly, there is a field simulation exercise that provides stress management, and information relating to deployment, and this course runs for two weeks.⁸⁵ Therefore, in total, the Philippines' PDT period stretches across 12 weeks, or three months. There are no differences in PDT training for women and men candidates, and there is an evaluation at the end of training. All uniform personnel interested in becoming UN peacekeepers can register to undertake peacekeeping training, though they may need to wait for available slots and there is no guarantee all PDT graduates will be deployed. However, a requirement of deployment is passing the training.⁸⁶ As with Indonesia, the selection process for personnel to be UN peacekeepers is done through tests across the three major service branches, covering subjects such as English proficiency, computer literacy, physical strength and driving ability. The difference between the Philippines and other country case studies is that there is an interview selection in the forces' headquarters. One of the interviewees notes:

“In my selection, there were 10 people and I was the only woman that had

applied for the position. No woman wants to apply to become a military observer. It is uncommon, because people like to be deployed with a contingent as they send cooks and drivers, rather than on individual deployment as military observers. But I like having more independence and being in the field in a job that is more challenging. I took the test in 2007, trained and was selected for deployment in 2009.”⁸⁷

The training materials used at the POC are the UN standardised CPTM and STM, with additional original materials formulated by UN peacekeeping experts in the Philippines. Interviews with trainers in the Philippines emphasised that the number of female trainers has increased recently after the country adopted the National Action Plan (NAP) on Women, Peace and Security in 2011.⁸⁸ As mentioned earlier in sub-section 6.2, the NAP is a country’s strategic planning adaptation of UNSC Resolution 1325. The Philippines NAP for 2011 to 2016 includes “gender-mainstreaming in peacekeeping”, with a commitment to empower and ensure meaningful participation in areas of peacebuilding, peacekeeping, conflict-resolution and post-conflict reconstruction.⁸⁹ According to one trainer, in 2009 there was only one female trainer at the POC in Tarlac, whilst in 2015 there were six, or around 25 per cent.⁹⁰ The number of trained women peacekeeper candidates has also increased from one per cent in the early 2000s to around eight per cent in 2015, and the trainers note that the POC aims in the future to have 10 per cent women candidates to bring a wider perspective to class discussion.⁹¹ This development is supported by the UN DPKO’s request that the Philippines deploy an increasing number of peacekeepers with understanding of its recent specialised training module, ‘Preventing and Investigating Sexual- and Gender-based Violence (SGBV)’; the first such training was held in Manila in 2011. The Philippines naturally equate women to the role of experts in the prevention of SGBV to women, and this is also the case in Indonesia.

The Philippines is the only UN peacekeeping contributing country that allows local non-governmental civil society organisations to provide peacekeeping training. The civil society organisation, WE Act 1325, has been an advocate on the issue of women, peace and security for some time, and it has been relatively successful in collaborating with the government in producing inputs for gender-sensitive policies relating to the 2009 Magna Carta of Women and 2011 NAP. Thereafter, the WE Act 1325 has collaborated

with the POC to provide PDT sessions on the following modules: Women Peace and Security; Conflict Resolution; Defining Peace; and the Difference between Sex and Gender. These modules are given through lectures, film screenings and group discussion because often the class size is too large to hold a meaningful discussion that can accommodate up to 370 participants per batch.⁹² Although the modules that WE Act 1325 teaches do not implement pass/fail examinations, they have pre- and post-evaluations to measure the peacekeeper retention of knowledge from the training sessions.⁹³ The training materials are formulated with the help of national academics and civil society organisations. The training by WE Act 1325 has also gained the support of the Royal Norwegian Embassy in Manila, in furthering peacekeeper knowledge on gender, human rights and international humanitarian law.⁹⁴ From the three country case studies, the Philippines can be considered the most advanced in including Women, Peace and Security, as well as gender-mainstreaming in its PDT.

The final case study, Country A, conducts its PDT at the Peace Operations Centre Directorate (POCD), established in 2006, under the Armed Forces Headquarters. Although the country has been contributing to UN peacekeeping missions since 1956, the training at that time was organised directly but in *ad hoc* manner by the national Armed Forces Headquarters. The relatively recent establishment of POCD was because it was only in the past decade that Country A began to increase its peacekeeper contributions to UN missions; it deployed 7 personnel in 1996, rising to 195 personnel in 2006.⁹⁵ However, due to the country's internal political volatility, this number shrank to 35 in 2014.⁹⁶ It is unlikely that Country A's contribution to UN peacekeeping will increase before it stabilizes domestic affairs. Compounding the problems is that the external training fund supporting PDT was suspended.⁹⁷

The training provided by the POCD is two pronged: firstly, it focuses on preparing military units and individuals for UN peacekeeping missions; and, secondly, it provides non-military skills for humanitarian assistance in the form of training, directed towards agriculture, demining, water, land management, healthcare and economic sufficiency.⁹⁸ The country's official publication considers the provision of humanitarian assistance in the form of practical skill training for the local population is important to ensure that the

peace achieved endures.⁹⁹ Therefore, the PDT materials for humanitarian assistance skill training are formulated by the experts of Country A. However, based on interviews with former peacekeepers and trainers, the POCD is also using the UN standardised materials, namely CPTM and STM.¹⁰⁰ The PDT at POCD runs for two weeks for classroom sessions and one week for field simulation. Based on this length of the PDT, supported by field interviews,¹⁰¹ Country A delivers the standardised core materials according to the UN suggested training time.

Not all the peacekeeper candidates taking PDT will be deployed, dependent upon their seriousness in training. Aside from regular training, Country A has accepted an offer by the Peace Operations Training Institute (POTI), a US-based non-governmental organization, providing online, on-demand, courses for peace support operations, allowing peacekeepers access to POTI's online courses free of charge.¹⁰² However, online courses attract less interest when combined with face-to-face training, especially field simulation activities.¹⁰³ The online courses are also taken in the candidate's own time, and not weighted unfavourably in the decision whether she/he is selected for deployment. There is no official information on the numbers of women trainers working at the POCD; however, the researcher interviewed at least one female UN peacekeeping trainer from Country A. She mentions that her job as a trainer can be attributed to her experience of individual deployment on UN missions, but even then she is only an adjunct trainer.¹⁰⁴

Interviewees reveal that most trainer positions at the POCD are adjunct positions because of financial and human resource constraints. Significantly, the POCD does not have sufficient financial support to keep full-time trainers in post, and, problematically, former peacekeepers are still needed by their units. This situation poses as a threat to the quality of training provided, as one interviewee mentions:

“Because the POCD does not have dedicated trainers, it depends greatly on the availability of adjuncts and when these people are busy, the POCD must find replacements that may not be as good as the trainers they are standing in for. Additionally, it is difficult to develop the capacity of trainers, as when there is a training-for-trainer invitation from another country, the POCD will struggle on who to send. Usually, the decision will be made

politically every time...”¹⁰⁵

In the provision of gender-mainstreaming in training, the POCD offers the same gender content materials that are included in the UN training packages of CPTM and STM (see pp. 170-175). However, it does not provide different training for women and men peacekeepers.¹⁰⁶ The numbers of Country A women candidates participating in PDT is relatively small, with one UN peacekeeper trainer noting that women candidates represent around 10 per cent of the total personnel trained, and while this number has increased over time, it has been a slow process.¹⁰⁷ Another trainer with ten years of experience mentions that the number of women peacekeepers taking the PDT in recent years has increased by around 30 per cent.¹⁰⁸ This increase has likely been caused by the country’s decline in the numbers of peacekeepers deployed. From the field research, it was found that PDT does not affect the numbers of women peacekeepers Country A deploys, because the PDT does not have a pass/failure filter, and all participants would pass if they attend all sessions and are serious students. What is interesting is that all former peacekeepers who were interviewed mention that the main obstacle for increasing Country A uniformed women engagement in UN peace missions is the barrier for entry to the Military Academy and War College.¹⁰⁹ The second obstacle is that no women are included in the selection process of the peacekeeper candidates.¹¹⁰ The selection process for becoming Country A peacekeepers comprises an English test, UN knowledge test, panel interview selection and passing the PDT suitability requirement for peacekeeping role(s) as applied to observers, staff or contingents. Country A ceased its contingent deployments to UN missions in 2012, due to host country delaying visas to the peacekeepers.

From the field interviews with women peacekeepers and trainers in Indonesia, Philippines and Country A, the researcher found differences in PDT activities with respect to the period of training, the range of training modules, enrolment and the number of women trainers in post. A comparative evaluation of the different policies/training contexts that exist in the three country case studies can be seen in Table 6.2.

Table 6.2: Comparative Evaluation of Women’s Pre-Deployment Training - Activities

	Period	Modules	Content	Gender Main-streaming Materials	Enrolment in PDT	Women Trainers (Nos)	Women (%)
Indonesia	3 weeks	UN modules and self-developed module by government officials/ military	- Basic of UN peace operations - The work of peacekeepers - International organisations in the mission - Knowledge of mission areas - Field simulation	UN modules only	Appointed – uniformed personnel can only enrolled after selected for deployment	1 permanent, and at least 1 adjunct	Around 2 per cent
Philippines	3 mths	UN modules and self-developed modules by civil society organisations	- Basic of UN peace operations - The work of peacekeepers - Knowledge of mission areas - Field simulation - Women, Peace and Security (by civil society organisation) - Stress management	UN modules and has additional gender module taught by institution trainers and by civil society experts	Voluntary – uniformed personnel can enrol if interested to become peace-keeper	5 permanent, and at least 2 adjunct	Around 8 per cent
Country A	3 weeks	UN modules and self-developed module by government officials/ military	- Basic of UN peace operations - The work of peacekeepers - Field simulation - Humanitarian assistance – skills in agriculture, demining, water and land management, economic sufficiency	UN modules only	Voluntary – uniformed personnel can enrol if interested to become peace-keeper	At least 1 adjunct	10 to around 30 per cent

Source: Southeast Asia fieldwork, August 2014-November 2015.

Table 6.2 suggests that countries with higher numbers of women trainers have a higher likelihood of including gender-mainstreaming modules in the curriculum. Interviewees indicate that women trainers are regularly assigned to teach modules relating to ‘Women, Peace and Security’, ‘Civilian Protection’ and ‘Preventing and Investigating Sexual and Gender based Violence’, but rarely do they teach technical and strategic issues, such as field survival or leadership.¹¹¹ This is hardly surprising given that most women do not possess technical knowledge, generally have less field experience – especially in dangerous deployment areas which are often reserved only for graduates from the national basic military academy, and are rarely assigned to frontline roles, as these roles are mostly barred to women. This classic ‘sticky floor, glass ceiling and trap door’ situation¹¹² facing women in the national armed forces seems to be reflected also in UN peacekeeping PDT. At least in the country case studies, women trainers tend to teach on ‘Women, Peace and Security’ type modules, while male trainers shy away from the subject. In the long run, this likely enforces a ‘trap door’ scenario for women trainers, whose work is limited to teaching specific courses in the field of Women, Peace and Security.

The three country case studies’ peacekeeping centres (PCs) have been proactively formulating their own PDT materials. These materials refer to UN publications and former peacekeeper knowledge on deployment areas. The PCs consider such resources suitable for effective training of peacekeepers posted on UN missions; however, not all the materials are certified by the UN.¹¹³ The UN does not have the ability to impose a standard training programme on the contributing countries. The UN only provides standardised core training materials, advising the contributing countries to use them as guidance in providing training to their peacekeepers. The countries can choose to provide pre-deployment training using the UN core modules, or adding other materials that are more suitable, depending on resources (the main constraints include the cost of training and the availability of human capital to provide the training). The additional materials provided by the contributing countries are not UN certified/standardised. The UN has only a limited capacity to ensure that peacekeepers have the same skills and knowledge when deployed, and is invariably constrained by national sovereignty issues. This creates an operational challenge that affects UN mission effectiveness. However,

the UN standardised training materials, CPTM and STM, represents a step in the right direction towards common training standards.

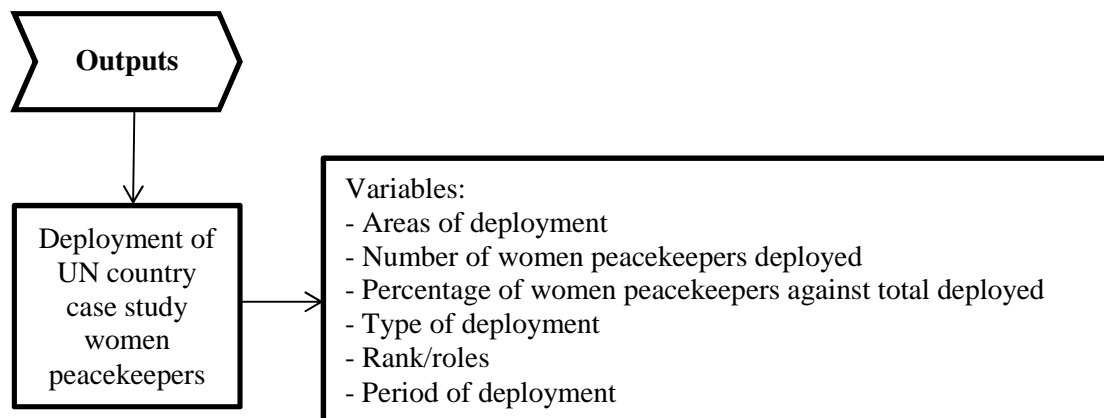
More broadly, the researcher has observed the running of a Specialised Female Military Officers Course (SFMOC) under the auspices of UN Women. The first FMOC was implemented in March 2015, in India, not least because the country had begun deploying all female UN peacekeeping units, and therefore had experienced women peacekeepers returning from deployment to justify running such a well-attended course. However, other countries would struggle due to supply and demand constraints to implement such a course.¹¹⁴ Arguably, without the UN Women support, it would be difficult even for India due to the heavy demands in working-up the new materials and hiring experienced international trainers. India's SFMOC helped to deepen the content of training materials, including an exercise on information gathering on SGBV and techniques for interviewing victims (see Appendix 2 - Schedule of UN Special Female Military Officers Course). These materials are not yet included in the regular UN STM for Military Staff Officers, but discussions with a UN Women officer in India (April 2014) suggest that the SFMOC materials may be available for contributing countries in a couple of years.¹¹⁵

6.6 Deployment of Women Peacekeepers - Outputs

After discussing inputs and activities, the third part of the logic model involves analysing the outputs. The measurable outputs of PDTs are the tangible aspects of the country case studies' UN peacekeeping deployment, which for the present study pertains to women peacekeepers. To provide a triangulation of data, verifying the information obtained from interviews, field research observations and the *UN Troops and Contributors Archive* for quantitative deployment data. However, sex-segregated statistical data on contributing countries peacekeepers only began in November 2009, with data available until December 2014 at the time this study was written. This limitation on data makes it impossible to analyse the numbers of women deployed before and after this period. For the available data, the outputs of PDT are measured not only by the numbers of women peacekeepers deployed and the percentage of women

peacekeepers against total deployed, but also by areas of deployment, the type of deployment for women peacekeepers (whether they are deployed in contingent/unit or on individual deployment), their rank as well as their period of deployment. The analytical framework for this section is illustrated in Figure 6.4.

Figure 6.4: Logic Training Needs Assessment Model – Outputs



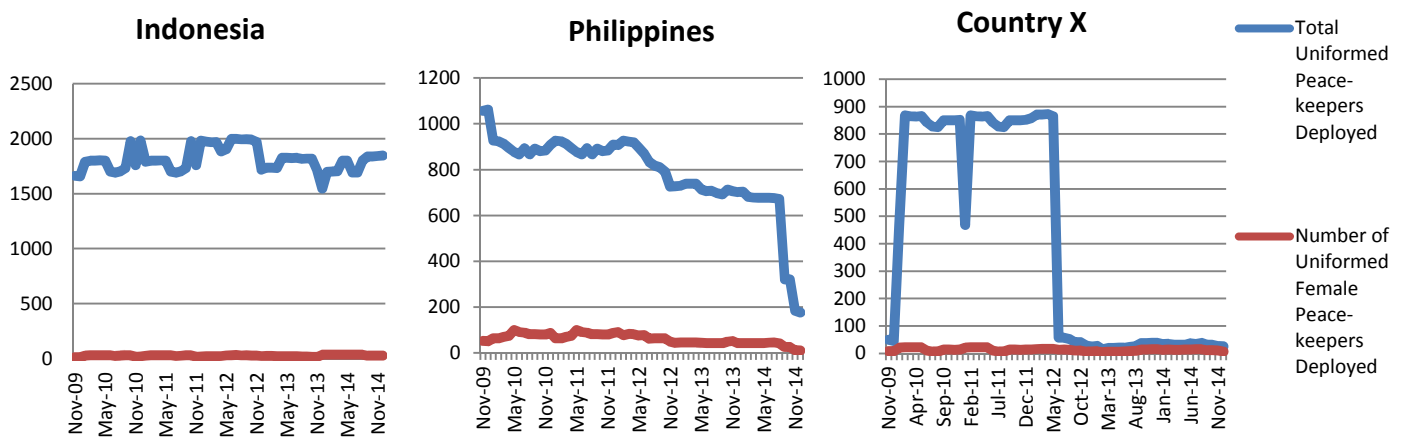
Source: Adapted from Paul Gertler, Sebastian Martinez, Patrick Premand, Laura Rawlings and Christel Vermeersch, *Impact Evaluation in Practice*, (Washington DC: World Bank, 2011), pp. 24-6, Donald Kirkpatrick, *Evaluating Training Programs: The Four Levels, 2nd ed.*, (San Francisco: Berrett-Koehler, 1996) and Jean Barbazette, *Training Needs Assessments: Methods, Tools and Techniques*, (San Francisco: Pfeiffer-Wiley, 2006).

From the UN peacekeeping sex-segregated data on uniformed peacekeepers, Indonesia, the Philippines and Country A deploys disproportionately high numbers of male peacekeepers, compared to female. Indonesia contributes the highest number of peacekeepers, followed by the Philippines and then Country A; the figures being proportionate to population size.¹¹⁶ From November 2009 to December 2014, Indonesia consistently deployed over 1,500 peacekeepers, and at times the numbers almost reached 2,000 peacekeepers; yet the highest number of women peacekeepers the country deployed was only 35.¹¹⁷ The Philippines’ contribution, on the other hand, drastically declined from 1056 to only 176 peacekeepers, but at its peak, the country deployed 99 women peacekeepers.¹¹⁸ Meanwhile, Country A’s contribution declined drastically from mid-2012, from 868 personnel at its highest, to around 40 personnel, deploying at most only 22 women peacekeepers.¹¹⁹ From these numbers, it is clear that the Philippines is more willing to deploy higher numbers of women to UN peacekeeping missions, compared to Indonesia and Country A. However, whether the

areas of deployment for the Philippines' peacekeepers are the same for women as for men still needs to be examined.

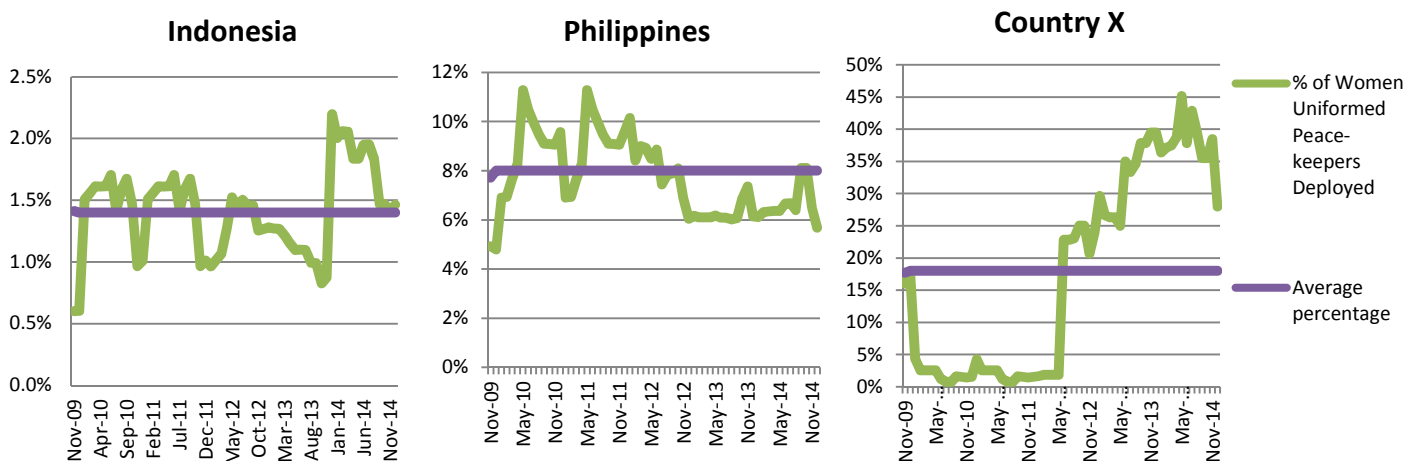
To provide an illustration of the UN uniformed peacekeeper deployment characteristics of Indonesia, the Philippines and Country A, two sets of graphics are provided, below in Figure 6.5. The Figure presents the numbers of peacekeepers deployed, whilst Figure 6.6 specifies the comparative percentage of women against total personnel deployed.

Figure 6.5: Relative (Wo)Men Peacekeeper Deployment



Source: *UN Troops and Contributors Archive*, November 2009-December 2014.

Figure 6.6 Uniformed Women Peacekeeper Deployment



Source: *UN Troops and Contributors Archive*, November 2009-December 2014.

The two figures are presented successively to allow clearer analysis, but comparative quantitative analysis is insufficient as it takes no account of cultural attitudes towards

the deployment of women peacekeepers. For example, it is commonly accepted¹²⁰ that when deployment reduces, the percentage numbers of women deployed also reduces. However, the Country A data in Figure 6.5 show declining numbers of peacekeepers deployed in mid-2012 but this was not associated with a reduction in the percentage of women peacekeepers deployed as shown in in Figure 6.6; instead, the percentage of women peacekeepers deployed increased by 20 per cent.¹²¹ Thus, despite Country A's government withdrawing peacekeepers, women peacekeepers were not the first to be withdrawn, possibly indicating that women peacekeepers are sorely needed in the mission area(s). For Indonesia, the percentage of women's deployment fluctuated even more than the variation in the country's total deployment, perhaps indicating there is no consistency in supporting deployment of women peacekeepers. Other factors influencing a country's commitment to deploy women peacekeepers on UN missions include the areas of deployment, the types of deployment for women peacekeepers, women's level of seniority, as well as the period of deployment. Table 6.3, below, contains the spectrum of such influencing variables.

Table 6.3: Comparative Evaluation of Women Peacekeeper PDT Outputs

	UN Missions where uniformed women deployed	UN Missions where uniformed women were not deployed	# average of women peacekeepers deployed	% average of total peacekeepers	Type of deployment (contingent/ individual)	Rank/ roles	Period of deployment
Indonesia	- Haiti (MINUSTAH) - Darfur (UNAMID) - Sudan (UNMIS) - South Sudan (UNMISS) - Lebanon (UNIFIL) - Congo (MONUC/ MONUSCO) - Syria (UNSMIS)	- Liberia (UNMIL) - Nepal (UNMIN)	25	1.4%	Contingent (only police force deployed women in individual deployment)	From Sergeant to Major (Army) and equals	12 months, except special condition <i>- no difference with male peacekeepers</i>
Philippines	- Haiti (MINUSTAH) - Darfur (UNAMID) - Sudan (UNMIS) - Liberia (UNMIL)	- India-Pakistan (UNMOGIP) - Abyei, between Sudan and South Sudan (UNISFA)	62	8%	Contingent & Individual	From Petty Officer to Captain (Navy) and equals	6 months to 1 year <i>- no difference with male peacekeepers</i>

	- Timor Leste (UNMIT) - Golan Heights (UNDOF) - Afghanistan (UNAMA) - Cote d'Ivoire (UNOCI)	- Western Sahara (MINURSO)					
Country A	- Haiti (MINUSTAH) - Darfur (UNAMID) - Sudan (UNMIS) - South Sudan (UNMISS) - Liberia (UNMIL) - Timor Leste (UNMIT) - India-Pakistan (UNMOGIP)	- none - <i>Country A does not differentiate in deploying women and men</i>	13	18%	Individual	From Captain to Lt. Colonel (Army) and equals	12 months - <i>no difference with male peacekeepers</i>

Source: Interview with women peacekeepers and peacekeeping trainers in Indonesia, Philippines and Country A and *UN Troops and Contributors Archive*, November 2009 - December 2014.

Table 6.3 shows that despite the Philippines deploying the highest average numbers of women peacekeepers (62 personnel), more than double that of Indonesia (25 personnel), it was still lower in percentage terms compared to Country A. Although Country A only deployed 13 women peacekeepers, it was the highest percentage amongst the three countries, standing at 18 per cent. This relatively high percentage demonstrates the robust level of government support for deploying women, as stated by Country A Senior Colonel, his country “strongly believes that a greater presence of female peacekeepers would significantly benefit existing peacekeeping missions, particularly where violence against, and exploitation of, women and children are prevalent”.¹²² This support is also displayed in Country A’s deployment areas, where women and men work together on the same UN missions, and without differentiation, as shown in Table 6.3. The two other country case studies, on the other hand, opt not to deploy women peacekeepers on certain missions. Indonesia chose not to deploy women peacekeepers to Liberia (UNMIL), Nepal (UNMIN) and West Sahara (MINURSO), whilst the Philippines decided not to deploy on the India-Pakistan border (UNMOGIP), and Abyei, the contested territory between Sudan and South Sudan (UNISFA).¹²³ The

differing deployments for women and men may be caused by UN demands for peacekeepers with specific skills, possessed in the main by men, but there is also the probability of the countries' unwillingness to deploy women on dangerous missions.

The deployment data in Table 6.3 indicates that the 'absence' of women in some missions is consistent with interview responses from Indonesian and Filipino decision-makers, concerning their fears over deploying women on dangerous missions. Indonesian decision-makers state "that it would be difficult to deal with the negative impact if something happened to women personnel", while two Filipino decision-makers state with conviction that they would not deploy women because "it is not safe for them" and "they could get killed, leading to bad publicity".¹²⁴ These comments clearly give the impression that uniformed women's lives seem more precious than those of men's. Based on UN peacekeepers fatalities up to 2015, Indonesia has lost 34 peacekeepers' lives, the Philippines has lost 24 lives, and Country A has lost 8 lives; however, the database does not reveal peacekeeping fatalities according to sex and incident.¹²⁵ Based on interviews in the three country case studies, it is only the Philippines which has suffered women fatalities, relating to two deaths caused by the earth quake in Haiti, and not by any malicious act.¹²⁶ Nevertheless, female casualties are culturally difficult to handle, because, rightly or wrongly, women are imbued with greater family responsibility than national responsibility. As argued by Mady Segal, "the greater the family responsibility for women, the less women's representation in the armed forces".¹²⁷ This has resonance with an Indonesian decision-maker's view that:

"Married women need their husband's written consent and this is an Indonesian Armed Forces regulation, not the UN. Our reasoning is because women have greater family roles and they are the support system for their children. So the TNI does not want to violate the social values Indonesia has, we need to check with the family first."¹²⁸

Of course, the blame does not lie entirely on a country's regulation, as it is cultural value; yet, whilst some women do not want to be deployed on dangerous missions, this blanket regulation may discourage others who do.

From information on the type of deployment, whether women are deployed within a

unit (contingent) or on individual deployment, the three country case studies have different stances. The Philippines deploys women both on a contingent basis and also on individual deployment. When asked why, the Filipino decision-makers state that it depends upon the request of the UN missions.¹²⁹ The field research in the Philippines reveals the fairness of recruitment, as a UN request for peacekeepers would be communicated to all uniformed personnel, and all could take the test, if they so wished. All the Filipino women peacekeepers interviewed said they took the test voluntarily, and via their own initiative, knowing that since the 2009 Magna Carta of Women they have equal opportunity to access all roles.¹³⁰ Country A's women peacekeepers provided similar answers, taking the peacekeeping entry test by under their own initiative, unlike in Indonesia where only those selected or appointed can take the entry test.¹³¹ Country A has ceased its contingent deployment on UN peace missions in 2012, due to the host country Sudan delaying both the issue of visas and the release of equipment at its port for its peacekeepers in UNAMID. However, country A continues to supply women peacekeepers on individual deployment. Meanwhile, an Indonesian decision-maker states that also in 2012 Jakarta stopped the deployment of individual female military observers to the UN Supervision Mission in Syria (UNSMIS), after the latter required an emergency withdrawal of female observers.¹³² Based on the available data until end-2014, Indonesia sent women only for individual police deployment, but not for individual military deployment, because the latter was deemed too dangerous.

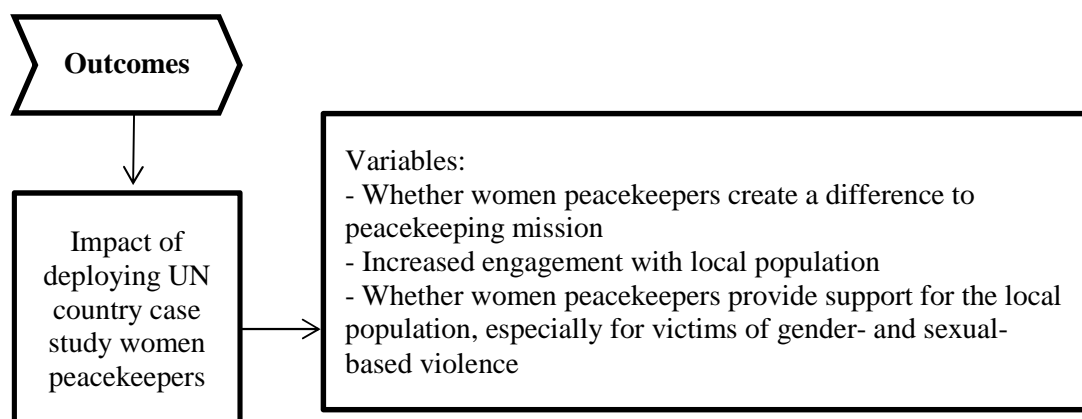
By reference to data contained in Table 6.3, both the Philippines and Country A deploy relatively high ranks of women peacekeepers; for example, those of Naval Captain and Army Lieutenant-Colonel, assuming senior positions in the missions, compared to Indonesia. For instance, a Filipino woman commander led a mixed-team of 156 personnel to Haiti (MINUSTAH) between 2013 and 2014. This commander affirms that she went through a fair selection process, and, though competing with ten male applicants, she was nevertheless selected based on merit.¹³³ Similar female leadership achievements were not found in Indonesia or Country A, as their highest ranked women were deployed in offices and not in the field as team leader. There were no differences in the period of deployment for women or men from the three country case studies. In special circumstances endangering the lives of peacekeepers, all three countries would

conduct emergency withdrawal of their personnel, no matter the sex, as occurred with Indonesian personnel in Syria (2012) and Filipino personnel on the Golan Heights (2014) (see, pp. 208 and 221).

6.7 Women’s Impact on Effective Peacekeeping - Outcomes

The fourth part of the logic model is to analyse the outcomes of PDT on the performance of deployed women peacekeepers. The outcomes measured in this study reflect the impact of deploying women UN peacekeepers to the conflict and post-conflict areas. Outcome measurement is based on the feminist internationalism perspective (pp. 39-41), especially the writings of Cynthia Enloe and Ann Tickner, who ask where are the women and what are their tasks, because the masculine international relations mainstream often portrays men as those who do all the actions, while women are either left observing or impacted by the actions.¹³⁴ Therefore, it is important to highlight the presence of women peacekeepers and the work they do in UN missions. For specific outcomes, the variables measured are whether women peacekeepers make a difference on peacekeeping missions? What are women peacekeepers’ roles in deployment? Whether women peacekeepers provide support to the local population, especially for the victims of gender- and sexual-based violence (SGBV)? The analytical framework for this section is illustrated in Figure 6.7, below.

Figure 6.7: Logic Training Needs Assessment Model – Outcomes



Source: Adapted from Paul Gertler, Sebastian Martinez, Patrick Premand, Laura Rawlings and Christel Vermeersch, *Impact Evaluation in Practice*, (Washington DC: World Bank, 2011), pp. 24-6, Donald Kirkpatrick, *Evaluating Training Programs: The Four Levels, 2nd ed.*, (San Francisco: Berrett-Koehler, 1996) and Jean Barbazette, *Training Needs Assessments: Methods, Tools and Techniques*, (San Francisco: Pfeiffer-Wiley, 2006).

The previous section has discussed the tangible results of PDT, and this section now focuses on the non-tangible outcomes. Therefore, the data presented in this section highlight the narratives of women peacekeepers and their deployment experiences. From the interviews on whether women peacekeepers believe they create a difference on the UN missions through the provision of different sometimes unique skills, the findings from the three country case studies are depicted in percentage terms in Table 6.4, below.

Table 6.4: Differentiated Deployment Roles of (Wo)men Peacekeepers

	Indonesia	Philippines	Country A
	%	%	%
Yes	33	80	67
No	56	10	11
Abstain	11	10	22

Source: Southeast Asia fieldwork, August 2014-November 2015.

From Table 6.4, the majority (56 per cent) of women peacekeepers from Indonesia emphasise that they do not offer different roles compared to their male colleagues. However, based on the narratives, it may be that women peacekeepers from Indonesia did not have the opportunity to make a difference, nor did they have the chance to assume senior positions where they could ‘create’ such opportunities. For instance, one Indonesian woman peacekeeper (IP-1) recalled from her deployment experience in Lebanon: “Women peacekeepers are mostly of low rank, because to be deployed as a peacekeeping commander one should have star-rank, or at least senior officer level. Very few women can reach such a high rank and be deployed in the field.”¹³⁵ Another Indonesian women peacekeeper (IP-14-Congo) mentions that because: “women from Indonesia were trained to fill non-combatant roles, most of them do clerical work”. Similarly, yet another Indonesian women peacekeeper (IP-15-Lebanon): “feels that women peacekeepers were more protected because of the conflict situation and the Commander did not let women patrol in the area considered dangerous.”¹³⁶

By contrast, the majority of women peacekeepers from the Philippines (80 per cent) and Country A (67 per cent) believe they do provide different skills and roles compared to their male colleagues. Women peacekeepers from these two countries were more

confident in explaining their impact on the UN missions in which they served. One Filipino woman peacekeeper (PP-3-Timor Leste) recalls that:

“When I was deployed, I was active in CIMIC (Civil-Military Coordination). I organised three CIMIC activities in six months in Bacau. We provided health checks and free medicine for over 600 local people in difficult-to-reach rural villages. I guess the difference was that, when I was there, our unit was more approachable. My commander told me that before, kids and women were afraid to approach our unit because the team members were all male. I think my presence, with my smile and long hair at the time, was making it easier for the population to accept us. My commander said that my ‘hair diplomacy’ worked better than his ‘moustache diplomacy’ (she laughed)”¹³⁷

Equally, a Country A woman peacekeeper (XP-6-Darfur) recalls her experience by highlighting:

“When I was a field patrol team and team leader at the same time, I went around to villages to check the population conditions, and to report it to UN mission headquarters, which would then pass it on to the government. My report included not only the village’s general condition, but also the conditions [relating to] women’s security and safety in the village, not many peacekeepers would report this condition willingly.”¹³⁸

Comparing these last two interview responses with the Indonesian answers, it is clear that the Philippines and Country A women peacekeepers have had a higher impact on their respective UN peacekeeping missions than the Indonesian women peacekeepers.

Almost 60 per cent of the women peacekeepers interviewed from the country case studies argue that their presence in the deployment area has added different skills to the UN mission in which they served, especially in their interactions with the local population and survivors of SGBV.¹³⁹ Based on the narratives of the women peacekeepers from the three country case studies, they all believe that their presence increased the potential for positive engagement with the local women. Instructive in this regard is the comment from one Indonesian woman peacekeeper (IP-14-Congo):

“I witnessed women as victims in the conflict areas, even more than men. In the Congo when I patrolled the villages, I talked to many women who were victims of sexual violence. I talked to a female survivor who was raped and her intimate parts ‘sticked’ with a tree branch. If I was a man, I doubt she would state what happened to her so vividly.”¹⁴⁰

Her statement provides a strong argument in support of the view that women share more openly with other women on intimate issues such as sexual violence. Arguably, such openness may only happen when the perpetrator(s) are men as the (female) peacekeeper is not identifiable with the person who conducted the violence. Other victims of SGBV will likely include little boys. Here again, however, the role of women may be far more impactful compared to the perpetrators of the sexual violence, men.

Country A women peacekeepers report their wider acceptance by locals in the mission area, especially where interaction between women and men is limited, or even non-existent. One woman peacekeeper (XP-9-Pakistan): “where I was deployed, women do not speak to men, so I got more access to the local people because I am a woman.”¹⁴¹ Another respondent (XP-1-Sudan) emphasises her achievement in enter a widows village in Sudan, where her patrol could not previously access because the male gate-keeper would not allow men to come in:

“Although I was allowed to get in, I was still having trouble communicating because I could not speak Arabic. The problem is, my language assistant (or translator) is a man and based on the standard operation, I must not leave him, but it means I would not be able to get into the village where the past units have never entered before, due to no female personnel. So I was thinking hard and finally I decided to leave my language assistant at the gate with a radio transmitter. When I got inside, I asked the women there to talk to the car radio transmitter, so my language assistant outside could translate and I could hear the answers from the car speaker. It was an unforgettable experience (she smiled).”¹⁴²

This XP-1 narrative powerfully symbolizes the importance of having women peacekeepers on the ground to increase access to the local population, and they could even be more effective if women also acted as language assistants, and in other roles, such as drivers. A women peacekeeper (XP-8-Pakistan) supports this view when she states:

“My time assigned on the Pakistani side of UNMOGIP, led to me observing that the drivers were all men and they were local people. My driver did not like to receive directions from a woman. I thought it was only me, but a female military observer stationed in another district also shared with me that she faced similar problems. So we were encountering male drivers that did not like to get directions from women. However, we were the military

observers and we supposed to be the one to direct where the car is going. It was rather challenging at times.”¹⁴³

The narratives of XP-1 and XP-8 illustrate that deploying women peacekeepers does not automatically widen access to the local population on a UN mission.

To work efficiently and effectively, peacekeepers have to know what information needs to be collected when they conduct patrols, and having a female presence can provide an additional sensitivity when gathering data. One Filipino women peacekeeper (PP-3-Timor Leste) notes in this regard:

“Aside from talking to the local population like village heads and youth on the situation in their area, like whether there is a school, whether the school is running, are the youth safe going to the school and whether the village is safe, I also talked to the local women on problems about maternity health and maternity mortality, whether there were enough clinics and doctors and whether the clinics are open and cater for specific health concerns, such as having midwives and obstetrics and gynaecology doctors, and whether it is safe for women to travel.”¹⁴⁴

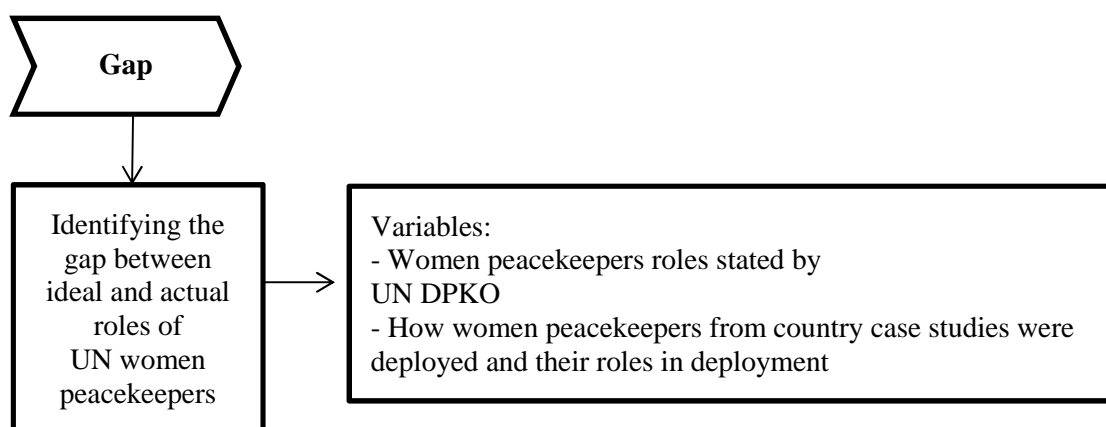
Such narratives emphasise the requirement for peacekeepers to understand the different security and well-being needs of men and women, boys and girls. Albeit women peacekeepers are deployed, if they are not aware of these different needs, then they may not be able to effectively gather information in the field, expand access to the local population and address specific needs, including victims of SGBV. Therefore, it is important to provide comprehensive PDT instruction that supports women on deployment as peacekeepers. Evaluation as to whether the PDT has been sufficient in supporting women peacekeepers on deployment will be undertaken in section 6.9 Training Needs Assessment, following the examination of the gap.

6.8 Gap – Discrepancy between Ideal *versus* Actual Outcomes

After examining input, activities, outcomes and outputs, the fifth part of the logic model is investigating the gap. The gap in this study represents the discrepancy between UN ‘ideal’ roles for women peacekeepers *vis-à-vis* the reality of what they do, or are allowed to do, on UN missions. Analysing the gap between ideal goals and performance

is one of the ways to conduct training/performance analysis, as discussed in Chapter 2 (pp. 61-62). The gap in this study is identified by contrasting the UN DPKO expected roles of women peacekeepers, as specified in the UN’s publication, with the empirical research finding on how effective women peacekeepers’ work in the field, determined through interview responses. The analytical framework for this section is illustrated in Figure 6.8, below.

Figure 6.8: Logic Training Needs Assessment Model – Gap



Source: Adapted from Paul Gertler, Sebastian Martinez, Patrick Premand, Laura Rawlings and Christel Vermeersch, *Impact Evaluation in Practice*, (Washington DC: World Bank, 2011), pp. 24-26, Donald Kirkpatrick, *Evaluating Training Programs: The Four Levels, 2nd ed.*, (San Francisco: Berrett-Koehler, 1996) and Jean Barbazette, *Training Needs Assessments: Methods, Tools and Techniques*, (San Francisco: Pfeiffer-Wiley, 2006).

To be able to identify the gap between the ‘ideal’ and the reality in the field, the ideal roles of women peacekeepers needs to be known. This study took UN DPKO’s list of the important attributes women peacekeepers bring to their roles when deployed on UN missions. These attributes are listed on its website <http://www.un.org/en/peacekeeping/issues/women/womeninpk.shtml>. This study selects the UN DPKO list as the ‘ideal’ roles, because it details explicitly the expected roles that women peacekeepers should assume, above and beyond, the normal roles undertaken by(male) peacekeepers. This approach links neatly to the hypothesis proposed by the feminist internationalist scholar, Martha Nussbaum (pp. 40-41), who argues that if sex and sexuality has been enforced through an artificial social hierarchy, then it needs to be overcome by offering a focus on women’s abilities and to value those abilities.¹⁴⁵ The UN DPKO has thus adopted this process by focusing on what women

peacekeepers can bring to the table through their ‘womenness’. The ideal abilities that women peacekeepers are expected to exercise on UN deployment are contrasted with the interview findings with women peacekeepers from Indonesia, Philippines and Country A. The effort of identifying the gap is not to discredit UN DPKO pursuing ideal roles, but, rather, to seek an understanding of whether the country case studies have managed to achieve these goals. The results of this comparative evaluation are listed in Table 6.5.

Table 6.5: Comparative Evaluation of Women Peacekeepers Expected and Actual Roles on Deployment Table

Ideal	Outcomes¹	Interview source
Empowering women in the host community	Yes	PP-3-Timor Leste
Addressing specific needs of female ex-combatants during the process of demobilizing and reintegration into civilian life	No	
Helping make the peacekeeping force approachable to women in the community	Yes	PP-3-Timor Leste
Interviewing survivors of gender-based violence	Yes	IP-14-Congo
Mentoring female cadets at police and military academies	No	
Interacting with women in societies where women are prohibited from speaking to men	Yes	XP-9-Pakistan
Help to reduce conflict and confrontation	No	
Improve access and support for local women	Yes	PP-3-Timor Leste
Provide role models for women in the community	No	
Provide a greater sense of security to local populations, including women and children	Yes	XP-6-Darfur
Broaden the skill set available within a peacekeeping mission	Yes	XP-1-Sudan

¹ For narratives linked to the outcomes, see Subsection 6.7.

Source: For UN Ideals are from, *Roles for Women in Peacekeeping*, accessed from <http://www.un.org/en/peacekeeping/issues/women/womeninpk.shtml> on December 2015, while the Outcomes are found from Southeast Asia fieldwork, August 2014-November 2015.

Table 6.5 shows that women peacekeepers from Indonesia, the Philippines and Country A are able to empower women in the host community in a number of ways; for instance:

helping to make the peacekeeping force approachable to women in the community; interviewing survivors of gender-based violence, interacting with local women in societies where women are prohibited from speaking to men; improving access and support for local women; providing a greater sense of security to the local population, including women and children; and broadening the skill-sets available in the peacekeeping missions. However, the researcher did not encounter any narratives from women peacekeepers indicating that they were working to address the specific needs of female ex-combatants during the process of demobilization and reintegration into civilian life, nor were they helping to reduce conflict and confrontation, nor providing role models for women in the community, nor mentoring female cadets at police and military academies on their return to their home countries. There are several reasons for this seeming lack of progress in their peacekeeping status

The first reason is not because women peacekeepers are incapable, but that they were simply not assigned to fulfil more responsible roles. A woman peacekeeper (XP-8-India and Pakistan) expressed her disappointment:

“I had challenges from my peacekeeper colleagues, including from the higher level ranks that women should work in admin only. So I brought the UN peacekeeping SOP (Standard Operating Procedure) and showed it to them.”¹⁴⁶

The woman peacekeeper then said that she was rebuked for this action, going on to say that when:

“I reported [the matter to] my superior, who was a friend of the military officer that was in charge of discipline, as they were male and from the same region. My report was dismissed and I was given a bad review in my next appraisal.”¹⁴⁷

This statement is similar to other narratives by women peacekeepers (IP-14-Congo) and (IP-15-Lebanon) discussed on p. 222, who also both argued that women were often assigned to desk-based positions, rather than assigned to field roles.

The second reason why women peacekeepers may not get the opportunity to be deployed on patrols is because of deteriorating security, constraining UN peacekeepers

from meeting the local population unless protected by an enforcement team. Such conditions were experienced by Filipino women peacekeepers (PP-5-Golan Heights) and (PP-6-Golan Heights). In her interview PP-5 mentions:

“Because of the worsening situation in the Golan Heights, UNDOF peacekeepers on our site could not conduct patrols anymore. In the special events when we do CIMIC peacekeeper interaction with the population was limited, and those peacekeepers that did interact were only medical teams, either doctors or nurses.”¹⁴⁸

Usually the UN mission’s position was regarded as too fragile, and deploying women and even male peacekeepers was considered too risky, putting their lives in danger rather than increasing the area’s security.

The third reason why women peacekeepers are only assigned to gender-related roles is that their qualities (inputs) are not fully appreciated. This negative attitude was faced by a woman peacekeeper (XP-6-Darfur), who opined:

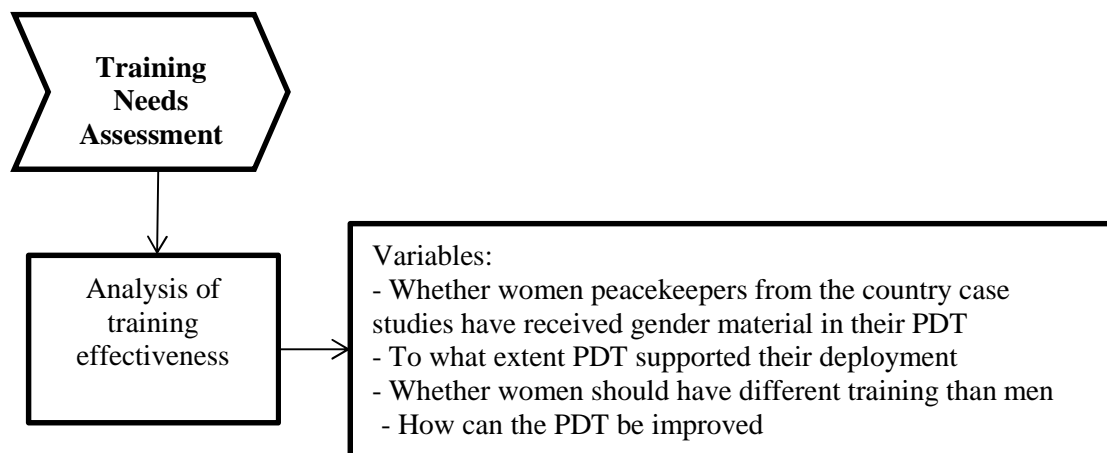
“Perhaps because I was a woman, I was appointed as gender advisor. Working as a gender advisor is more frustrating than working as military observer conducting field patrols. When patrolling, I was a team leader and I went around to villages to check their situation and people’s conditions, including women victims of sexual violence, and then to report the findings to headquarters that will pass on the report to the local government to make necessary improvements. In that role, the frustration was when there was no action from the local government and headquarters, so peacekeepers in the team felt they could not make the environment more secure. However, as the gender advisor I was frustrated because it is difficult to get information on gender issues, including whether women have security, obtained sufficient health support and feel safe living in the village. Yet, not many peacekeepers include this [information] in their reports. The only gender report I could get was only on how many women are in the villages. When I was asking for more data to be included in reports, my colleague, who incidentally is a man, said, “What do you want, to save the world? Do you think you are Ban Ki-Moon?” I was really shocked.”¹⁴⁹

From the narrative, it can be concluded that even though women peacekeepers are deployed, their ability to have impact is still limited if other peacekeepers do not buy into the notion that the gender perspective is important for mission success.

6.9 Training Needs Assessment

Following the evaluation of inputs, activities, outcomes, outputs and the gap, the sixth part of the logic model analysis has regard to training needs assessment. Training needs assessment (TNA) as adapted for this study derives from the scholarly writing of Jean Barbazette, who argues that every training situation is unique and therefore requires a certain analytical approach.¹⁵⁰ Barbazette's seven types of TNA were discussed in Chapter 2 (pp. 61-2). For the present study, the suitable TNA is target population analysis, which focuses on particular groups attending the training, seeking an understanding as to whether the course is fit-for-purpose; that is to say, has meet the pre-defined needs, and whether the course should be customised to improve future training.¹⁵¹ In this study, the target population is women peacekeepers taken from the country case studies. The specific variables investigated are whether women peacekeepers receive gender training in their PDT, and whether the PDT is relevant to activities in deployment, whether women should have separate training from men and generally how PDT can be improved. To illustrate the TNA, the analytical framework for this logic stage is illustrated in Figure 6.9.

Figure 6.9: Logic Training Needs Assessment Model – Training Needs Assessment



Source: Adapted from Paul Gertler, Sebastian Martinez, Patrick Premand, Laura Rawlings and Christel Vermeersch, *Impact Evaluation in Practice*, (Washington DC: World Bank, 2011), pp. 24-6, Donald Kirkpatrick, *Evaluating Training Programs: The Four Levels*, 2nd ed., (San Francisco: Berrett-Koehler, 1996) and Jean Barbazette, *Training Needs Assessments: Methods, Tools and Techniques*, (San Francisco: Pfeiffer-Wiley, 2006).

The first question that was asked is whether the PDT informs women peacekeepers on the gender aspects of peacekeeping missions, including the different security needs of

women and men, girls and boys. The responses to this question are shown in Table 6.6.

Table 6.6: Women Peacekeepers Receiving PDT Gender Training

	Indonesia %	Philippines %	Country A %
Yes	61	100	89
Not clear/forgot	11	0	0
No	28	0	11

Source: Southeast Asia fieldwork, August 2014-November 2015.

The majority of women peacekeepers from Indonesia (61 per cent) and Country A (89 per cent) receive PDT that includes instruction on gender or Women, Peace and Security. While all Filipino women peacekeepers (100 per cent) receive gender instruction in their PDT, but those from Indonesia and Country A did not receive any PDT training on gender, probably because their cohorts were amongst the first in these states' recently launched PCs implementing the relatively-new UN gender-sensitised training materials.¹⁵² These differences in gender training also possibly demonstrate the countries' differing priorities in the training and deployment of women. Indonesian women peacekeepers were mostly deployed in contingents (see Table 6.3, pp. 217) and in office administration roles (see interview narratives p. 222); there were no individual deployments where they could be assigned to patrol and interact with the local population. By contrast, the Philippines and Country A assigned women on individual deployment, increasing the necessity for them to have gender awareness training.

The second question is whether women peacekeepers believe that the PDT received has supplied the relevant knowledge and skills to perform effectively during deployment on UN missions. The responses to this question through field interviews are shown in Table 6.7.

Table 6.7: Effectiveness of PDT for Women Peacekeepers on Deployment

	Indonesia %	Philippines %	Country A %
Not really effective	22	10	22
Partially effective	56	10	78
Very effective	22	80	0

Source: Southeast Asia fieldwork, August 2014-November 2015.

Based on the fieldwork interviews, a majority (81 per cent) of women peacekeepers argue that PDT has supported their development,¹⁵³ but the level of confidence varies between countries. More than half Indonesian women peacekeepers (56 per cent) believe that the training partially aided their effectiveness on UN deployment. This sentiment was also shared by the majority of Country A women peacekeepers (78 per cent). However, surprisingly, the majority of Filipino women peacekeepers (80 per cent) felt that the PDT they received was ‘very much’ adequate for improving their performance whilst deployed on a UN mission. However, there are reasons why their PDT is still less than satisfactory. For the Indonesia case, it was because the Indonesian Peacekeeping Training Centre (IPTC) was only opened in 2012, thus their previous training took place when the facilities were still under construction. One of the most senior Indonesian women peacekeepers (IP-14) recalls:

“At my time I did not get special training. All of us [prospective peacekeepers] received only three days training and then deployed. The training was too short to provide me with an in-depth knowledge”¹⁵⁴

A further reason was because when she received her training, the class was uncomfortable and too crowded, as confirmed by one of her colleagues (IP-16): “*I was trained inside a big tent at the time; there was no class room ... and the training was attended by 1,018 personnel.*”¹⁵⁵ However, women peacekeepers who underwent more recent training at the IPTC report that the PDT ‘very much’ supports their work UN deployment. This is confirmed by an Indonesian woman peacekeeper (IP-12):

“We were given good training, with UN modules and former peacekeepers [focused on explaining] mission conditions and the nature of our assignments. We were trained in class rooms, as well as in field simulation. However, the material was too much, learning from early morning to late evening on some days.”¹⁵⁶

For Country A, the majority of Country A’s women peacekeepers (78 per cent) believe that the PDT was only partially supported their deployment. The reason behind this less satisfactory PDT was the content of training materials; they did not include honing specific skills for women peacekeepers, such as driving on challenging terrains and the provision of sufficient information about the deployment area. One woman peacekeeper (XP-6-Darfur) argued:

“In my time, we were only given the UN basic module, while the information about mission conditions was not updated. We were not even informed about the warring factions engaged in the conflict.”¹⁵⁷

The lack of information regarding mission areas was a significant point of concern, as it affected the women peacekeepers’ state of readiness subsequent to PDT. This lack of strategic awareness endangered the lives of women peacekeepers. However, the lack of information also created a logistical nightmare in less dangerous, but no less urgent ways. For instance, one interviewee (XP-2-Darfur) stated that she was unable to find a store selling sanitary napkins:

“As a military observer, I was assigned to a team site where there was no shop and no toilet. I had to be creative and made my own sanitary napkins and portable toilet that I took with me when I went patrolling”.¹⁵⁸

Women peacekeepers recently deployed (XP-8 and XP-9-India and Pakistan) report that their women seniors had advised them to prepare a supply of sanitary napkins for their ‘monthly guest’ before they depart for the mission area.¹⁵⁹ However, there was no information on whether the PDT materials of Country A had more instruction on such feminine matters at the end of 2015, when researcher concluded her field visits.

For the Philippines, Filipino women peacekeepers were mostly (80 per cent) of the view that the PDT they received was ‘very much’ effective for enhancing their deployment performance. All report that they were satisfied with the training materials and the period of the PDT. Nevertheless, one respondent (PP-3) was concerned about the quality of the trainer, asserting that:

“The problem at my time was not about the training materials (because they were standardised UN materials), but with the instructors. Not all of the instructors stationed/seconded to the PKOC were full time and as they were only ad hoc, their availability was uncertain which [negatively] impacted on the quality of our training.”¹⁶⁰

One Filipino peacekeeping trainer argued that the PKOC had increased the number of trainers in recent times, especially women trainers,¹⁶¹ and hoped that the increase number of in-house trainers would improve the quality of PDT. Filipino women peacekeepers sent on individual deployments also faced similar difficulties in the

mission area as those of Country A, due to the lack of facilities; however, in this case the women trainer at the PKOC advised them to prepare for the harsh conditions of deployment.

The third question that was posed is whether women peacekeepers believe that women should have differentiated training from men. The field responses to this line of inquiry are shown in Table 6.8.

Table 6.8: Differentiated PDT between (Wo)men Peacekeepers

	Indonesia	Philippines	Country A
	%	%	%
Yes, on certain topic it is needed	67	60	56
No need	33	40	44

Source: Southeast Asia fieldwork, August 2014-November 2015.

All women peacekeepers believe that women and men should be able to enrol for all peacekeeper modules, and there should no differentiation of training based on sex, because it would be discriminatory if that occurred. However, when asked further, as to whether women need to have different training, especially when they may be assigned to work with the local population, including the victims of GBV, some of their answers changed, as illustrated in the Table 6.8 above. The majority of women peacekeepers from Indonesia (67 per cent), the Philippines (60 per cent) and Country A (56 per cent), or 62 per cent of all respondents, mentioned that certain training should additionally be made available for women, on top of the UN basic materials. The interviewees indicated that the extra modules should focus on how women should take care of themselves in the areas of deployment, including information ranging from women’s facilities in the field, stress management and how to interview and support the victims of SGBV – issues that may not be easy to discuss when men around. Women peacekeepers (IP-13 and XP-4) suggested that perhaps it would be good to also have men in the PDT to discuss problems they may face in the deployment area, because men have different needs and may face different kind of stress.¹⁶² Other women peacekeepers believe there should not be any differentiation between women and their male counterparts in PDT, especially given that the UN does not differentiate between women and men in the mission.

The final question is whether women peacekeepers from the country case studies believe PDT can be improved. From the fieldwork interviews, all women peacekeepers (100 per cent) would like to receive training that would allow women to prepare for their selection to become peacekeepers. This training should cover selection materials, driving skills, English and in certain countries' selection process (the Philippines and Country A) greater knowledge on the United Nations. However, on how specifically PDT could be improved, the answers vary and sometimes contradict each other. The percentage responses are shown in Table 6.9, below.

Table 6.9: Improvements to Women Peacekeeper's PDT

	Indonesia	Philippines	Country A
	%	%	%
PDT Curriculum	61	89	100
PDT Duration	28	0	0
PDT Class Room	11	11	0

Source: Southeast Asia fieldwork, August 2014-November 2015.

Table 6.9 indicates that the majority of women peacekeepers from Indonesia (61 per cent), the Philippines (89 per cent) and Country A (100 per cent), or over 80 per cent of all women peacekeepers respondents, wish to see improvements in PDT materials. Although the consensus of findings supports improving PDT materials, the narratives are very diverse. Most Indonesian women peacekeepers wish to have more training on cultivating relations with the local population, including SGBV (55 per cent), others would like to have language training that can be used in the deployment area (36 per cent), while the rest (9 per cent) would like to have training material to promote women's leadership skills. Leadership training is a relatively abstract field, and so it is likely to be a challenge to ensure that it has a direct impact on peacekeeping. Yet, the argument proposed by one woman peacekeeper is that:

“Women are not only good in administration, as a personal assistant, a secretary, and health and medics, but are also able to do combat operations, patrols, assume leadership and carry out other responsibilities. If we are not allowed to work on the 'important' roles, we will never be able to be leaders, not in my country and never on peacekeeping missions.”¹⁶³

This shows that despite Indonesian women peacekeepers recognising that they offer

unique skills for UN forces through engagement with the local population, especially local women, some Indonesian women peacekeepers also need to be deployed in leadership positions in order to contribute in more meaningful ways. Moreover, 60 per cent of Indonesian women peacekeepers are concerned about the length of training, preferring to have longer periods of PDT in order to have more breaks and rest time, while 40 per cent of them would like to have shorter period of training because of boredom with the class room course.

Filipino women peacekeepers responses on PDT materials are varied. Of those that want additional PDT training, some 75 per cent of them would like to have more knowledge on mission conditions, and how to manage worsening situations in the field, 12.5 per cent want more CIMIC material, another 12.5 per cent want more emphasis on stress management and the rest, 12.5 per cent, want exposure to team building materials to support the creation of links with other country peacekeepers. Filipino women peacekeepers wish to improve class room conditions by having smaller group of participants in the class room, suggesting that breakout groups should be selected on the basis of rank, because often the junior officers do not speak and the senior ranks dominate the discussion. All interviewee responses from Country A indicate that women peacekeepers want improved PDT materials. One third of Country A's women peacekeepers would like to have PDT materials on the deployment area situation, as this would prepare them to work more efficiently. Another third would like to have driving instruction, especially in harsh conditions as they feel such skills may be of use in impoverished areas where the roads are rudimentary. Also, there are UN missions where the host governments oblige peacekeepers undertaking vehicular patrols to have a local driving license, as in the case of Sudan.¹⁶⁴ The remainder of Country A's women peacekeepers would like to have stress management training, as they feel it would be useful should prior to deployment.

6.10 Summary of Findings

Findings from the data analysis appear to answer the research questions as to whether women make a difference in UN peacekeeping missions, and to what extent has PDT

supported their performance in deployment areas. The empirical case studies of Indonesia, Philippines and Country A have revealed that the majority of women peacekeepers deployed on UN missions perceive that they have made uniquely different contributions compared to their male colleagues, and that PDT has been a major contributory factor in their performance. A summary of findings is provided in Table 6.10, located below.

Table 6.10: Summary of Comparative Country Case Study Findings

	Indonesia	Philippines	Country A
Inputs	Women have <u>less access</u> to becoming peacekeepers compared to men - Barred from combat roles - Need to obtain husband's consent for deployment	Women have <u>equal access</u> to becoming peacekeepers compared to men	Women have <u>less access</u> to becoming peacekeepers compared to men - Barred from combat roles - Barred from entering war college and military academy
Activities	PDT is limited for those already selected to deployment - 3 week long PDT - No fail/pass exam - 1 full-time woman trainer, 1 adjunct - 2% of women participants	PDT is open for those that want to be peacekeepers - 3 month long PDT - Requires exam - 5 full-time women trainers, at least 2 adjunct - 8% women participants	PDT is open for those that want to be peacekeepers - 3 week long PDT - Requires exam - no full time woman trainer, at least 1 adjunct - 10 to 30% women participants
Outputs	Women peacekeepers deployed <u>differently</u> from men, but numbers still relatively low - Not deployed to all UN missions in which the country is involved - 25 average women peacekeepers (2009-14) - 1.4% average percentage of women against total peacekeepers (2009-14) - Deployed in contingent & only police women deployed individually - Highest rank of women deployed - Major (Army) - Highest female leadership - team leader	Women peacekeepers deployed <u>differently</u> from men, yet numbers still relatively low - Not deployed to all UN missions in which the country is involved - 62 personnel average women peacekeepers (2009-14) - 8% average percentage of women against total peacekeepers (2009-14) - Deployed in contingents & individually - Highest rank of women deployed - Captain (Navy) equal to Colonel (Army) - Highest female leadership - contingent commander	Women peacekeepers deployed in the <u>same manner</u> as men, yet the numbers still relatively low - Deployed in all UN missions in which the country is involved - 13 average women peacekeepers (2009-14) - 18% average percentage of women against total peacekeepers (2009-14) - Deployed individually - Highest rank of women deployed - Colonel (Army) - Highest female leadership - team leader
Outcomes	33% women peacekeepers	80% women	67% women peacekeepers

	recognise women contribute differently on UN peacekeeping mission - women fill lower ranks - women assigned to clerical, admin roles - women victims of SGBV spoke more openly to women peacekeepers	peacekeepers recognise women contribute differently on UN peacekeeping mission - women made UN force more approachable - women encourage local population, including local women to participate in CIMIC	recognise women contribute differently on UN peacekeeping mission - women peacekeepers offer wider access to UN force in segregated communities - although women reach wider communities, their access is still constrained by language barriers, mobility barriers
Gap	Very few women peacekeepers deployed, most are assigned to offices (headquarters) to do clerical work because decision-makers are reluctant to send them to dangerous areas. This makes the goal of women peacekeepers improving access and to support local women, arguably, unachievable.	Women are involved in patrols and CIMIC activities, empowering women in the host community and asking women-specific conditions to report to UN mission headquarter and local government. However, there no evidence that women peacekeepers presence reduces conflict and confrontation.	Women are involved in CIMIC activities and most of them did patrolling as since 2012 women are assigned to individual deployment. However, women peacekeepers report that male peacekeepers doubt their capability. They also report difficulties in gathering gender specific data due to low grasp of the importance of gender-segregated data and lack of cooperation.
Training needs assessment	Majority of women peacekeepers find that PDT <u>partially</u> supports their deployment, with 67% wanting additional training different from that of men and improved PDT training materials, duration and class room conditions.	Majority of women peacekeepers found that PDT <u>very much</u> supports their deployment, with 60% wanting additional training, different from that of men and improvements in PDT training materials and class room conditions.	Majority of women peacekeepers found that PDT <u>partially</u> supports their deployment, with 56% wanting additional training that is different from that of men and improvements in PDT training materials.

Source: Southeast Asia fieldwork, August 2014-November 2015.

Table 6.10 indicates that the PDT women receive has increased their effectiveness in deployment, improving performance at work, though in varying degrees. The Philippine women peacekeepers argue that the PDT they receive *very much* supported their work on UN missions, whereas the majority of women peacekeepers from Indonesia and Country A believe that the training only partially supports their work. The differences in findings between the country case studies are likely caused by the different level of opportunities given to women peacekeepers. Arguably, because the Philippines provides equal opportunities for women to become peacekeepers to gain education and to

compete for all roles, including leadership positions, provided women with a sense of empowerment to choose the PDT and its skill-specific courses (Specialised Training Materials) for particular desired deployment roles. Meanwhile, Indonesian and Country A women peacekeepers were only able to enrol for limited education opportunities and roles, lessening the opportunity to select the training or deployment roles suitable to their own perceived abilities and interests. Aside from these factors, the three country case study findings point to differing views on training facilities and quality of trainers, resulting in varying degrees on the usefulness of PDT for women peacekeepers. However, given some variation, the overall judgment is that PDT is not a nugatory activity but rather a benefit to supporting women peacekeepers to perform more effectively on deployment.

Reference and Notes

¹ UN DPKO, 'Ranking of Military and Police Contributions to UN Operations', 31 Dec 2014.

² IISS, *The Military Balance 2015*, (2015) p. 486

³ Average percentage of the region calculated by author using World Bank Metadata on Population year 2013, <http://data.worldbank.org/about/data-programs> accessed December 2015.

⁴ *Ibid.*, on Labour Force female percent of total labour force.

⁵ World Bank Metadata on Female Legislators, Senior Officials and Managers for period year 2001-2013, <http://data.worldbank.org/about/data-programs> accessed December 2015.

⁶ Sahana Dharmapuri, 'Not Just a Numbers Game: Increasing Women's Participation in UN Peacekeeping', *Providing for Peacekeeping*, No. 4, (New York: International Peace Institute, July 2013), p. 3 and 'Secretary-General Ban Ki-moon Lecture at the Indonesia Peace and Security Centre', *Secretary General Ban Ki-moon Statement*, 20 March 2012, <http://www.un.org/sg/STATEMENTS/index.asp?nid=5929> accessed December 2015.

⁷ Jean Bethke Elshtain, *Women and War*, (New York: Basic Books, 1987), pp. 4-5, 140-42.

⁸ UN DPKO, 'Ranking of Military and Police Contributions to UN Operations', 31 Dec 2014.

⁹ *Ibid.*

¹⁰ *Ibid.*

¹¹ According to the World Bank Statistics, in 2014 Indonesia's population is 49.6 per cent women, Philippines is 49.5 per cent women and Country A is 50.7 per cent women. World Bank, 'Population, female (% of total)', <http://data.worldbank.org/indicator/SP.POP.TOTL.FE.ZS> accessed December 2015.

¹² Robyn Ryle, *Questioning Gender: A Sociological Exploitation*, (California: Sage, 2012), P. 503.

¹³ Fatima Kassem, *Party Politics, Religion and Women's Leadership: Lebanon in Comparative Perspective*, (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2013), pp.6-7.

¹⁴ Jess Massola and Ben Packham, 'Julia Gillard Backs a Woman's Right to Fight on the Frontline Military Combat', *The Australian*, 12 April 2011.

¹⁵ Number of women in world parliaments, December 2015, Inter-Pliamentary Union Archive, <http://www.ipu.org/wmn-e/arc/classif011214.htm> accessed December 2015.

¹⁶ Jacqueline Pomeroy, 'Strengthening Women's Access to Employment in North Sumatra and East Java', *International Labour Organisation Report*, October 2012, pp. 2, 4.

¹⁷ Indonesia Labour Law No. 13/2003 Article 93 (4) only provide two days paternity leave when wives deliver the baby.

-
- ¹⁸ Chief of Army Decision Letter, *Surat Keputusan Pangad* No.1056/12/1960; Chief of Navy Decision Letter, *Surat Keputusan Pangal* No. Men/Pangal No:5401.24, dated 26 Juni 1962; Chief of Air Force Decision Letter, *Skep Menpangau* No. 794/T-MKS/I/63.
- ¹⁹ 'TNI AU Masih Kekurangan Prajurit Wanita', *Berita Satu*, 26 August 2013; 'KSAL Baru Janji Tingkatkan Jumlah Prajurit Wanita', *Tempo*, 13 January 2015 and 'Eni "Srikandi" Jenderal Bintang Satu di Antara 25 Pati TNI Pria', *Lensa Indonesia*, 15 May 2015.
- ²⁰ 'Secretary-General Ban Ki-moon Lecture at the Indonesia Peace and Security Centre', *Secretary General Ban Ki-moon Statement*, 20 March 2012, <http://www.un.org/sg/STATEMENTS/index.asp?nid=5929> accessed December 2015.
- ²¹ 'Di Balik Monumen dan Usia ke-67 Polwan', *Padang Ekspres*, 1 September 2015 and 'Basaria Panjaitan, Wanita Batak ini jadi Polwan Pertama Berpangkat Bintang Dua di Polri', *Liputan 6*, 22 October 2015.
- ²² 'Brigjen Pol Rumiah Kartoredjo Kapolda Wanita Pertama di Tubuh Polri', *National Traffice Management Centre Polri General News*, 23 November 2015.
- ²³ 'Tunjangan Kosmetik Wanita TNI Perlu Ditingkatkan', *Antara News*, 26 April 2010 and Erma Yulihastin, *Bekerja Sebagai Polisi*, (Jakarta: Erlangga, 2008), p. 88.
- ²⁴ Josephine McDermott, 'Why does Indonesia demand that female military recruits are virgins?', *BBC News*, 19 May 2015.
- ²⁵ Interview with decision-maker of Indonesia Peacekeeping Centre, Respondent code ID-4, 10 December 2014 and an decision-maker of Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Respondent code ID-5, 3 October 2014 in Jakarta.
- ²⁶ *Ibid.*
- ²⁷ Interview with decision-maker, Respondent code ID-4, 10 December 2014; a former Indonesian peacekeeper, Respondent code IP-1, 11 August 2014; a former Indonesian peacekeeper, Respondent code IP-4, 15 August 2014; a former Indonesian peacekeeper, Respondent code IP-14, 2 September 2014 and an Indonesian peacekeeping trainer, Respondent code IT-5, 2 February 2015 in Jakarta.
- ²⁸ *Magna Carta* is a Latin word for great charter that was originally used for a charter of liberties agreed by King John of England in 1215. The more recent usage of the word is for a document constituting a fundamental guarantee of rights and privileges. See, Merriam Webster, *Collegiate Encyclopedia*, (USA: Merriam-Webster Inc., 2000), p. 993.
- ²⁹ Civil Service Commission, Republic of the Philippines, *Magna Carta of Women (R.A. 9710)*, <http://web.csc.gov.ph/cscsite2/2014-02-21-08-16-56/2014-02-21-08-19-19/magna-carta-of-women-r-a-9710> accessed December 2015, italics added by author.
- ³⁰ Interview with Philippines female peacekeeper, Respondent code PP-2, 2 September 2015 in Quezon City.
- ³¹ Interview with Philippines female peacekeeper, Respondent code PP-3, 5 September 2015 in Quezon City.
- ³² Number of women in world parliaments, December 2015, *Op. Cit.*
- ³³ 'Women gain as gender gap narrows', *BBC News*, 24 October 2013 and World Economic Forum, *The Global Gender Gap Report, 2013*, (Geneva: WEF, 2013), pp.8-9.
- ³⁴ World Economic Forum, *Ibid.*, pp. 21-22. Data from Inter-Parliamentary Union in 2014 shows that there were 79 women out of 368 parliamentarians in the upper house and 6 women out of 30 in the lower house, making women accounted for more than a quarter of the voice in decisionmaking process. Situation as per 1 December 2014, 'Women in National Parliaments', Inter-Parliamentary Union data, <http://www.ipu.org/wmn-e/classif.htm> accessed February 2014. It is important to acknowledged that not all women have the same political alignment in supporting women empowerment, however, their experience as women citizen counts. Even though the number of working men is still higher than working women, in the Philippines, female unemployment is lower than those of male. 'Statistics on Filipino Women and Men's Labor and Employment', Philippine Commission on Women Data, 13 May 2014.
- ³⁵ Elena Samonte-Hinckley, 'Domestic Violence against Women and Children in the Philippines', in Florence Denmark and Leonore Loeb Adler (Eds.), *International Perspectives on Violence*, (London: Preager, 2004), p. 214 and Valerie Francisco, 'Multidirectional Care in Filipino Transnational Families', in Guida Man and Rina Cohen (Eds.), *Engendering Transnational Voices: Studies in Family, Work, and Identity*, (Ontario: Wilfrid Laurier University Press, 2015), pp. 99-116.
- ³⁶ The Philippines Republic Act 3835 to Establish Women Auxiliary Corps in the Armed Forces of the Philippines, <http://www.pcw.gov.ph/law/republic-act-3835> accessed December 2015.

-
- ³⁷ Alyosha Robillos, 'Women on Top: Keeping Country Safe and Secure', *CNN Philippines*, 2 July 2015.
- ³⁸ 'Iriberri Declares Military 'Gender-Free' Institution', *The Philippines Inquirer*, 23 August 2015.
- ³⁹ 'The Female Cadets', *Philippines Military Academy*, <http://www.pma.ph/?pageid=FemaleCadet> accessed December 2015 and 'Iriberri Declares Military 'Gender-Free' Institution', *Op. Cit.*
- ⁴⁰ Jasmin Nario-Galace and Frances Marie Piscano, *Security Council Resolution 1325: Civil Society Monitoring Report*, (Manila: Global Network of Women Peacebuilders, 2010), p. 210
- ⁴¹ Aida Santos, 'Do Women Really Hold Up the Sky? Notes on Women's Movement in the Philippines', in Carolyn I. Sobritchea (Ed.), *Gender, Culture & Society: Selected Readings in Women's Studies in the Philippines*, (Seoul: Ewha Women University Press, 2004), p. 33.
- ⁴² Office of the Presidential Adviser on the Peace Process, 'The Philippine National Action Plan on Women, Peace & Security', 1 September 2011, <http://www.opapp.gov.ph/features/philippine-national-action-plan-women-peace-security> accessed December 2015.
- ⁴³ Steven Leibo, *East and Southeast Asia: The World Today Series 2015-2016, 48th Ed.*, (Baltimore: Rowman and Littlefield, 2015), pp. 268-69.
- ⁴⁴ Number of women in world parliaments, December 2014, *Op. Cit.* and 'Women in Politics: 2015', IPU-UN Women, January 2015.
- ⁴⁵ Economic and Social Commission for Asia and the Pacific, *Youth in Country A: A Review of the Youth Situation and National Policies and Programmes*, (New York: UN, 2000), p. 49.
- ⁴⁶ Steven Leibo, *Op. Cit.*, p. 268.
- ⁴⁷ Suthathip Sararith, *Glass Ceiling in Country A's Ministry of Defense: How Country A female Soldiers Overcome Gender Barriers in Male Dominant Workplace*, (Country A Capital: Conflict Management Club, 2012), Chapter 4.
- ⁴⁸ Supin Kachacupt, 'Women in the Bureaucracy', in Kazuki Iwanaga (Ed.), *Women and Politics in Country A: Continuity and Change*, (Copenhagen: NIAS Press, 2008), pp. 220-21 and Thomas Bell, 'Country A to Recruit First Women Police Officers', *Telegraph*, 23 January 2009.
- ⁴⁹ Country A National Bureau of 2557-2566, *Human Resource Strategy of Country A Police 2014-2023*, (Country A Capital: 2014), p. 3 and Country A Data Centre to Promote Gender Equality, *Women Status Report 2550*, (Country A Capital: 2007).
- ⁵⁰ Simon Montlake, 'Country A Enlists Women to Battle Insurgency', *Christian Science Monitor*, 4 April 2007.
- ⁵¹ Interview with Country A former female peacekeeper, Respondent code XP-5, 2 November 2015 in Country A.
- ⁵² Interviews with Philippines military decision-makers, Respondents code PD-1 and PD-2, 31 August and 1 September 2015 at Camp Aguinaldo.
- ⁵³ Interview with Head of the Philippines peacekeeping training school, 31 August 2015 at Camp Aguinaldo.
- ⁵⁴ Interview with Indonesian military decision maker that was former contingent commander, Respondent code ID-4, 10 December 2014.
- ⁵⁵ *Ibid.*
- ⁵⁶ William A. Callahan, *Cultural Governance and Resistance in Pacific Asia*, (Oxon: Routledge, 2006), pp. 43-4.
- ⁵⁷ Interview with Country A Commander, Respondent code XP-4, 6 November 2015.
- ⁵⁸ Martha Nussbaum, *Sex and Social Justice*, (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000).
- ⁵⁹ Nina M. Serafino, 'The Global Peace Operations Initiative: Background and Issues for Congress', *Congressional Research Service*, RL32773, 11 June 2009, p. 8.
- ⁶⁰ Doreen Carvajal, A Female Approach to Peacekeeping, *The New York Times*, 5 March 2010 and Harry Ford, 'Evaluating the Operational Effectiveness of West African Female Police Officers' Participation in Peace Support Operations: The Case of Ghana and Nigeria', *Kofi Anan International Peacekeeping Training Centre Occasional Paper*, No. 23, September 2008, pp. 19-20, 33.
- ⁶¹ Leonard Sebastian, 'Indonesian Peacekeepers in Lebanon', *RSIS Commentary*, 13 September 2006.
- ⁶² Interview with Indonesia former female peacekeepers, Respondents code IP-2 and IP-14, 12 August 2014 and 2 September 2014 in Jakarta.
- ⁶³ For calculation of the total time allocation for UN Standardised Generic Training Modules Materials, see Annex 3.
- ⁶⁴ Interview with one Indonesian former female peacekeeper, Respondent code IP-14, 2 September 2014 in Jakarta.

-
- ⁶⁵ Interview with Indonesia peacekeeping trainer, Respondent code IT-2, 2 February 2015 in Sentul, West Java.
- ⁶⁶ In the years mentioned, the measurement is taken on every last day of December. Source *UN Peacekeeping Contributor Archive*, available year from 2001 to 2014, http://www.un.org/en/peacekeeping/resources/statistics/contributors_archive.shtml accessed December 2015.
- ⁶⁷ For calculation of the total time allocation for UN Core Pre-Deployment Training Materials, see Annex 4.
- ⁶⁸ Indonesia Aims to be Among the Top Ten Peacekeeping Contributors', *Jakarta Post*, 30 April 2014.
- ⁶⁹ Interview with Indonesia peacekeeping contingent trainer, Respondent code IT-2, 1 November 2014 at Indonesia Peacekeeping Training Centre.
- ⁷⁰ Interview with Indonesia peacekeeping contingent trainer, Respondent code IT-7, 20 August 2014 in Jakarta.
- ⁷¹ All interviews are done in Indonesia between August 2014 to February 2015.
- ⁷² Interview with one Indonesian former female peacekeeper, Respondent code IP-1, 11 August 2014 in Jakarta.
- ⁷³ Interview with Indonesian decision-maker Respondent code ID-1, on 3 February 2015 in Sentul, West Java.
- ⁷⁴ Interview with Indonesian decision-maker Respondent code ID-4, on 10 December 2014 in Sentul, West Java.
- ⁷⁵ Indonesia implements a requirement that married women need to seek their husband permission before deployment. See, I Gede Sumertha KY, 'Peacekeeping and Women's Role in Peace and Security', *Jakarta Post*, 12 July 2011.
- ⁷⁶ 'International Conference English for Uniformed Forces', *British Institute Press Conference*, 26 June 2013.
- ⁷⁷ Interview with Indonesian trainer, Respondent code IT-5, 2 February 2015 at the IPTC.
- ⁷⁸ Interview with Indonesian trainer, Respondent code IT-1, 11 August 2014 at the IPTC.
- ⁷⁹ Interview with Indonesian trainers, Respondent code IT-3 on 11 November 2014, Respondent code IT-5 on 2 February 2015, Respondent code IT-6 on 3 February 2015 and Respondent code IT-7 on 20 August 2014.
- ⁸⁰ Interview with Philippines' former female peacekeeper, Respondent code PP-4, 2 September 2015 in Makati and House of Representatives Quezon City, Republic of the Philippines, 'Thirteenth Congress - Third Regular Session', *House Resolution*, No. 1313, filed on 31 July 2006.
- ⁸¹ Noel Morada, 'Peacekeeping Contributor Profile: The Philippines', *Providing for Peacekeeping*, December 2013.
- ⁸² In the years mentioned, the measurement is taken on every last day of December. Source *UN Peacekeeping Contributor Archive*, available year from 2001 to 2014,
- ⁸³ *Ibid.*
- ⁸⁴ 'Philippines President Aquino Criticises UN for Mission 'Impossible'', *The Straits Times*, 1 October 2014.
- ⁸⁵ Interview with Philippines peacekeeping trainer, Respondents code PT-2, 8 September 2015 in Camp Aguinaldo, Quezon City.
- ⁸⁶ Interview with Philippines female peacekeepers, Respondent code PP-6, PP-7, PP-8, PP-9 and PP-10, 31 August 2015 in Tarlac.
- ⁸⁷ Interview with Philippines female peacekeeper, Respondent code PP-3, 5 September 2015 in Quezon City.
- ⁸⁸ Interview with Philippines peacekeeping trainers, Respondents code PT-1, PT-3, PT-4, PT-5, PT-6 and PT-7 on 31 August 2015 and 7 September 2015 in Quezon City and Tarlac.
- ⁸⁹ Office of the Presidential Adviser on the Peace Process, 'The Philippine National Action Plan on Women, Peace & Security', *Op. Cit.*
- ⁹⁰ Interview with Philippines peacekeeping trainer, Respondent code PT-1, 7 September 2015 in Quezon City.
- ⁹¹ Interview with Philippines peacekeeping trainers, Respondents code PT-1, PT-2, PT-3, PT-4, PT-5, PT-6 and PT-7 on 31 August 2015 and 7 September 2015 in Quezon City and Tarlac.

⁹² WE Act 1325, 'Engaging the Security Sector: Training Philippine Peacekeepers', *WE Act 1325 News*, 20 July 2013, <http://weact1325.org/2013/07/20/engaging-the-security-sector-training-philippine-peacekeepers/> accessed December 2015.

⁹³ Interview with Philippines peacekeeping trainer, Respondent code PT-1, 7 September 2015 in Quezon City.

⁹⁴ 'Training Peacekeepers in the Philippines', *Norway Embassy in the Philippines News*, 6 November 2013, <http://www.norway.ph/news/Events/Training-Peacekeepers-in-the-Philippines/#.Vo4PBJN96Rv> accessed December 2015.

⁹⁵ In the years mentioned, the measurement is taken on every last day of July. Source UN Peacekeeping Contributor Archive, http://www.un.org/en/peacekeeping/resources/statistics/contributors_archive.shtml accessed December 2015.

⁹⁶ *Ibid.*

⁹⁷ Joseph A. Christoff, *Peacekeeping: Thousands Trained But United States Is Unlikely to Complete All Activities by 2010 and Some Improvements are Needed*, (Washington DC: U.S. Government Accountability Office, June 2008), p. 31.

⁹⁸ 'Voluntary Briefing on Country A's Experience in United Nation Peacekeeping Operation', *ASEAN Regional Briefing Paper*, 12th ASEAN Regional Forum, Vientiane, LAO PDR, July 2005 and Country A's Permanent Mission to UN, *Press Statement*, 9 May 2015.

⁹⁹ 'Voluntary Briefing on Country A's Experience in United Nation Peacekeeping Operation', *Op. Cit.*

¹⁰⁰ Interview with all Country A former female peacekeepers and peacekeeping trainers confirmed this. Interview is conducted between October-November 2015 in the capital of Country A.

¹⁰¹ Interview with Country A former female peacekeepers, Respondent code XP-1, XP-2, XP-3, XP-4, XP-5, XP-6, XP-7, XP -8 and XP-9, October-November 2015, in the capital of Country A. Interview with Country A peacekeeping trainer, Respondent code XT-1, 6 November 2015 in Country A Capital.

¹⁰² Peace Operations Training Institute Website, <http://www.peaceopstraining.org/> and <http://www.peaceopstraining.org/programs/ntcelp/asia/rtarf-poc/> accessed December 2015.

¹⁰³ Interview with all Country A former female peacekeepers and peacekeeping trainers confirmed this. Interview is conducted between October-November 2015 in the capital of Country A.

¹⁰⁴ Interview with Country A former female peacekeeper, Respondent code XP-7, 6 November 2015 in Country A Capital.

¹⁰⁵ Interview with Country A peacekeeping trainer, Respondent code XT-1, 6 November 2015 in Country A Capital.

¹⁰⁶ Interview with all Country A former female peacekeepers and peacekeeping trainers confirmed this. Interview is conducted between October-November 2015 in the capital of Country A.

¹⁰⁷ Interview with Country A UN peacekeeping trainer, Respondent code XT-1, 6 November 2015 in Country A Capital.

¹⁰⁸ Interview with Country A peacekeeping trainer, Respondent code GPT-1, 15 November 2015 in Singapore.

¹⁰⁹ Interview with Country A former female peacekeepers, Respondent code XP-1, XP-2, XP-3, XP-4, XP-5, XP-6, XP-7, XP -8 and XP-9, October-November 2015, in the capital of Country A.

¹¹⁰ Interview with Country A former female peacekeeper, Respondent code XP-1, 11 November 2015 in the capital of Country A.

¹¹¹ Southeast Asia fieldwork, August 2014-November 2015

¹¹² Sticky floor is a barrier that limits women obtaining education and experience needed to excel in her work. Glass ceiling is a barrier that stops women reaching top-level, decision-making positions. Trap door is a type of jobs that trap women in low-graded and low-paying positions. See, Bonnie G. Mani, *Women, Men, and Human Capital Development in the Public Sector: Return on Investment*, (Lanham: Lexington Books Rowman and Littlefield Publishers, 2009), p. 19.

¹¹³ Interview with Philippines' UN peacekeeping trainer, Respondent code PT-1, 7 September 2015 in Quezon City and with Country A peacekeeping trainer, Respondent code GPT-1, 15 November 2015 in Singapore.

¹¹⁴ When researcher presented her finding on India UN peacekeeping forces at the Government Executive Course on Women, Peace and Security, a Philippines military lieutenant which name does not want to be mentioned stated that his country does not have the resources to conduct women-only training. He said it is also counterintuitive with his country's Magna Carta of Women's efforts to eliminate discrimination against women, because training women separately can be seen as discriminating them.

-
- ¹¹⁵ Interview with Programme Officer of Women, Peace and Security Unit of UN Women, 16 April 2015 in New Delhi.
- ¹¹⁶ Per 2014, Indonesia population was 254 million, Philippines population was 99 million and Country A population was 68 million. World Bank, Total Population 2014.
- ¹¹⁷ UN Peacekeeping Contributor Archive, http://www.un.org/en/peacekeeping/resources/statistics/contributors_archive.shtml accessed December 2015.
- ¹¹⁸ *Ibid.*
- ¹¹⁹ *Ibid.*
- ¹²⁰ Louise Olsson, Anita Schjølset and Frida Möller, 'Women's Participation in International Operations and Missions', in Louise Olsson and Theodora-Ismene Gizelis (eds.), *Gender, Peace and Security: Implementing UN Security Council Resolution 1325*, (London: Routledge, 2015). Although the variability depends greatly on the proportion of women in the armed forces, as well as the areas of deployment.
- ¹²¹ UN Peacekeeping Contributor Archive, *Op. Cit.*
- ¹²² Military Adviser and Minister of Country A Permanent Mission to the United Nations, *Statement before the Fourth Committee of the 68th Session of the United Nations General Assembly*, New York, 28 October 2013.
- ¹²³ *UN Mission's Summary Detailed by Country*, November 2009-December 2014 in *UN Peacekeeping Contributor Archive, Op. Cit.*
- ¹²⁴ Interviews with Indonesian military decision maker that was former contingent commander, Respondent code ID-4, 10 December 2014 and with Philippines military decision-makers, Respondents code PD-1 and PD-2, 31 August and 1 September 2015 at Camp Aguinaldo.
- ¹²⁵ *UN Peacekeeping Fatalities by Nationality and Mission*, http://www.un.org/en/peacekeeping/fatalities/documents/stats_2.pdf accessed December 2015.
- ¹²⁶ Interview with Philippines military decision-maker, Respondents code PD-1, 31 August 2015 at Camp Aguinaldo.
- ¹²⁷ Mady Wechsler Segal, 'Women's Military Roles Cross-Nationally: Past, Present, and Future', *Gender and Society*, Vol. 9, No. 6, p. 767-68.
- ¹²⁸ Interviews with Indonesian military decision maker that was in charge of the Peacekeeping Planning and Operation Directorate, Respondent code ID-2, 11 August 2014 at IPTC.
- ¹²⁹ Interview with Philippines military decision-maker, Respondents code PD-2, 1 September 2015 at Camp Aguinaldo.
- ¹³⁰ Interviews with Philippines women peacekeepers, Respondents code PP-1, PP-2, PP-3, PP-4, PP-5, PP-6, PP-7, PP-8, PP-9 and PT-10 between August and September 2015 in Quezon City and Tarlac.
- ¹³¹ Interview with Country A former female peacekeepers, Respondent code XP-1, XP-2, XP-3, XP-4, XP-5, XP-6, XP-7, XP-8 and XP-9, October-November 2015, in the capital of Country A.
- ¹³² Interviews with Indonesian decision makers both military and civilian, Respondent code ID-4 and ID-5, 10 December 2014 at IPTC and 3 October 2014 at Ministry of Foreign Affairs.
- ¹³³ Interview with Captain Luzviminda Camacho, 1 September 2015 in Manila.
- ¹³⁴ Cynthia Enloe, *Bananas, Beaches, and Bases: Making Feminist Sense of International Relations*, (London: Pandora Press, 1989); Cynthia Enloe, *The Morning After: Sexual Politics at the End of the Cold War*, (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1993) and Ann Tickner, *Gender in International Relations: Feminist Perspectives on Achieving Global Security*, (New York: Columbia University Press, 1992).
- ¹³⁵ Interview with Indonesian woman peacekeeper, Respondent code IP-1, 11 August 2014 at IPTC.
- ¹³⁶ Interviews with Indonesian women peacekeepers, Respondents code IP-14 and IP-15, 1-2 September 2014 at IPTC.
- ¹³⁷ Interview with Philippines woman peacekeeper, Respondent code PP-3, 11 August 2014 in Manila.
- ¹³⁸ Interview with Country A woman peacekeeper, Respondent code XP-6, 31 October 2015 in Country A capital.
- ¹³⁹ Southeast Asia fieldwork, August 2014-November 2015.
- ¹⁴⁰ Interview with Indonesian woman peacekeeper, Respondent code IP-14, 2 September 2014 at IPTC.
- ¹⁴¹ Interview with Country A woman peacekeeper, Respondent code XP-9, 1 November 2015 in Country A capital.
- ¹⁴² Interview with Country A former female peacekeeper, Respondent code XP-1, 11 November 2015 in the capital of Country A.

-
- ¹⁴³ Interview with Country A woman peacekeeper, Respondent code XP-8, 1 November 2015 in Country A capital.
- ¹⁴⁴ Interview with Philippines woman peacekeeper, Respondent code PP-3, 5 September 2015 in Quezon City.
- ¹⁴⁵ Martha Nussbaum, *Sex and Social Justice*, (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000).
- ¹⁴⁶ Interview with Country A woman peacekeeper, Respondent code XP-8, 1 November 2015 in Country A capital.
- ¹⁴⁷ *Ibid.*
- ¹⁴⁸ Interview with Philippines woman peacekeeper, Respondent code PP-5, 31 August 2015 in Tarlac.
- ¹⁴⁹ Interview with Country A woman peacekeeper, Respondent code XP-6, 31 October 2015 in Country A capital.
- ¹⁵⁰ Jean Barbazette, *Training Needs Assessments: Methods, Tools and Techniques*, (San Francisco: Pfeiffer-Wiley, 2006)
- ¹⁵¹ *Ibid.*, p. 92-4.
- ¹⁵² Interviews with Indonesian and Country A women peacekeepers, Respondents code IP-4, IP-7, IP-11, IP-14, IP-16 and XP-5, interview between August 2014 to November 2015 in Indonesia and Country.
- ¹⁵³ Southeast Asia fieldwork, August 2014-November 2015.
- ¹⁵⁴ Interview with Indonesian woman peacekeeper, Respondent code IP-14, 2 September 2014 at IPTC.
- ¹⁵⁵ Interview with Indonesian woman peacekeeper, Respondent code IP-16, 1 September 2014 at IPTC.
- ¹⁵⁶ Interview with Indonesian woman peacekeeper, Respondent code IP-12, 19 December 2014 at IPTC.
- ¹⁵⁷ Interview with Country A woman peacekeeper, Respondent code XP-6, 31 October 2015 in Country A capital.
- ¹⁵⁸ Interview with Country A woman peacekeeper, Respondent code XP-2, 4 November 2015 in Country A capital.
- ¹⁵⁹ Interviews with Country A women peacekeepers, Respondents code XP-8 and X-9, 1 November 2015 in Country A capital.
- ¹⁶⁰ Interview with Philippines woman peacekeeper, Respondent code PP-3, 5 September 2015 in Quezon City.
- ¹⁶¹ Interview with Philippines peacekeeping trainer, Respondent code PT-1, 7 September 2015 in Quezon City.
- ¹⁶² Interviews with Indonesian and Country A women peacekeepers, Respondents code IP-13 and XP-4, 21 August 2014 and 6 November 2015 in Jakarta and Country A capital.
- ¹⁶³ Interview with Indonesian woman peacekeeper, Respondent code IP-12, 19 December 2014 at IPTC.
- ¹⁶⁴ Interview with Country women peacekeepers, Respondent code XP-1, XP-2, XP-3, XP-4, XP-5, XP-6 and XP-7, October-November 2015, in the capital of Country A.

Chapter 7

Conclusions and Policy Recommendations

7.1 Introduction

This final chapter contains an overview of the entire thesis, offering study conclusions and policy recommendations from the selected country case study research findings; the latter providing valuable lessons learned for other developing countries aspiring to improve the quality of their pre-deployment training, and thus the impact of women peacekeeper contributions to UN peace missions. This chapter seeks to explore the last enabling objectives (p. 16), that is, VII, to draw conclusions and suggest policy recommendations to improve PDT for women peacekeepers prior to deployment on UN missions. The outline of this chapter begins with a summary of the attributes from the previous chapters, highlighting in particular the study aim, the associated enabling objectives, and the approach adopted in addressing them. Subsequently, the chapter provides conclusions drawn from the empirical research findings on PDT activities in the three country case studies, employing the logic model and training needs assessment analysis framework. Thereafter, policy recommendations are offered to improve the PDT for women peacekeepers, which, it is anticipated, will increase the willingness of contributing countries to deploy more women peacekeepers as they would be better equipped and more effective in their work. The closing part of this chapter reflects on the study, and suggests potential topics for further research.

7.2 Summary

The term peacekeeping refers to international efforts to assist parties in conflict, moving them on towards sustainable peace by maintaining a military buffer zone, allowing political negotiation to occur. The UN is not the only international organisation that conducts peacekeeping, but in the contemporary climate, it is arguably the most sustainable and globally supported global institutional mechanism in this field of endeavour (pp. 104-107). The UN was created after World War II, with the goal of maintaining world peace by being a protector of the interests and integrity of the less

powerful nations, much of which is manifested through peacekeeping missions. UN peacekeeping missions were undertaken through a 'coalition of the willing', whereby member states, if they so wish ...“participate in the decisions of the Security Council concerning the employment of contingents of that member's armed forces” (Article 43 of the UN Charter). Therefore, the UN peacekeeping missions are dependent on member states' contributions of troops, making it difficult for the UN to maintain full control over multi-country peacekeeper conduct. Since the 1990s there have been numerous allegations directed against UN peacekeepers in respect of sexual exploitation and abuse (SEA). The UN has responded by creating a discipline unit, overhauling its justice system and improving training. Additionally, because the contributing country troops mostly comprise men, a UN Report also suggests that the presence of women peacekeepers would act to discourage SEA, particularly where it is directed against the local population (*Zeid Report*, UN Document, A/59/710). The call to increase the number of women peacekeepers would likely encourage them to more meaningfully contribute to creating peace. Although increasing the proportion of women peacekeepers is a worthy start to an equality gender reform process, including solving the problem of SEA, efforts to make their assistance to local women in segregated populations more impactful will likely be still-born in the absence of the necessary skills and knowledge acquired through appropriate PDT.

7.2.1 Recap: Study Aim and Enabling Objectives

The core question this research seeks to address is whether PDT enables women military peacekeepers to make a difference in UN peacekeeping operations. As set out in the first chapter, this study aims to examine the role and impact of women uniformed peacekeeper involvement in UN peacekeeping operations, as well as examining the appropriateness of the existing PDT in supporting their performance in the field. The enabling objectives driving the research are seven fold, namely to: (1) evaluate UN peacekeeping mission policy and practice and the nature of women's participation in operations; (2) examine the concept of women making a difference to effective peacekeeping; (3) trace UN major policies endorsing women's involvement in peacekeeping missions during the period, 1957 to 2014; (4) analyse PDT for UN Peacekeeping troops; (5) explore PDT in the three country case studies of Southeast

Asia, namely Indonesia, Philippines and Country A; (6) assess the effectiveness of PDT in enabling women peacekeepers to perform in assigned UN missions; and finally (7) draw conclusions and suggest policy recommendations to improve PDT for women peacekeepers prior to deployment on UN missions. Enabling objectives (1) and (2) are addressed in Chapter 4 on the purpose, process and progress of UN peacekeeping missions; enabling objectives (3) and (4) are addressed in Chapter 5 on UN Peacekeeping gender-sensitive training; the enabling objectives (5) and (6) are addressed in Chapter 6 through the training needs analysis analytical framework; and enabling objective (7) is addressed in this chapter.

7.2.2 Literature Lacuna

The literature review was undertaken prior to conducting empirical research. Reading into the broad literature base confirmed the researcher's *a priori* view that any assessment on the adequacy of PDT in support of women UN peacekeepers enhancing mission effectiveness falls squarely into the disciplinary field of international relations, and specifically the domain of security studies and feminism. Although security studies and feminism revolve around power, they provide different perspectives on the definition of power, how power manifests itself, the ownership of power, the sources of that power, as well as the effects of having/not having power. Security studies traditionally focuses on state-ownership of power; however, the Copenhagen School in the 1990s brought about a new way of looking at security (pp. 27-28), arguing that sub- and supra-national actors are also agents and referents of security. The Copenhagen School's perspectives fit well with this study's examination of the UN, as the latter is a supra-national organisation, seeking to create security in conflict and post-conflict areas, with the support of member state military forces.

The feminist perspective, on the other hand, focuses on the unequal power relations between men and women; therefore, when it comes to security, the two have different definitions and needs (p. 28-29). For the present study, the feminist perspective is a useful tool to highlight there exist different needs of local women in conflict and post-conflict situations. The UN peacekeeping authorities need to be aware of these differences, as well as the differing needs of women peacekeepers, compared to their

male colleagues, in its efforts to provide security. As there are various streams of feminism, the present study closely conforms to the 'feminist internationalism' school of thought, driven by the notion that there are international principles and standards to improve women's powerlessness and disadvantaged position in society (pp. 39-41). The feminist internationalism arguments represent the bases for postulating the hypotheses for this study (p. 16), covering the views of, for instance, Jean Elshtain, who challenges the dualistic model of men as warriors and women as victims needing protection; Ann Tickner, who questions where are the women, what do they do and what do they represent; and Martha Nussbaum promoting the view that women must seek to overcome an artificially enforced social hierarchy. The first hypothesis assumes that women peacekeepers do make a difference in assisting a conflict's female survivors, especially in the context of sexual- and gender-based violence (SGBV), and the second assumes that the PDT, influenced by UN policy requirements, supports the effectiveness of women peacekeepers.

The literature critique focuses on the broad array of UN peacekeeping activities. From the general (non-gender) literature, UN peacekeeping was explored in terms of its legitimacy, relevance, funding adequacy and operational effectiveness. Relatively few studies examine the role of gender in peacekeeping hence the originality of this doctoral study, but those that have, concentrate on sexual exploitation perpetrated by UN peacekeepers – including the writing of Sandra Whitworth and Sarah Mendelson (p. 48). The experience of women in UN missions is not covered in the literature, either because military men dominate deployment - see Paul Higate and Marsha Henry (p. 49), or, the same argument from the reverse perspective, insufficient women peacekeepers are deployed – Adibeli Nduka-Agwu (p. 49). Even fewer scholars examine the importance of peacekeeper training with regard to gender-sensitive education for national troops prior to deployment on UN missions – Elizabeth Porter, Anuradha Mundkur and Minna Lyytikäinen (pp. 54-5); but these studies indiscriminately clump peacekeepers together, with no differentiation between male and female peacekeepers. Although it is acknowledged that the UN has no gender-based differentiation peacekeeping training, this study adopts the nuanced view that women peacekeepers should receive segregated specialised training, not least because they are sourced from

contributing countries devoid of gender equality, and yet are expected to undertake different roles, compared to their male colleagues, in engaging local women survivors of SGBV, especially in segregated communities.

The research framework adapted to conduct this study's assessment derives from a training needs assessment (TNA) tool that the UN employs to undertake effectiveness appraisals of its training activities. Between 2008 and 2010, the UN used this TNA three times, two on peacekeeping training and one for the rule of law (p. 58). However, these assessments have never been undertaken on training conducted by the UN Peacekeeping contributing countries on their women peacekeepers. The present study has further developed the TNA framework by combining it with the logic model in order to more accurately investigate the effectiveness of women peacekeepers following pre-deployment training. The logic model is a linear input-activities-output-outcomes chain of analysis, enabling focused assessment of the differing sequential policy inputs supporting the peacekeeping contributing country women's active participation in UN missions (pp. 58-62). The research methodology approach pursued in this study is a combination of the deductive and inductive approaches, with data collected through both country surveys and case studies. The primary sources of data are obtained from interviews with UN officials, women peacekeepers, their trainers and the decision-makers, supported by secondary data sources from UN and contributing country policies and databases.

7.2.3 The Role of Gender in UN Peacekeeping

Although UN peacekeeping missions go back to 1947, the authorities were not serious in integrating gender into operational activities until the 1990's sexual abuse allegations threatened UN mission legitimacy. In response, the UN Security Council began in the 2000s to issue a series of resolutions on Women, Peace and Security, as a means of gender-sensitising its peace operations. It was stated that one of the strategic needs of UN peacekeeping operations is gender balancing; that is moving towards an increasingly equal number of male/female peacekeepers. This strategy is not an assault *per se* on male peacekeepers as the perpetrators of SEA, but rather reflects the need for increased numbers of women peacekeepers. The problem of increasing the numbers of

women is due primarily to the major proportion, some 73 per cent, of UN peacekeepers being sourced from contributing member states' military, the institution that is known to have relatively low policy enablers to support women's meaningful participation (p.2). This is conditioned by Elshtain's view that women are seen as the beautiful souls that need to be protected, which is anathema to deploying them to dangerous environments (p. 40). This perception places women at a disadvantage, and a lower position/rank when it comes to their role in the military. As Tickner argues, women are mobilised in conflict, but only in supporting positions, and rarely, if ever, in decision-making roles (p. 42).

The UN has made efforts to increase women's meaningful participation in peacekeeping by seeking to inculcate gender-sensitivity in the mindset of its peacekeepers, especially via gendered materials in PDT. The importance of PDT is important because it aims to transform contributing countries' military forces into 'peace' keepers, where the main objective is not to win a war, but to maintain the peace. The UN's first gender-sensitised PDT material was issued through the 2002 Prevention of Sexual Exploitation and Abuse (SGTM 5D) and Gender Equality in Peacekeeping (SGTM 17) Guidelines. The numbering of the training directives suggests that the UN cares more about dissuading its peacekeepers from engaging in SEA, than encouraging respect for gender equality. Arguably, this approach is less effective in securing the training goals, because people that appreciate equality are less likely to conduct exploitation. Furthermore, there is a problematical slide in the PDT material, stating that UN peacekeepers are part of the problem because they have the capacity to to create and sustain prostitution, as peacekeepers are perceived as having the ability to pay for sex (pp.168-9). Yet, another slide mentions that... "the UN strongly discourages sexual relationships between peacekeepers and people in the mission area because relationship would be based on unequal power dynamics" (Figure 5.7, p.170). Mixed signals, indeed, and reinforced by the UN training module's guidance on how to use a condom properly (Figure 5.9, p.176). The obvious deduction from the UN's desire, on the one hand, to suppress peacekeeper sexual activity with the local population, and on the other, offering advice during the PDT on condom usage, is that the UN encourages member countries to increase women deployment in order to facilitate sexual relations within rather than

outwith the UN mission community.

A 2008 training review reveals that not all peacekeepers receive training prior to deployment. This led to a call that training requirements should be adhered, and also that the UN PDT material be reformed (p. 171). The second generation training material is rationalised, containing one less core module, and overall just four modules compared to 17 in the earlier version. In spite of the shorter curriculum, the second-generation PDT materials possess a tighter more logical structure in addressing gender content. These specialised gender modules include warnings that peacekeepers must refrain from SEA. The second-generation PDT materials also contain a reminder on the consequences of peacekeeper misconduct, and in this regard is an improvement over the warnings omission in the earlier training pack. However, the second-generation training material omits a very important slide containing the difference between sex and gender. This is a setback, because it removes the opportunity of distinguishing between the two misused terms, and how gender stereotypes shape the relationship between sexes. In the absence of such knowledge, it is arguably more difficult for peacekeepers to understand that their deployment is to support the creation of an inclusive and sustainable peace, a state of play often perceived differently by men and women.

The UN finds that the number of women officers deployed on peacekeeping missions is meagre, but, nevertheless, in early 2015 the 'UN Women' piloted separate training for women. This innovative PDT model referred to as a Female Military Officers Course was conducted with the aim of increasing the numbers of women officers on peace missions, as well as providing specific training materials to allow them to better support mission activities relating to the protection of women and children from violence, including conflict-related sexual violence (p. 177). This reasoning makes sense, because without awareness that women provide additional skills to the mission, such as interviewing victims of SGBV and managing stress, they may not be able to implement effectively these different skills. However, the danger in this reasoning is that it may limit women's roles and responsibilities in the mission. This is because women may be put into the stereotypical roles of caring for local women and children, but not elevating the roles to those in leadership and strategic decision-making. The initial outcomes of

this training have been less than satisfactory, because the total number of women military officers trained throughout 2015 amounted to only 71 and not all of them were deployed on UN missions after their training (pp.178-9). The reason for this is twofold. Firstly, the UN is unable to select the candidates attending training, ensuring deployment afterwards. However, this may also be due to the relatively recent implementation of such specialised training, and hence there has not yet been a sufficient elapse of time to measure its effectiveness. Secondly, female-only PDT has to date been implemented by only two UN contributing countries, namely India and South Africa (see p. 178), and with generally small numbers of women peacekeepers deploying, it is unlikely that such training will become the norm.

Given that the first-generation training package was replaced, and the specialised female course is not yet widely available, the PDT training that was observed by the researcher in the three country case studies was the second-generation UN modules. The Southeast Asia case studies were selected on the grounds that the population ratio indicated that only 2.5 per cent of peacekeepers were women (p. 188), suggesting that a significant barrier of entry is at play. From the three country case studies, Indonesia deploys the region's highest number of peacekeepers, Philippines the second highest, and Country A rank the lowest. However, if the percentage of women these countries have deployed is instead examined, then the rankings are reversed (pp. 193-4) The conclusions as to why this happens, as well as whether women peacekeepers from the three country case studies believe they been provided with sufficient and appropriate additional skills to achieve mission effectiveness are provided in the next sub-section.

7.3 Conclusions

The fundamental paradox between women's perceived peaceful disposition, as a valuable component of Peace Support Operations, and their effective roles as components of the robust and, if necessary, ruthless military component of peacekeeping is an interesting paradox (see, Section 5.11). This thesis has sought to address this paradox, concluding perhaps inevitably that women, as always, must seek to achieve both the peace support and military objectives. The overarching conclusion drawn from this study is that the first hypothesis is proven – women do make a

difference to the effectiveness of UN peacekeeping missions; however, it depends greatly on the nature of women's assignments in the mission area. Decision-makers from the contributing countries are hesitant in deploying women on field patrols, and instead assign them to office or administrative roles, limiting their ability to interact with the local population.

The second hypothesis is also proven – co-ed PDT does support women peacekeepers to more effectively perform in deployment areas. However, based on the field research, the majority of women peacekeepers believe that while the PDT provides the skills and knowledge to more effectively operate on UN peace missions, there are still improvements that can be made. These two general conclusions are built upon eight specific conclusions, derived from the logic model and training need assessment framework, expounded in Chapter 6. In turn, the conclusions lead to five focused policy actions, with the chapter closing by offering four topics for future research.

The conclusions are:

- **Contributing country policies determine the likelihood of women becoming UN peacekeepers (Sub-Section 6.4 – Inputs)**

Policy inputs from contributing countries are significant in supporting women to join UN peace missions. The research findings indicate these countries comply with UN standards on women, including CEDAW and UNSCR 1325, and do offer support for a more balanced women's participation in peacekeeping. This was especially demonstrated by the Philippines taking only one year to ratify the CEDAW, has launched a National Action Plan for Women, Peace and Security, and provided equal opportunity for both women and men to take examinations to become UN peacekeepers (see, Table 6.1). The research findings also found that when women are not allowed equal education, barred from combat roles and need to their husband's approval for deployment, as in Indonesia and Country A, they then have less opportunity to become peacekeepers. The reasons behind the case study country reluctance to grant women equal access derive from the decision-makers' convictions that assigning women to dangerous posts would

damage institutional reputations if the women got killed or maimed. Another reason is that the decision-makers perceive the main roles of women to be with their family, and their professional role comes second. Yet, the three country case studies showed that women and men came together in the same PDT, differentiated only by mission areas or types of deployment.

- **Country case studies opening PDT to all participants has a higher percentage of women participants (Sub-Section 6.5 – Activities)**

The percentage of women's participation in PDT is higher when countries open training to all personnel registering to become peacekeepers. The highest percentage recorded amongst the country case studies equates to a 30 per cent women participation rate (see, Table 6.2). By contrast, countries that have some sort of 'filtering' process in selecting prospective peacekeepers have lower women participation rates. The lowest percentage of women participation rate amongst the country case studies was two per cent. However, high numbers of women participants in PDT may not translate directly to the number of women peacekeepers deployed, because there are other factors determining deployment, such as training exams and the health of the personnel. Also, the number of women PDT trainers and the length of training do not seem to correlate with higher percentages of women participants. With the same length of PDT, one country case study that has only one woman trainer has a participation rate as low as 2 per cent women participants, on average (Indonesia), meanwhile another country with the same number of female trainers had between 10 to 30 per cent (Country A). This indicates that the opportunity for women to enrol as peacekeepers is more important than gaining women's interest through the training infrastructure. A further finding indicates that the presence of women trainers, especially those with deployment experience, provides beneficial information for prospective women peacekeepers to better prepare for deployment.

- **Countries deploying women peacekeepers in equal capacities as men have higher percentages of women peacekeepers, enjoying greater interaction**

with the local community (Sub-Section 6.6 – Outputs)

Findings from the country case studies indicate that deploying male and female peacekeepers at similar levels of responsibility and capacity has a higher women peacekeeper participation rate. Equal capacity is measured according to type of deployment, whether it is in contingent or individual deployment, and the areas of deployment where peacekeepers are deployed. Countries that deploy women at different capacities do not allow women to participate equally in all types of deployment or in all areas of deployment. A higher deployment of women peacekeepers with equal opportunities to engage in the same manner duties as men will act to instil confidence in women, ensuring equivalent performance as their male counterparts. Similarly, countries that sent women on individual deployments (that is not as part of a deployed battalion, and assigned to work individually for the mission, without direct support of colleagues from her country of origin) have a higher percentage of women peacekeepers. Sending women on individual deployments enables peacekeeping contingents and units to have greater access to the local population, especially in sex-segregated societies. Women who are military experts and posted on individual deployment also have a higher likelihood to be assigned to patrols surveying local population conditions in the area of mission territorial responsibility. Country case study findings reveal that those that assigned women on individual deployment, deployed a higher percentage of women peacekeepers – between 8 to 30 per cent women peacekeepers amongst the military population, compared to only 2 per cent of those deployed solely in a contingent. This is perhaps because the country is confident that their women personnel would be able to perform in UN deployment and, hence, would be more inclined to deploy women should they pass the selection process.

- **Country case studies deploying senior women military peacekeepers deploy a higher percentage of women peacekeepers (Sub-Section 6.6 – Outputs)**

Having senior rank women deployed on peacekeeping missions creates opportunities to showcase women in leadership, moving forward gender equality in the military contingent. This, in turn, propels increases in women's enrolment

to become peacekeepers, and for their deployment. Countries that deploy women, up to the rank of Colonel, on UN peacekeeping operations have over 8 per cent of women deployed annually, compared to only less than 2 per cent, where lower ranks are deployed (see, Table 6.3). The Philippines, for instance, is a country that has proved to be successful in appointing women as peacekeeping contingent commanders. Further research is required to establish whether women leaders or those in decision-making positions act as role models, encouraging greater numbers of women to join UN peacekeeping mission.

- **Women peacekeepers from countries characterised by equality opportunity perceive they do make a difference on UN peacekeeping missions (Sub-Section 6.7 – Outcomes)**

Field research interviews, suggest that women peacekeepers from countries implementing equal policies were more likely to perceive that they do make unique contributions on UN peacekeeping missions. Over 67 per cent of women peacekeepers from Country A and 80 per cent from the Philippines state their deployment on UN missions led to, firstly, a more approachable culture from the standpoint of the local population, secondly, more open access through two-way peacekeeper-local interaction compared with previous male-only peacekeeping units, and, last but not least, greater local women's participation in CIMIC activities. By contrast, only 33 per cent of Indonesian women peacekeepers stated that their deployment contribution went beyond that of their male team members (Table 6.4). Although similar sentiments were expressed from all country case study interviewees, Indonesian women peacekeepers, in particular, note they were only often assigned to fill lower rank, clerical, roles rather than patrolling and interacting with the local population. However, 60 per cent of women peacekeepers from all country case studies report that they had encountered survivors of SGBV, who would only be interviewed by women (p.224). This finding should not be interpreted to mean that women peacekeepers should only be assigned to interaction roles with the local women's population, but it does highlight areas of mission need where women peacekeepers can make an invaluable and unique contribution.

- **Women peacekeepers do make a difference but are not supported by mission colleagues (Sub-Section 6.8 – Gap)**

Field research in Southeast Asia indicates that women peacekeeper roles in high responsibility duties, such as patrols and CIMIC activities, have an empowering effect on the local population by increasing local women's access to the peacekeeper community, helping to address the security situation. However, while helpful, such higher responsibility roles are not sufficient to address all points listed by the UN regarding the expected roles for women in peacekeeping (Table 6.5), including the need for women peacekeepers to address the specific needs of female ex-combatants during the process of demobilisation and reintegration into civilian life, mentor female cadets at police and military academies, help reduce conflict and confrontation and provide role models for women in the community. The reasons behind this short-fall of opportunity may well be the lack of support given to women peacekeepers to undertake such roles.

Field research findings suggest impediments exist, hampering women peacekeepers to work effectively. There are similar impediments for female and male peacekeepers alike, such as relatively long periods of waiting time from security information submission to obtaining authorisation from the headquarters to provide support for the local population. Peacekeepers cannot directly aid/help/give food/meds to the local population before getting the green light from headquarters, except in life-threatening situations. Additionally, there are impediments that women peacekeepers believe are gender-related. For example, if there are no separate toilet and sleeping facilities for women, then the commander/team leader is reluctant to allow women peacekeepers to participate on patrols. There is also the danger of discontent, undermining team cohesion, of male peacekeepers perceiving women to be attracting special treatment, the prevalence of dismissive attitudes in the collection of gender-sensitive data as well as the unimportance attached to the appointment of women translators for the women survivors of SGBV, and more generally for roles in

sex-segregated communities.

- **Women peacekeepers feel that PDT has supported them in deployment, but they would like improvements in the curriculum (Sub-Section 6.9 – Training Needs Assessment)**

The majority (81 per cent) of women peacekeepers interviewed in the field studies indicate that their PDT supported their deployment (p.233). Although all modules in the training material are important, over 80 per cent of respondents indicate that the knowledge about the mission and gender training are especially important for peacekeepers (pp. 236-7), where the differing security needs between women and men, girls and boys in their area of mission are highlighted. For instance, 22 per cent of Country A peacekeepers state that they did not receive sufficient knowledge of the mission (see Table 6.7) and 11 per cent did not receive gender training (Table 6.6). It is only in the Philippines that 100 per cent of peacekeepers received gender training in PDT; in Country A, it was 89 per cent and for Indonesia, it was 61 per cent (Table 6.6).

Some 11 per cent of interviewees from Indonesia and the Philippines had sought improvements to classroom conditions (p. 236). This includes less crowding, less discussion dominated by senior rank officers imposing their opinions on women personnel. There were also suggestions to adjust the training period to allow more time for syndicate discussion. Yet, the majority of demands sought improvements to the training materials (100 per cent of Country A respondents, 89 per cent of Philippines respondents and 61 per cent of Indonesia respondents – Table 6.9). The nature of the training material improvements varies from a greater focus on interaction with local populations, especially for supporting SGBV cases, more guidance on handling deteriorating conflict situations, the provision of basic language training relating to the area of deployment, leadership and stress management as well as driving skills in challenging terrains.

- **The need for women-only session in the PDT curriculum (Sub-Section 6.9 –**

Training Needs Assessment)

A majority, or 62 per cent, of interviewees highlight the need for women-only training sessions, with all the women peacekeepers agreeing that women and men should be able to enrol on any PDT session they believe to be relevant (p. 234). Irrespective of the co-educational setting where the training is delivered, the majority of interviewees (Country A: 56 per cent, the Philippines: 60 per cent, and Indonesia: 67 per cent – Table 6.8) agree that women-only sessions in the PDT would be useful for discussing the challenges that women face in deployment. The issues registered as concerns by women peacekeepers were mostly ‘functional’, such as the availability of separate toilets and living quarters, access to sanitary napkins as well, of course, the need for ensuring physical security, but there were also sociological concerns, such as how the local culture in the deployment area views women, and how best to manage the multi-national working condition in the mission. These issues are important and would be beneficial to be understood prior to deployment. Conversely, perhaps similar concerns face male peacekeepers, due to their differing needs; hence men-only session could possibly form part of PDT.

7.4 Policy Recommendations

The scope of this research fieldwork in Southeast Asia is limited to an assessment of co-ed PDT for women peacekeepers over the period November 2009 to December 2014. In 2015, the UN piloted specialised training for female military officers, but the data on their subsequent deployment has not been publically released during the time the present study was written. The PDT is a very important mechanism for changing the military mindset from fighting soldiers to peacekeeping diplomats. As the numbers of women peacekeepers is very small compared to total peacekeepers, women are rarely included in the design of PDT aimed at supporting their role in deployment. However, with increasing international awareness of the importance of providing ‘inclusive’ security in conflict and post-conflict situations, the presence of women peacekeepers presence is increasingly considered to be important. Women peacekeepers will provide additional skills on UN missions by opening access to sex-segregated communities, providing support for female ex-combatants and survivors of SGBV and reducing

confrontation. Yet, without appropriate training, women may not be able effectively execute these tasks.

The main focus of this research has been on assessing the effectiveness of PDT in supporting women peacekeepers in their mission roles. The conclusions have shown that while PDT supports women peacekeepers during deployment, peace mission effectiveness would be improved if adequate and appropriate training were offered, especially, as is likely to occur in the near future, they were assigned to more responsible operational roles. To facilitate this reform process, the following five recommendations are listed, below:

- It is important for contributing country peacekeeping training centres to ensure the delivery of gender-sensitive modules in the PDT material. The fieldwork research confirms that PDT for the majority women peacekeepers, but not all, includes gender training. Only 61 per cent of Indonesian women peacekeepers received gender training (Table 6.6), reducing their skill-sets and hence, effectiveness, in deployment areas. The example of the Philippines' pre-training and post-training tests on gender-related modules is instructive, in the sense of measuring changes of peacekeeper mindset, and could sensibly be emulated by other peacekeeping training centres.
- It is recommended that contributing countries instil an equal policy approach towards women and men in their armed forces, especially equal access training. The contributing countries' equal policy for women and men provides more support for women peacekeepers, leading to an increase in the percentage of women peacekeepers. The Philippines witnessed an increase of women peacekeepers from 5 per cent in 2009 to 11 per cent the following year (Figure 6.6) following the adoption of Magna Carta of Women. Although contributing countries provide an identical PDT curriculum for both women and men, there is differentiation by mission and the nature of deployment. For example, due to the mass rapes during Darfur's recent conflict, the UN mission (UNAMID) needs to assist higher numbers of SGBV survivors compared to the relatively stable

mission in Lebanon (UNIFIL). Moreover, UNAMID is a hybrid mission involving both the UN and the African Union, making the red-tape and the political dynamics of the mission more complex, compared to missions undertaken solely by the UN, such as UNIFIL or MINUSTAH (Haiti).

- It is recommended that contributing country peacekeeping training centres provide a women-only session during the PDT to address the unique needs of women peacekeepers relating to the deployment area. Prior to having this session, it is important to conduct training needs assessments to ensure the women-only session addresses these specific needs. From the fieldwork interviews, all women would like to have preparatory training to prepare them for undergoing the peacekeeper selection process, containing materials to be examined – such as driving, English and UN knowledge (p. 236); however, this should not form part of the official PDT. For PDT, the suggested materials for the women-only session should address the specific conditions relating to the physical infrastructure (for example, availability of separate toilets) and the relationship dynamics of deployment (for example, gender interaction in the mission area).
- The research findings show that the presence of senior ranked women trainers and women peacekeepers exhibits a positive relationship with regard to their importance as role models during UN mission deployment. Therefore, it is recommended that contributing country peacekeeping training centres keep a record of senior women peacekeepers, who have served on UN peacekeeping missions, requesting them to share their field experience as dedicated trainers/mentors for other women undergoing PDT. Contributing countries are also encouraged to deploy more women peacekeepers on a range of high responsibility roles during deployment, so that on their return they can provide a rich tapestry of experience.
- The conclusions from this study indicate powerfully that a demand exists for improved UN PDT training material, including the skills required by women

peacekeepers to improve effectiveness in the field. Thus, it is important for the UN to conduct regular reviews regarding the contemporary relevance of the PDT curriculum so that it reflects the specific and unique needs of women peacekeepers. Based on the three country case studies, improved training materials would support women peacekeepers in deployment, particularly focused on raising effective interaction with the local female population, including victims of SGBV.

7.4 Future Research

From this study's conclusions and policy recommendations, stated above, four areas where further research is needed are:

- This research focused on the effectiveness of PDT in supporting women peacekeepers in UN missions, and was based on interviews with women peacekeepers in their host countries. Empirical research in deployment areas may be more revealing given that the women's peacekeeping experience is live.
- This study's research was limited to three Southeast Asian country case studies. Yet, there are nearly two hundred countries globally supporting UN peacekeeping operations, though not all deploying women peacekeepers. It would thus be helpful to conduct further research on the challenges women face in the various contributing countries to overcome the barriers to their participation in UN peacekeeping.
- This study's empirical fieldwork was constrained to the period between November 2009 and December 2014. Beyond that period, there was an absence of sex-segregated UN peacekeeping data. Therefore, when such data are available, ongoing studies should be conducted to measure women peacekeeper effectiveness on UN missions, especially with the aim of better supporting them during mission deployment.
- Research on gender-equality is invariably directed towards research on women,

as shown by this study. However, it would be worthwhile to conduct gender study from a men's perspective. For example, there is arguably a need to research the views of male peacekeepers regarding relevance of PDT in respect of improving their mission effectiveness, how they perceive the role and performance of women peacekeepers, and how they view the possibilities for improving gender-related team cohesion on UN peacekeeping operations.

This page is intentionally left blank

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Books and Book Chapters

- Ackerly, Brooke, Maria Stern and Jacqui True (Eds.). *Feminist Methodologies for International Relations*. (New York: Cambridge, 2006).
- Adler, Alfred. *Understanding Human Nature*. (New York: Greenberg, 1927).
- Aksu, Esref. *The United Nations, Intra-State Peacekeeping and Normative Change*. (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2003).
- Allan, James. *Peacekeeping in International Politics*. (Basingstoke: Macmillan and IISS, 1990).
- Aries, Elizabeth. 'Gender Differences in Interaction: A Reexamination' in Daniel Canary and Kathryn Mahwah (eds.). *Sex Differences and Similarities in Communication: Critical Essays and Empirical Investigations of Sex and Gender in Interaction*. (New Jersey: Lawrence Erlbaum, 1998).
- Autesserre, Séverine. *The Trouble with the Congo: Local Violence and the Failure of International Peacebuilding*. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2010).
- Baksh-Soodeen, Rawwida. *Gender-mainstreaming in Conflict Transformation: Building Sustainable Peace*. (London: Commonwealth Publishing, 2005).
- Barbazette, Jean. *Training Needs Assessments: Methods, Tools and Techniques*. (San Francisco: Pfeiffer-Wiley, 2006).
- Bartlett, Christopher. *The Global Conflict*. (Harlow: Longman Publishing, 1992).
- Bastick, Megan, Karin Grimm and Rahel Kunz. *Sexual Violence in Armed Conflict, Global Overview and Implications for the Security Sector*. (Geneva: DCAF, 2001).
- Beauvoir, Simone de. *The Second Sex*. (New York: Vintage Book Edition, 2011).
- Belilstein, Janet. 'The Expanding Role of Women in United Nations Peacekeeping' in Jenifer Turpin (ed.). *The Women and War Reader*. (New York: New York University Press, 1998).
- Bellamy, Alex, Paul Williams and Stuart Griffin. *Understanding Peacekeeping*. (Cambridge: Polity Press, 2004).
- Bellamy, Alex and Paul Williams. 'Thinking Anew about Peace Operation' in Alex Bellamy and Paul Williams (eds.). *Peace Operations and Global Order*. (Oxon: Frank Cass, 2005).

- Bellamy, Alex and Paul Williams. *Providing Peacekeepers: The Politics, Challenges, and Future of United Nations Peacekeeping Contributions*. (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2013).
- Bellamy, Christopher. *Knights in White Armour: The New Art of War and Peace*. (London: Hutchinson, 1996).
- Bernath, Clifford and Sayre Nyce. *UNAMSIL – A Peacekeeping Success Lessons Learned*. (Washington DC: Refugee International, 2002)
- Benshoof, Janet. *Women, Peace and Security*, (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2014).
- Bernstein, Richard. *Beyond Objectivism and Relativism: Science, Hermeneutics and Praxis*. (Oxford: Blackwell, 1983).
- Booth, Ken. *Theory of World Security*. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2007).
- Boulden, Jane. *Peace Enforcement: The United Nations Experience in Congo, Somalia, and Bosnia*. (Westport: Praeger, 2001).
- Bouma, Gary and G. Atkinson. *A Handbook of Social Science Research: A Comprehensive and Practical Guide for Students (2nd Ed)*. (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1995).
- Boutros-Ghali, Boutros. *Agenda for Peace*. (UN Secretariat: New York: June 1992).
- Bowd, Richard and Annie Chikwanha (Eds.). ‘Understanding Africa’s Contemporary Conflicts: Origins, Challenges and Peacebuilding’. *Monograph 173*. (Addis Ababa: Africa Human Security Initiative, September 2010).
- Brace, Ian and Karen Adams. *An Introduction to Market and Social Research: Planning and Using Research Tools and Techniques*. (London: Kogan Page, 2006).
- Brady, Henry and David Collier (eds.). *Rethinking Social Inquiry: Diverse Tools, Shared Standards*. (Lanham: Rowman and Littlefield Publishing, 2004).
- Britton, Hannah and Taylor Price. “‘If Good Food is Cooked in One Country, We Will All Eat from It’: Women and Civil Society in Africa’ in Ebenezer Obade (ed.). *The Handbook of Civil Society in Africa*, (New York: Springer, 2014).
- Buchbinder, David. *Masculinities and Identities*. (Melbourne: Melbourne University Press, 1994).
- Burke, Roisin. ‘Shaming the State: Sexual Offenses by UN Military Peacekeepers and Rhetoric of Zero Tolerance’ in Gina Heathcote and Diane Otto (eds.). *Rethinking Peacekeeping, Gender Equality and Collective Security*. (Hampshire: Palgrave, 2014).

- Butler, Judith. 'Variations on Sex and Gender: Beauvoir, Wittig and Foucault' in Seyla Benhabib and Drucilla Cornell (eds.). *Feminism as Critique: Essays on the Politics of Gender in Late-Capitalist Societies*. (Cambridge: Polity Press, 1987).
- Butler, Judith. *Subjects of Desire: Hegelian Reflections in Twentieth-Century France*. (New York: Columbia University Press, 1987).
- Butler, Judith. *Gender Trouble: Feminism and the Subversion of Identity*. (New York: Routledge, 1990)
- Butler, Judith. *Bodies That Matter: On the Discursive Limits of "Sex"*. (New York: Routledge, 1993).
- Buzan, Barry. *People, State and Fear: The National Security Problem in International Relations*. (North Carolina: University of North Carolina Press, 1983).
- Buzan, Barry, Ole Waever and Jaap the Wilde. *Security: A New Framework for Analysis*. (Colorado and London: Lynne Rienner Publishers, 1998).
- Buzan, Barry and Richard Little. *International System in World History*. (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000).
- Callahan, William A. *Cultural Governance and Resistance in Pacific Asia* (Oxon: Routledge, 2006).
- Callaway, Helen. 'Women's Perspectives: Research as Re-Vision' in Peter Reason and John Rowan (Eds.). *Human Inquiry*. (New York: John Wiley, 1981).
- Calhoun, Cheshire. *Feminism, the Family, and the Politics of the Closet: Lesbian and Gay Displacement*. (New York: Oxford University Press, 2002).
- Cammaert, Patrick and Ben Klappe. 'Authority, Command, and Control in United Nations-led Peace Operation' in Terry Gill and Dieter Fleck. *The Handbook of the International Law of Military Operations*. (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2010).
- Carr, Edward. *The Twenty Years of Crisis: An Introduction to the Study of International Relations, 2nd Ed.* (New York: Palgrave, 2001).
- Carreiras, Helena. *Gender and the Military: Women in the Armed Forces of Western Democracies*. (Oxon: Routledge, 2006).
- Caruso, Ugo. *The Interplay between Council of Europe, OSCE, EU and NATO*. (Bozen: European Academy's Institute for Minority Rights, 2007).
- Csáky, Corrina. *No One to Turn to: The Under-Reporting of Child Sexual Abuse by Aid Workers and Peacekeepers*. (London: Save the Children UK, 2008).

- Chesler, Phyllis. *Women and Madness*. (New York: Doubleday, 1972).
- Chodorow, Nancy. *The Reproduction of Mothering: Psychoanalysis and the Sociology of Gender*. (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1978).
- Cixous, Hélène. 'The Laugh of the Medusa', in Elaine Marks and Isabelle de Courtviron (eds.), *New French Feminisms*, (New York: Schocken Books, 1981).
- Cixous, Hélène and Catherine Clement, *Newly Born Woman*, (Minnesota: University of Minnesota Press, 1986)
- Cixous, Hélène. *The Book of Promethea - European Women Writers*, (Nebraska: University of Nebraska Press, 1991)
- Cixous, Hélène. *Reveries of the Wild Woman: Primal Scenes - Avant-Garde & Modernism Collection* (Northwestern University Press, 2006)
- Cixous, Hélène, *The Third Body*. (Northwestern University Press, 2009)
- Cockburn, Cynthia and Meliha Hubic. 'Gender and the Peacekeeping Military A View From Bosnian Women's Organizations' in Cynthia Cockburn and Dubravka Zarkov (eds.). *The Postwar Moment: Militaries, Masculinities and International Peacekeeping*. (London: Lawrence and Wishart, 2002).
- Collis, Jill and Roger Hussey. *Business Research: A Practical Guide for Undergraduate and Postgraduate Students*. (Basingstoke: Palgrave, 2003).
- Conaway, Camille Pampell and Jolynn Shoemaker. *Women in United Nations Peace Operations: Increasing the Leadership Opportunities*. (Georgetown: Women In International Security Georgetown University, July 2008).
- Connaughton, Richard. 'British Peacekeeping Doctrine: A Critique' in D. S. Gordon and F. H. Toase. *Aspects of Peacekeeping*. (Routledge: London, 2013).
- Connell, R. W. *Masculinities*. (Cambridge: Polity Press, 1995).
- Cousens, Elizabeth and Chetan Kumar (eds.). *Peacebuilding as Politics: Cultivating Peace in Fragile Societies*. (Boulder, CO: Lynne Rienner, 2001)
- Creveld, Martin Van. *The Transformation of War*. (New York: Free Press, 1991).
- Current, Richard Nelson. *American History: To 1877*. (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1987).
- Daly, Mary. *The Church and the Second Sex*. (New York: Harper & Row, 1968).
- Daly, Mary. *Beyond God the Father: Toward a Philosophy of Women's Liberation*. (Boston: Beacon Press, 1973).

- Daly, Mary. *Gyn/Ecology: The Metaethics of Radical Feminism*, (Boston: Beacon Press, 1978).
- Daly, Mary. *Pure Lust*, (Boston: Beacon Press, 1984).
- Daniel, Donald, Katrin Heuel and Benjamin Margo, 'Distinguishing among Military Contributors' in Donald C. F. Daniel, Patricia Taft and Sharon Wiharta (Eds). *Peace Operations: Trends, Progress, and Prospects*. (Washington DC: Georgetown University Press, 2008).
- Davie, Maurice R. *The Evolution of War: A Study of Its Role in Early Societies*. (New York: Dover, 2003, first published in 1929).
- Davis, Angela. *Women, Race and Class*. (New York: Random House, 1981).
- Debrix, Francois. *Re-Envisioning Peacekeeping: The UN and the Mobilization of Ideology*. (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1999).
- DeGroot, Gerard J. 'A Few Good Women: Gender Stereotypes, the Military and Peacekeeping' in Louise Olsson and Torunn L. Tryggstad (eds). *Women and International Peacekeeping*. (London: Routledge, 2001).
- Department of Economic and Social Affairs-Office for ECOSOC Support and Coordination. *Achieving Gender Equality, Women's Empowerment and Strengthening Development Cooperation*. (New York: United Nations, 2010).
- Department of Policy Coordination and Sustainable Development. 'The Role of Women in United Nations Peacekeeping' - *Women 2000*. (New York: UN DAW, December 1995).
- Dinnerstein, Dorothy. *The Mermaid and the Minotaur: Sexual Arrangements and Human Malaise*. (New York: Harper Colophon Books, 1977).
- Dittmer, Cordula and Maja Apelt. 'About Intervening in Vulnerable Societies' in Helena Carreiras and Gerhard Kümmel (eds.). *Women in the Military and in Armed Conflict*. (Wiesbaden: VS Verlag für Sozialwissenschaften, 2008).
- Dobbins, James, Seth G. Jones, Keith Crane, Andrew Rathmell, Brett Steele, Richard Teltschik, Anga R. Timilsina. *The UN's Role in Nation-Building: From the Congo to Iraq*. (California: RAND Corporation, 2005).
- Doyle, Michael, Ian Johnstone and Robert Orr. *Keeping the Peace*. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997).
- Doyle, Michael and Nicholas Sambanis. *Making War and Building Peace: United Nations Peace Operations*. (New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 2006).

- Durch, William. 'Introduction', in William Durch (ed.). *The Evolution of UN Peacekeeping*. (Basingstoke: Macmillan, 1994).
- Durkheim, Emile. *Suicide: A Study in Sociology*. Edited by George Simpson. (New York: The Free Press, 1951).
- Dworkin, Andrea. *Woman Hating: A Radical Look at Sexuality*. (New York: Dutton Publishing, 1974).
- Dworkin, Andrea. *Pornography: Men Possessing Women*. (London: Women's Press, 1981).
- Echols, Alice. 'The New Feminism of Yin and Yang' in Ann Snow, Christine Stansell and Sharon Thompson (eds.). *Powers of Desire: The Politics of Sexuality*. (New York: Monthly Review Press, 1983).
- Economist, The. *Economist Intelligent Unit 2014*. (London: EIU, 2014).
- Ehrenreich, Barbara and Arlie Russell Hochschild, *Global Woman: Nannies, Maids, and Sex Workers in the New Economy*, (New York: Henry Holt, 2004).
- Elshtain, Jean Bethke. *Public Man, Private Woman: Women in Social and Political Thought*. (New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 1981).
- Elshtain, Jean Bethke. *Women and War*, (New York: Basic Books, 1987).
- Elshtain, Jean Bethke. 'Sovereignty, Identity, Sacrifice' in V. Spike Peterson (ed.). *Gendered States: Feminist (Re)Visions of International Relations Theory*. (Boulder: Lynne Rienner, 1992).
- Elshtain, Jean Bethke. 'Feminist Themes and International Relations' in James Der Derian (ed.). *International Theory: Critical Investigations*. (New York: New York University Press, 1993).
- Engels, Frederick. *The Origin of the Family, Private Property, and the State*. (Zurich, 1884).
- Enloe, Cynthia. *Does Khaki Become You? The Militarization of Women's Lives*. (London: Pandora, 1983).
- Enloe, Cynthia. *Bananas, Beaches, and Bases: Making Feminist Sense of International Relations*. (London: Pandora Press, 1989).
- Enloe, Cynthia. *The Morning After: Sexual Politics at the End of the Cold War*. (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1993).
- Enloe, Cynthia. *Maneuvers: The International Politics of Militarizing Women's Lives*.

- (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2000).
- Findlay, Trevor. *The Use of Force in UN Peace Operations*. (Oxford: Oxford University Press and SIPRI, 2002).
- Firestone, Shulamith. *The Dialectic of Sex: The Case for Feminist Revolution*. (New York: Bantam Books, 1970).
- Flax, Jane. 'Postmodernism and Gender Relations in Feminist Theory' in Linda Nicholson (ed.). *Feminism/Postmodernism*. (New York: Routledge, 1990).
- Flax, Jane. *Thinking Fragments: Psychoanalysis, Feminism and Postmodern-ism in the Contemporary West*. (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1990).
- Flax, Jane. *Disputed Subjects: Essays on Psychoanalysis, Politics and Philosophy*. (New York: Routledge, 1993).
- Foreman, Sharon. *Kirkpatrick Model: Training Evaluation Practices in the Pharmaceutical Industry*. Doctoral Dissertation, (Minneapolis, Minnesota: from Capella University, 2008).
- Fox, Mary-Jane. 'The Idea of Women in Peacekeeping: Lysistrata and Antigone' in Louise Olsson, Louise and Torunn L. Tryggestad (eds.). *Women and International Peacekeeping*. (Oregon: Frank Cass, 2001).
- Francis, David. 'Peacekeeping in Africa' in Rachel Utley (ed.). *Major Power and Peacekeeping: Perspectives, Priorities and the Challenges of Military Intervention*. (Hants: Ashgate, 2006).
- Francisco, Valerie. 'Multidirectional Care in Filipino Transnational Families' in Guida Man and Rina Cohen (eds.). *Engendering Transnational Voices: Studies in Family, Work, and Identity*. (Ontario: Wilfrid Laurier University Press, 2015).
- Freedman, Jane. 'A Gendered Protection for the 'Victims' of War: Mainstreaming Gender in Refugee Protection' in Annika Kronsell and Erika Svedberg (eds.). *Making Gender, Making War: Violence, Military and Peacekeeping Practices*. (Oxon: Routledge, 2012).
- Freud, Sigmund. *Sexuality and the Psychology of Love*. (New York: Collier Books, 1968).
- Friedan, Betty. *The Feminine Mystique*. (New York: Dell, 1974).
- George, Alexander and Andrew Bennet. *Case Studies and Theory Development in the Social Science*. (Massachusetts: The MIT Press, 2005).
- Gertler, Paul, Sebastian Martinez, Patrick Premand, Laura Rawlings and Christel Vermeersch. *Impact Evaluation in Practice*. (Washington DC: World Bank, 2011).

- Gillespie, Alexander. *A History of the Laws of War: Vol. 1: The Customs and Laws of War with Regards to Combatants and Captives*. (Oxford: Hart Publishing, 2011), pp. 56-7.
- Glaser, Barney and Anselm Strauss. *The Discovery of Grounded Theory: Strategies for Qualitative Research*. (New Brunswick: Aldine Transaction, 2006).
- Goldman, Nancy and Richard Stites. *Great Britain and the World Wars*. (West Port: Greenwood Press, 1982).
- Goonewardena, Kanishka. 'Planning Research, Ethical Conduct and Radical Politics' in Francesco Piccolo and Huw Thomas (eds.). *Ethics and Planning Research*. (Surrey: Ashgate, 2009).
- Gorton, William. *Karl Popper and the Social Sciences*. (New York: State University of New York Press, 2006).
- Gowan, Richard and Megan Gleason. *UN Peacekeeping: The Next Five Years*. (New York: New York University Center on International Cooperation, 2012)
- Grant, Judith. *Fundamental Feminism: Contesting the Core Concepts of Feminist Theory*. (New York: Routledge, 1993), pp. 22-3.
- Green, Philip. *Deadly Logic: The Theory of Nuclear Deterrence*. (Columbus, Ohio: Ohio State University Press, 1966).
- Grown, Caren, Geeta Rao Gupta and Aslihan Kes. *Taking Action: Achieving Gender Equality and Empowering Women*. (London: UNDP, 2005).
- Harrison, Rosemary. *The Training and Development Audit*. (Cambridge: Cambridge Strategy Publications, 2003).
- Hartmann, Heidi. 'The Unhappy Marriage of Marxism and Feminism: Towards a more Progressive Union' in Lydia Sargent (ed.). *Women and Revolution*. (Boston: South End Press, 1981).
- Hartmann, Heidi. 'The Unhappy Marriage of Marxism and Feminism: Towards a More Progressive Union' in Carole Mccann and Seung-kyung Kim (eds.). *Feminist Theory Reader: Local and Global Perspectives*. (New York: Routledge, 2013).
- Hegel, Georg. *The Phenomenology of Spirit*. (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1977).
- Heldt, Birger. 'Trends from 1948 to 2005: How to View the Relation between the United Nations and Non-UN Entities' in Donald C. F. Daniel, Patricia Taft and Sharon Wiharta (eds). *Peace Operations: Trends, Progress, and Prospects*. (Washington DC: Georgetown University Press, 2008).

- Hempel, Carl. *Philosophy of Natural Science*. (New Jersey: Prentice-Hall, 1966).
- Henry, Marsha. 'Peacexploitation? Interrogating Labor Hierarchies and Global Sisterhood Among Indian and Uruguayan Female Peacekeepers' in Paul Amar (ed.). *Global South to the Rescue: Emerging Humanitarian Superpowers and Globalizing Rescue Industry*. (Oxon: Routledge, 2013).
- Hillen, John. *Blue Helmets: The Strategy of UN Military Operations*, (Dulles, VA: Brassey's, 1998).
- Holmes, Mary. *What is Gender? Sociological Approaches*. (London: Sage Publications, 2007).
- Hooks, Bell. *Yearning: Race, Gender and Cultural Politics*. (Boston: South End Press, 1990).
- Hooks, Bell. *Feminist Theory: From Margin to Center, 2nd Ed.* (London: Pluto Press, 2000).
- Horney, Karen. 'The Flight from Womanhood' in H Kelman, *Feminine Psychology*, (New York: W. W. Norton, 1973).
- Hughes, John. *The Philosophy of Social Research (2nd Ed)*. (Harlow: Longman, 1990).
- Hull, Gloria T., Patricia Bell Scott and Barbara Smith (eds.), *All the Women are White, All the Blacks are Men, but Some of Us are Brave*, (New York: The Feminist Press, 1982).
- Humphrey, John. 'Business Ethics' in Richard Corrigan and Mary Farrell. *Ethics: A University Guide*. (Gloucester: Progressive Frontier Press, 2010).
- Hun, Swanee. *This Was Not Our War: Bosnian Women Reclaiming the Peace*. (China: Duke University Press, 2004).
- IISS, *The Military Balance 2013*, (London: IISS, 2013)
- IISS. *The Military Balance 2015*. (London: IISS, 2015)
- Ikenberry, George. *After Victory: Institution, Strategic Restraint and the Rebuilding of Order after Major Wars*. (New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 2001).
- Ikpe, Eka. 'Nigeria and the Implementation of UNSCR 1325' in Funmi Oloisakin, Karen Barnes and Eka Ikpe (eds.). *Women, Peace and Security: Translating Policy into Practice*. (Oxon: Routledge, 2011).
- International Labour Organisation. *Participatory Gender Audits*. (Geneva: ILO, 2007).
- International Peace Institute. *Enhancing European Military and Police Contributions to*

- UN Peacekeeping*. (New York: February 2013).
- Irigaray, Luce. *This Sex Which is Not One*. (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1985).
- Jackson, Stevi and Jackie Jones. 'Thinking for Ourselves: An Introduction to Feminist Theorising', in Stevi Jackson and Jackie Jones (eds.). *Contemporary Feminist Theories* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 1998).
- Jaggar, Alison. *Feminist Politics and Human Nature*. (Totowa, N.J.: Rowman and Allanheld, 1983).
- James, Alan. *Peacekeeping in International Politics*. (New York: St. Martin Press, 1990).
- Jaquette, Jane and Kathleen Staudt. 'Women, Gender and Development' in Jane Jaquette and Gale Summerfield. *Women and Gender Equity in Development Theory and Practice: Institutions, Resources and Mobilization*. (Durham: Duke University Press, 2007).
- Jordan, David C. *Drug Politics: Dirty Money and Democracies*. (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1999).
- Joreen, Freeman. 'The Tyranny of Structurelessness', in Anne Koedt, Ellen Levine and Anita Rapone (eds.). *Radical Feminism*. (New York: Quadrangle, 1973).
- Kachacupt, Supin. 'Women in the Bureaucracy' in Kazuki Iwanaga (Ed.). *Women and Politics in Country A: Continuity and Change*. (Copenhagen: NIAS Press, 2008).
- Kaldor, Mary. *Old and New Wars*. (Cambridge: Polity Press, 1999).
- Kanter, Rosabeth. *Men and Women of the Corporation*. (New York: Basic Books, 1977).
- Kassem, Fatima. *Party Politics, Religion and Women's Leadership: Lebanon in Comparative Perspective*. (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2013).
- Katz, Lee Michael. 'World Peacekeeping: Do Nation-States Have a "Responsibility to Protect?"' in *Issues in Peace and Conflict Studies: Selections. CQ Researcher*. (California: Sage Publications, 2011), p. 16.
- Keat, Russel and John Urry. *Social Theory as Science*. (London: Routledge, 1975).
- Kegley, Charles. *Controversies in International Relations Theory: Realism and the Neoliberal Challenge*. (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1995).
- Keller, Evelyn Fox. *Reflection on Gender and Science* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1985).

- Keohane, Robert. 'Political Authority After Intervention: Gradations of sovereignty' in J.L. Holzgrefe and Robert Keohane (eds.). *Humanitarian Intervention: Ethical, Legal and Political Dilemmas*. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003).
- Kennedy-Pipe, Caroline. 'Gender and Security', in Alan Collins. *Contemporary Security Studies*. (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2007).
- King, Gary, Robert Keohane and Sidney Verba. *Designing Social Inquiry: Scientific Inference in Qualitative Research*. (New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 1994).
- King, Iain and Whit Maso. *Peace at Any Price: How the World Failed Kosovo*. (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2006).
- Kirkpatrick, Donald. *Evaluating Training Programs: The Four Levels*. (San Francisco: Berrett-Koehler, 1994).
- Kirkpatrick, Donald and James Kirkpatrick. *Evaluating Training Programs: The Four Levels (3rd ed.)*. (San Francisco: Berrett-Koehler, 2006).
- Krebs, Charles. 'Hypothesis Testing in Ecology' in Luigi Boitani and Todd Fuller (eds). *Research Techniques in Animal Ecology*. (New York, Columbia University Press, 2000).
- Kristeva, Julia. *Powers of Horror*. (New York: Columbia University Press, 1982).
- Kronsell, Annika and Erika Svedberg. 'Introduction: Making Gender, Making War' in Annika Kronsell and Erika Svedberg (eds.). *Making Gender, Making War: Violence, Military and Peacekeeping Practices*. (Oxon: Routledge, 2012).
- Lacan, Jacques. *Écrits: A Selection*. (New York: W. W.Norton, 1977).
- Leibo, Steven. *East and Southeast Asia: The World Today Series 2015-2016, 48th Ed.* (Baltimore: Rowman and Littlefield, 2015).
- Leisa Reinecke Flynn and Ronald Goldsmith, *Case Studies for Ethics in Academic Research in the Social Sciences*, (London: Sage, 2013), pp.9-59.
- Levitt, Peggy and Sally Merry. 'Making Women's Human Rights in the Vernacular: Navigating the Culture/Rights Divide' in Dorothy Hodgson (ed.). *Gender and Culture at the Limit of Rights*. (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania, 2011).
- Lipschutz, Ronnie. 'Negotiating the Boundaries of Difference and Security at Millennium's End' in Ronnie Lipschutz (Ed.). *On Security*. (New York: Columbia University Press, 1995).
- Luck, Edward. *UN Security Council: Practice and Promise*. (Routledge: Oxon, 2006).
- Lorber, Judith. "'Night to His Day": The Social Construction of Gender', *Paradox of*

- Gender*. (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1994).
- Lorde, Audre. 'Age, Race, Class, and Sex: Women Redefining Difference' in Margaret Andersen and Patricia Collins (eds.). *Race, Class, and Gender, 3rd ed.* (California: Wadsworth, 1995).
- MacKinnon, Catharine A. *Women's Lives, Men's Laws*. (USA: Harvard University Press, 2007).
- Mackinlay, John. *A Guide of Peace Support Operation*. (Providence, RI: Thomas J. Watson Institute for International Studies, 1996).
- Malone, David (ed.). *The UN Security Council: From the Cold War to the 21st Century*. (Boulder, CO: Lynne Rienner Publishers, 2004).
- Mani, Bonnie G. *Women, Men, and Human Capital Development in the Public Sector: Return on Investment*. (Lanham: Lexington Books Rowman and Littlefield Publishers, 2009).
- Mansfield, Harvey. *Machiavelli's Virtue*. (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1996).
- Malik, Inam-ur-Rahman. 'Pakistan' in Alex J. Bellamy and Paul D. Williams. *Providing Peacekeepers: The Politics, Challenges, and Future of United Nations Peacekeeping Contributions*. (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2013).
- Martin, Sarah. *Must Boys Be Boys? Ending Sexual Exploitation and Abuse in UN Peacekeeping Missions* (Washington DC: Refugees International, 2005).
- Marx, Karl and Frederick Engels. *The Communist Manifesto*. (London: Burghard, 1848).
- Marx, Karl. *A Contribution to the Critique of Political Economy*. (Moscow: Progress Publisher, 1859).
- Mazurana, Dyan, Angela Raven-Roberts and Jane Parpart. *Gender, Conflict, and Peacekeeping*. (Oxford: Rowman and Littlefield Publishers, 2005).
- McSweeney, Bill. *Security, Identity and Interests: A Sociology of International Relations*. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999).
- Meldicott, William. *Bismarck, Gladstone and the Concert of Europe*. (London: Athlone Press, 1956).
- Mendelson, Sarah. *Barracks and Brothels: Peacekeepers and Human Trafficking in the Balkans*. (Washington DC: Center for Strategic and International Studies, 2005).
- Merriam Webster. *Collegiate Encyclopedia*. (USA: Merriam-Webster Inc., 2000).

- Mertens, Donna and John McLaughlin. *Research and Evaluation Methods in Special Education*. (California: Corwin Press, 2004).
- Mies, Maria and Vandana Shiva. *Ecofeminism*. (London: Zed, 1993).
- Mill, John Stuart. *The Subjection of Women*. (London: Longman, 1869).
- Mill, John Stuart. *On Liberty, 3rd Edition*. (London: Penguin, 1974).
- Millet, Kate. *Sexual Politics*. (New York: Doubleday, 1969).
- Mitchell, Juliet. *Woman's Estate*. (Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1971).
- Mohanty, Chandra. *Feminism Without Borders: Decolonizing Theory, Practicing Solidarity*. (Durham: Duke University Press Books, 2003).
- Molyneux, Maxine. *Women's Movements in International Perspective: Latin America and Beyond*. (London: Palgrave, 2000).
- Moon, Katharine. 'Military Prostitutes and Hypersexualization of Militarized Women' in Francine J. D'Amico and Laurie Weinstein (eds.). *Gender Camouflage: Women and the U.S. Military*. (New York: New York University Press, 1999).
- Morgenthau, Hans. *Politics among Nations: The Struggle for Power and Peace*. (New York: Alfred Knopf, 1948).
- Morton, Peggy. 'Women's Work is Never Done' in Edith Altbach (ed.). *From Feminism to Liberation*. (Cambridge: Schankman Publishing Co., 1971).
- Muehlbauer, Matthew S. and David J. Ulbrich. *Ways of War: American Military History from the Colonial Era to the Twenty-First Century* (New York: Routledge, 2014).
- Murphy, Ray. *UN Peacekeeping in Lebanon, Somalia and Kosovo: Operational and Legal Issues in Practice*. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2007).
- Musil, Robert. *The Man Without Qualities, Vol. 1 (1952)*. (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1995).
- Narayan, Deep, Raj Patel, Kai Schafft, Anne Rademacher and Sarah Kock-Schulte. *Voices of the Poor: Can Anyone Hear Us?* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000).
- Neudorfer, Kelly. *Sexual Exploitation and Abuse in UN Peacekeeping: An Analysis of Risk and Prevention Factor*. (London: Lexington Books, 2015).
- Noakes, Lucy. *Women in the British Army: War and the Gentle Sex, 1907–1948*. (New York: Routledge, 2006).

- Nussbaum, Martha and Amartya Sen. *The Quality of Life*. (Oxford England: Clarendon Press Oxford University Press, 1993).
- Nussbaum, Martha. *Sex and Social Justice*. (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000).
- Nussbaum, Martha. *Philosophical Interventions* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2012).
- O'Neil, William. 'Human Rights Field Operations: A New Protection Tool' in Bertrand Ramcharan (Ed.). *Human Rights Protection in the Field*. (Leiden: Martinus Nijhoff Publishers, 2006).
- Oakley, Ann. *Sex, Gender and Society*. (London: Temple Smith, 1972).
- Olonisakin, Funmi. *Reinventing Peacekeeping in Africa*. (The Hague: Kluwer International Law, 2000).
- Olsson, Louise. *Gender Equality and United Nations Peace Operations in Timor Leste*. (Leiden: Martinus Nijhoff Publishers, 2009).
- Olsson, Louise, Anita Schjølset and Frida Möller. 'Women's Participation in International Operations and Missions' in Louise Olsson and Theodora-Ismene Gizelis (eds.). *Gender, Peace and Security: Implementing UN Security Council Resolution 1325*. (London: Routledge, 2015).
- Peirce, Charles. *The Essential Peirce, Vol.1: Selected Philosophical Writings? (1867-1893)*. (Indiana: Indiana University Press, 1992).
- Peitila, Hilikka. *The Unfinished Story of Women and the United Nations, Development Dossier*. (New York: UN-NGLS Publications, 2007).
- Pelcovits, Nathan. *The Long Armistice: UN Peacekeeping and the Arab-Israeli Conflict, 1948-1960*, (Boulder: Westview, 1993).
- Pennings, Paul, Hans Keman and Jan Kleinnijenhuis. *Doing Research in Political Science. (2nd Ed)*. (London: Sage, 2006).
- Perry, Chris and Adam C. Smith. *Trends in Uniformed Contributions to UN Peacekeeping: A New Dataset, 1991–2012*. (New York: International Peace Institute, June 2013).
- Pettman, Jan Jindy. *Worlding Women: A Feminist International Politics*. (New York: Routledge, 1996).
- Popper, Karl. *The Logic of Scientific Discovery*. (London: Hutchinson, 1959).
- Porter, Elizabeth and Anuradha Mundkur. *Peace and Security: Implications for Women*. (Brisbane: University of Queensland Press, 2012).

- Porter, Fenella, Ines A. Smyth and Caroline Sweetman (eds.). *Gender Works: Oxfam Experience in Policy and Practice*. (London: Oxfam, 1999).
- Ram, Sunil. *The History of United Nations Peacekeeping Operations During the Cold War: 1945 to 1987*. (Williamsburg, VA: Peace Operations Training Institute, 2008).
- Ramsbotham, Oliver and Tom Woodhouse. *Encyclopedia of International Peacekeeping Operations*. (Santa Barbara: ABC-Clio, 1999).
- Reed, Evelyn. *Woman's Evolution: From Matriarchal Clan to Patriarchal Family*. (New York: Pathfinder Press, 1975).
- Reproductive Health Response in Conflict Consortium. *Gender-based Violence Tools Manual: For Assessment and Program Design, Monitoring & Evaluation in Conflict-Affected Settings*. (New York: RHRC Consortium, 2004).
- Runyan, Anne Sisson and V. Spike Peterson, *Global Gender Issue in the New Millennium, 4th Ed.*, (Colorado: Westview Press, 2014).
- Robson, Colin. *Real World Research (2nd Ed)*. (Oxford: Blackwell, 2002).
- Rossett, Allison. *Training Needs Assessment*. (New Jersey: Educational Technology Publication, 1987).
- Ryan, Barbara. *Feminism and the Women's Movement: Dynamics of Change in Social Movement Ideology and Activism*. (New York: Routledge, 1992).
- Ryle, Robyn. *Questioning Gender: A Sociological Exploitation*. (California: Sage, 2012).
- Samonte-Hinckley, Elena, 'Domestic Violence against Women and Children in the Philippines' in Florence Denmark and Leonore Loeb Adler (Eds.). *International Perspectives on Violence*. (London: Preager, 2004).
- Santos, Aida. 'Do Women Really Hold Up the Sky? Notes on Women's Movement in the Philippines' in Carolyn I. Sobritchea (Ed.). *Gender, Culture & Society: Selected Readings in Women's Studies in the Philippines*. (Seoul: Ewha Women University Press, 2004).
- Saunders, Mark, Philip Lewis and Adrian Thornhill. *Research Methods for Business Students (5th Ed)*. (Essex: Pearson Education Ltd., 2009).
- Schmidl, Erwin. *Peace Operations Between War and Peace*. (London: Frank Cass, 2001).
- Schnabel, Albrecht and Anara Tabyshalieva. *Defying Victimhood: Women and Post-conflict Peacebuilding*. (Tokyo: United Nations University Press, 2012).

- Schramm, Wilbur. *Notes on Case Studies of Instructional Media Projects*. (Washington DC: Information Center on Instructional Technology Academy for Educational Development, 1971).
- Schwarz, Norbert. *Cognition and Communication: Judgmental Biases, Research Methods, and the Logic of Conversation*. (New Jersey: Lawrence Erlbaum Publishers, 1996).
- Shepherd, Laura. *Gender, Violence and Security: Discourse as Practice*. (London: Zed Books, 2008).
- Shoemaker, Jolynn and Allison Adams-Alwine. 'Women's Leadership and the United Nations in the Global Women's Rights Movement' in Karen O'Connor. *Gender and Women's Leadership: A Reference Handbook, Vol. 1*. (California: Sage Publication, 2010).
- Siekmann, RCR. *Peacekeeper's Handbook*. (New York: International Peace Academy, Pergamon Press, 1984).
- Simic, Olivera. *Regulation of Sexual Conduct in UN Peacekeeping Operations*. (Berlin: Springer, 2012), pp. 33-5
- Sitkowski, Andrzej. *UN Peacekeeping: Myth and Reality*. (Westport: Praeger, 2006).
- Sjoberg, Laura and Caron Gentry. *Mothers, Monsters, Whores: Women's Violence in Global Politics*. (London: Zed Books, 2007).
- Sjoberg, Laura. *Gendering Global Conflict: Towards a Feminist Theory of War*. (New York: Columbia University Press, 2013).
- Sjoberg, Laura. *Gender, War, and Conflict*. (London: Polity Press, 2014).
- Skjelsbaek, Inger. 'Sexual Violence in the Times of War: A New Challenge for Peace Operations' in Louise Olsson and Torunn L. Tryggstad (eds.). *Women and International Peacekeeping*. (Oregon: Frank Cass, 2001).
- Sotomayor, Arturo C. *The Myth of the Democratic Peacekeeper: Civil-Military Relations and the United Nations*. (Maryland: John Hopkins University Press, 2014).
- Spelman, Elizabeth. *Inessential Woman: Problems of Exclusion in Feminist Thought*. (Boston: Beacon Press, 1998).
- Sprague, Joey. *Feminist Methodologies for Critical Researchers: Bridging Differences*. (Oxford: Rowman and Littlefield Publishers, 2005).
- Steans, Jill. *Gender and International Relations: An Introduction*. (Cambridge: Polity Press, 1998).

- Stearns, Jill dan Lloyd Pettiford. *International Relations: Perspectives and Themes*. (England: Longman, 2001).
- Stedman, Stephen. 'Implementing Peace Agreements in Civil Wars: Findings and Recommendations' in Stephen Stedman, Donald Rothchild and Elisabeth Cousens (eds.). *Ending Civil Wars: The Implementation of Peace Agreements*. (Boulder, CO: Lynne Rienner Publishers, 2002).
- Strauss, Anselm and Juliet Corbin. *Basics of Qualitative Research: Techniques and Procedures for Developing Grounded Theory*, (London: Sage Publication, 1998), p.14.
- Sumner, Andy and Michael Tribe. *International Development Studies: Theories and Methods in Research and Practice*. (London: Sage, 2008).
- Sylvester, Christine. *Feminist Theory and International Relations in a Postmodern Era*. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994).
- Sylvester, Christine. 'The Contributions of Feminist Theory to International Relations', in Steve Smith, Ken Booth, and Marysia Zalewski (eds.). *International Theory: Positivism and Beyond*. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996).
- Sylvester, Christine. *Feminist International Relations: An Unfinished Journey*. (Cambridge University Press, 2002).
- Sylvester, Christine. *War as Experience: Contributions from International Relations and Feminist Analysis*. (London: Routledge, 2013).
- Snyder, Margaret. 'Unlikely Godmother: the UN and the Global Women's Movement' in Myra Marx Ferree and Aili Mari Tripp (Eds.). *Global Feminism: Transnational Women's Activism, Organizing and Human Rights*. (New York: New York University Press, 2006).
- Tashakkori, Abbas and Charles Teddlie. *Mixed Methodology: Combining Qualitative and Quantitative Approaches*. (California: Sage, 1998).
- Taylor, Victor and Charles Winquist. *Encyclopedia of Postmodernism*. (London: Routledge, 2001).
- Thakur, Ramesh and Albrecht Schnabel (eds.). *United Nations Peacekeeping Operations: Ad Hoc Mission, Permanent Engagement*. (Tokyo: UN University Press, 2001).
- Thakur, Ramesh. *The United Nations, Peace and Security*. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006).
- Tickner, Ann. 'Hans Morgenthau's Principles of Political Realism: A Feminist

- Reformulation in Rebecca Grant and Kathleen Newland (eds.). *Gender and International Relations*. (Indianapolis: Indiana University Press, 1991).
- Tickner, Ann. *Gender in International Relations: Feminist Perspectives on Achieving Global Security*. (New York: Columbia University Press, 1992).
- Tickner, Ann. 'A Feminist Critique of Political Realism' in Peter Beckman and Francine D'Amico (eds.). *Women, Gender and World Politics: Perspectives, Policies and Prospects*. (Connecticut: Greenwood Publishing, 1994).
- Tickner, Ann. *Gendering World Politics: Issues and Approaches in the Post-Cold War Era*, (New York: Columbia University Press, 2001)
- Timothy, Kristen. 'Equality for Women in the United Nations Secretariat' in Anne Winslow (ed.). *Women, Politics, and the United Nations*. (Westport: Greenwood Publishing, 1995).
- Tong, Rosemarie Putnam. *Feminist Thought: A Comprehensive Introduction*. (London: Unwin Hyman, 1989).
- US National Defence University. *Women in the Frontlines of Peace and Security*. (Washington DC: US National Defence University Press, 2014).
- Vasquez, John. *The Power of Power Politics*. (London: Pinter, 1983).
- Waever, Ole. 'Securitization and Desecuritization' in Ronnie Lipschutz (Ed.). *On Security*. (New York: Columbia University Press, 1995).
- Waltz, Kenneth. *Man, the State and War*. (New York: Academic Press, 1974).
- Waltz, Kenneth. *Theory of International Relations*. (Boston: Addison Wesley, 1979).
- Warren, Karen. *Ecofeminism Philosophy: A Western Perspective on What It Is and Why It Matters*. (Lanham: Rowman & Littlefield, 2000).
- Weber, Max. *The Methodology of the Social Sciences*. (Illinois: Free Press, 1949).
- Weber, Max. *Economy and Society: An Outline of Interpretive Sociology*. Edited by Guenther Roth and Claus Wittich. (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1978).
- Weber, Max. *Political Writings*. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994).
- Wengraf, Tom. *Qualitative Research Interviewing: Biographic Narrative and Semi-Structured Methods*. (London: Sage Publications, 2001).
- Whitworth, Sandra. *Men, Militarism and UN Peacekeeping: A Gendered Analysis*. (Colorado: Lynne Rienner Publisher, 2004)

- Whitworth, Sandra, ' Militarized Masculinities and the Politics of Peacekeeping: The Canadian Case' in Ken Booth (ed.). *Critical Security Studies in World Politics* (Boulder, CO: Lynne Rienner Publishers, 2005).
- Wibben, Annick. *Feminist Security Studies: A Narrative Approach. 1st ed.* (New York: Routledge, 2011).
- Williams, Juanita. *Psychology of Women: Behavior in a Biosocial Context.* (New York: W. W. Norton, 1977).
- Williams, Malcom and Tim May. *Introduction to the Philosophy of Social Research.* (London: University College London, 1996).
- Williams, Paul D. *Security Studies: An Introduction, 2nd ed.* (Oxon: Routledge, 2013).
- Wittig, Monique. *The Straight Mind: And Other Essays Paperback.* (Boston: Beacon Press, 1992).
- Wolf, Naomi. *The Beauty Myth: How Images of Beauty Are Used Against Women.* (New York: William Morrow, 1991).
- Wollstonecraft, Mary. *A Vindication of the Rights of Woman: With Strictures on Political and Moral Subjects.* (New York: Norton, 1967).
- Wölte, Sonja. *Armed Conflict and Trafficking in Women.* (Eschborn: Deutsche Gesellschaft für Technische Zusammenarbeit (GTZ) GmbH, 2004).
- Women Refugee Commission. *Refugee Girls: The Invisible Faces of War.* (New York: Pearson, 2009).
- Yin, Robert. *Case Study Research: Design and Methods (3rd Ed).* (London: Sage, 2002).
- Young, Iris Marion. 'Beyond the Unhappy Marriage: A Critique of the Dual Systems Theory' in Lydia Sargent (ed.). *Women and Revolution.* (Boston: South End Press, 1981)
- Yulihastin, Erma. *Bekerja Sebagai Polisi (Working as Police Officer),* (Jakarta: Erlangga, 2008).
- Zalewski, Marysia. 'Distracted Reflections on the Production, Narration, and Refusal of Feminist Knowledge in International Relations' in Brooke Ackerly, Maria Stern and Jacqui True (Eds.). *Feminist Methodologies for International Relations.* (New York: Cambridge, 2006).
- Zimmerman, Jean. *Tailspin: Women at War in the Wake of Tailhook.* (New York: Doubleday, 1995).

Journal Articles

- Adebajo, Adekeye. 'In Search of Warlords: Hegemonic Peacekeeping in Liberia and Somalia'. *International Peacekeeping*. Vol. 10. No. 4. 2003. pp. 62-81.
- Baldwin, David. 'The Concept of Security'. *Review of International Studies*. Vol. 23. 1997. p. 5.
- Bar-Hillel, Maya and David Budescu. 'The Elusive Wishful Thinking Effect'. *Thinking and Reasoning*. Vol. 1. No. 29. July 1995. pp. 71-104.
- Barnett, Michael. 'The New United Nations Politics of Peace: From Juridical Sovereignty to Empirical Sovereignty'. *Global Governance*. Vol. 1. No. 1. 1995. pp. 79-97.
- Beilstein, Jill. "The Role of Women in United Nations Peacekeeping". *Women 2000*. Vol. 1. December 1995.
- Bell, Duncan. 'Before the Democratic Peace: Racial Utopianism, Empire and the Abolition of War'. *European Journal of International Relations*. Vol. 20. No. 3. September 2014. pp. 647-670.
- Bellamy, Christopher. 'If You Can't Stand the Heat ... New Concepts of Conflict Intensity'. *RUSI Journal*. Vol. 143. No. 1. 1998. pp. 25-31.
- Bellamy, Alex and Paul Williams. 'Introduction: Thinking Anew about Peace Operations'. *International Peacekeeping*. Vol. 11. No. 1. 2004. pp. 1-15.
- Bellamy, Alex. 'The Responsibility to Protect: Five Years On'. *Ethics and International Affairs*. Vol. 24. No. 2. 2010. pp. 143-169.
- Bellamy, Christopher. 'Combat Readiness and Compassion'. *NATO Review*. Vol. 49. No. 2. Summer 2001. pp. 9-11.
- Benston, Margaret. 'The Political Economy of Women's Liberation'. *Monthly Review*. Vol. 21. No. 4. September 1969. pp. 13-27.
- Bildt, Carl. 'Dag Hammarskjöld and United Nations Peacekeeping'. *UN Chronicle*. Vol. 48. Issue 2. 2011. pp. 5-7.
- Blanchard, Eric. 'Gender, International Relations, and the Development of Feminist Security Theory'. *Signs: Journal of Women in Culture and Society*. Vol. 28. No. 41. 2003. pp. 1289-1312.
- Budescu, David and Meira Bruderman. 'The Relationship between the Illusion of Control and the Desirability Bias'. *Journal of Behavioural Decision Making*. Vol. 8. No. 2. June 1995. pp.109-125.

- Butler, Judith. 'Sex and Gender in Simone de Beauvoir's *Second Sex*'. *Yale French Studies*. No. 72. Special Edition - Simone de Beauvoir: Witness to a Century. 1986. pp. 35-49.
- Carey, Henry. '“Women and Peace and Security”: The Politics of Implementing Gender Sensitivity Norms in Peacekeeping'. *International Peacekeeping*. Vol. 8. No. 2. pp. 49-68.
- Chesterman, Simon. 'East Timor in Transition: Self-Determination, State-Building and the United Nations'. *International Peacekeeping*. Vol. 9. No. 1. 2002. pp. 45-76.
- Charlesworth, Hillary. 'Martha Nussbaum's Feminist Internationalism'. *Ethics*. Vol. 111. No. 1. October 2000. pp. 64-78.
- Childs, Sarah and Mona Lena Krook. 'Critical Mass Theory and Women's Political Representation'. *Political Studies*. Vol. 56. No. 3. 2008. pp. 725-36.
- Crenshaw, Kimberlé. 'Demarginalizing the Intersection of Race and Sex: A Black Feminist Critique of Antidiscrimination Doctrine, Feminist Theory, and Antiracist Politics'. *University of Chicago Legal Forum*. Vol. 14. 1989.
- Crenshaw, Kimberlé. 'Mapping the Margins: Intersectionality, Identity Politics, and Violence against Women of Color'. *Stanford Law Review*. Vol. 43. No. 6. 1991.
- Dahlerup, Drude. 'From a Small to a Large Minority: Women in Scandinavian Politics'. *Scandinavian Political Studies*. Vol. 11. No. 4. December 1988. pp. 275-98.
- Defeis, Elizabeth. 'UN Peacekeepers and Sexual Abuse and Exploitation: An End to Impunity'. *Washington University Global Studies Law Review*. Vol. 7. No. 2. 2008. pp. 185-214.
- Defeis, Elizabeth F. 'The United Nations and Women - A Critique'. *William & Mary Journal of Women and the Law*. Vol. 17. Issue 2. Article 5. 2011.
- Dharmapuri, Sahana. 'Just Add Women and Stir?'. *Parameters*. Spring 2011. pp. 56-70.
- Dietz, Mary. 'Current Controversies in Feminist Theory'. *Annual Review of Political Science*. Vol. 6. 2003. pp. 399-431.
- Dixon, Marlene. 'On the Super-Exploitation of Women'. *Synthesis*. Vol. 1. No. 4. Spring 1977. pp.1-11.
- Dobbins, James. 'America's Role in Nation-Building: From Germany to Iraq'. *Survival*. Vol. 45. No. 4. 2003. pp. 87-110.
- Dobbins, James. 'The UN's Role in Nation-Building: From the Belgian Congo to Iraq'. *Survival*. 1990. Vol. 46. No. 4. pp. 81-102.

- Economic and Social Commission for Asia and the Pacific. *Youth in Country A: A Review of the Youth Situation and National Policies and Programmes*. New York: UN, 2000.
- Fearon, James and David Laitin. 'Neotrusteeship and the Problem of Weak States'. *International Security*. Vol. 28. No. 4. 2004. pp. 5-43.
- Fitz-Gerald, Ann M. 'Multinational Land Force Interoperability: Meeting the Challenge of Different Cultural Backgrounds in Chapter VI Peace Support Operations'. *The Journal of Conflict Studies*. Vol. XXIII. No. 1. 2003. pp. 60-85.
- Fitzsimmons, Tracy. "Engendering a New Police Identity?". *Peace Review*. Vol. 10. No. 2. 1998. pp. 269-274.
- Grey, Christopher. 'Security Studies and Organization Studies: Parallels and Possibilities Organization'. *Organization*. Vol.16. No.2. 2009. pp. 303-16.
- Gunning, Isabelle. 'Arrogant Perception, World-Travelling and Multicultural Feminism: The Case of Female Genital Surgery'. *Columbia Human Rights Law Review*. Vol. 23. 1991-2. pp. 189-248.
- Higate, Paul and Marsha Henry. 'Engendering (In)security in Peace Support Operations'. *Security Dialogue*. Vol. 35. No. 4. 2004. pp. 481-498.
- Hoffman, Stanley. 'An American Social Science: International Relations'. *Daedalus*. Vol. 106. No. 3. Summer 1977. pp. 41-60.
- Irigaray, Luce. 'Is the Subject of Science Sexed?'. *Hypatia*. Vol. 2. No. 3. Fall 1987. pp. 65-88.
- Jeffreys, Sheila. 'Double Jeopardy: Women, the US Military and the War in Iraq'. *Women's Studies International Forum*. Vol. 30. No. 1. 2007. pp. 16-25.
- Jones, Adam. 'Does 'Gender' Make the World Go Round? Feminist Critiques of International Relations'. *Review of International Studies*. Vol. 22. No. 4. October. 1996. pp. 405-429.
- Joachim, Jutta. 'Framing Issues and Seizing Opportunities: The UN, NGOs, and Women's Rights'. *International Studies Quarterly*. Vol. 47. 2003. pp.247-74.
- Kanter, Rosabeth. 'Some Effects of Proportions on Group Life'. *American Journal of Sociology*. Vol. 82. No. 5. 1977. pp. 965-90.
- Karpowitz, Christopher F. Tali Mendelberg and Lee Shaker. 'Gender Inequality in Deliberative Participation'. *American Political Science Review*. August 2012. pp. 1-15.

- Kaufman, Roger and John Keller. 'Levels of Evaluation: Beyond Kirkpatrick', *Human Resource Development Quarterly*. Vol. 5. No. 4. Winter 1994. pp. 371-380.
- Krasner, Stephen. 'Shared Sovereignty: New Institutions for Collapsed and Failing States'. *International Security*. Vol. 29. No. 2. 2004. pp. 85-120.
- Krill, Françoise. 'The Protection of Women in International Humanitarian Law'. *International Review of the Red Cross*. No. 249. December 1985.
- Krishnasamy, Kabilan. "'Recognition' for Third World peacekeepers: India and Pakistan, International Peacekeeping". *International Peacekeeping*. Vol. 8. No. 4. 2001. pp. 56-76.
- Kunda, Ziva. 'The Case for Motivated Reasoning'. *Psychological Bulletin-American Psychological Association*. Vol. 108. No. 3. 1990. pp. 480-498.
- Laplonge, Dean. 'The Absence of Masculinity in Gender Training for UN Peacekeepers'. *Peace Review*, 2015. Vol. 27. No. 1. pp. 91-99
- Lazarfeld, Paul and Anthony Oberschall. 'Weber and Empirical Social Research'. *American Sociological Review*. Vol. 30. No. 2 (April, 1965). p.185-199.
- Leland, Dorothy. 'Lacanian Psychoanalysis and French Feminism: Toward an Adequate Political Psychology'. *Hypatia*. Vol. 3. No. 3. Winter 1989. pp. 90-99.
- Loftus, Elizabeth. 'Leading Questions and the Eyewitness Report'. *Cognitive Psychology*. Vol. 7. No. 4. 1975. pp.560-572.
- Mackinlay, John and Jarat Chopra. 'Second Generation Multinational Operations'. *Washington Quarterly*. Vol. 15. No. 3. 1992. pp. 113-31.
- Mahoney, James and Gary Goertz. 'A Tale of Two Cultures: Contrasting Quantitative and Qualitative Research'. *Political Analysis*. Vol. 14. No.3. 2006. pp.227-249.
- Martin, Ian and Alexander Mayer-Rieckh. 'The United Nations and East Timor: From Self-Determination to State-Building'. *International Peacekeeping*. Vol. 12. No. 1. 2005. pp. 125-145.
- Mazurana, Dyan. 'Does Women Matter in Peacekeeping? Women in Police, Military and Civilian Peacekeeping'. *Canadian Woman Studies*. Vol. 22. No. 2. 2003. pp.64-71.
- McGill, Jena. 'Re-Reading the Zero Tolerance Approach to Sexual Exploitation and Sexual Abuse in United Nations Peace Support Operations'. *Journal of International Peacekeeping*. Vol. 18. Issue 1-2, 2014. pp. 1-44.
- Mohanty, Chandra. 'Under Western Eyes: Feminist Scholarship and Colonial Discourses'. *Boundary 2*. Vol. 12 and Vol. 13. No. 3 and No. 1. Spring-Autumn

1984. pp. 333-358.
- Moser-Puangsuwan, Yeshua. 'UN Peacekeeping in Cambodia: Whose Needs Were Met?' *Pacific Review*. Vol. 7. No. 2. 1995. pp. 103-127.
- Nduka-Agwu, Adibeli. 'Doing Gender' After the War: Dealing with Gender-mainstreaming and Sexual Exploitation and Abuse in UN Peace Support Operations in Liberia and Sierra Leone'. *Civil Wars*. Vol. 11. No. 2. June 2009. pp. 179-199.
- Nussbaum, Martha. 'Women's Bodies: Violence, Security, Capabilities'. *Journal of Human Development*. Vol. 6. No. 2. 2005. pp. 167-183.
- O'Neill, J.T. 'Eyewitness: The Irish Company at Jadotville, Congo, 1961: Soldiers or Symbols'. *International Peacekeeping*. Vol. 9. No. 4. 2002. pp. 127-144.
- Otto, Dianne. 'Holding Up Half the Sky, but for Whose Benefit? A Critical Analysis of the Fourth World Conference on Women'. *Australian Feminist Law Journal*. Vol. 6. 1996. pp.7-28.
- Otto, Dianne. 'Power and Danger: Feminist Engagement with International Law Through the UN Security Council'. *Australian Feminist Law Journal*. Vol. 32. 2010. pp. 97-121.
- Oudraat, Chantal de Jonge. 'UNSCR 1325—Conundrums and Opportunities'. *International Interactions*. Vol. 39. No. 4. 2013. pp. 614-621.
- Owen, John M. 'How Liberalism Produces Democratic Peace'. *International Security*. Vol. 19. No. 2. Autumn 1994. pp. 123-24.
- Paris, Roland. 'Peacebuilding and the Limits of Liberal Internationalism'. *International Security*. Vol. 22. No. 2. 1997. pp. 54-89.
- Paris, Roland. 'Broadening the Study of Peace Operations'. *International Studies Review*. Vol. 2. No. 3. Fall 2000. pp. 27-44.
- Puechguirbal, Nadine. 'Discourses on Gender, Patriarchy and Resolution 1325: A Textual Analysis of UN Documents'. *International Peacekeeping*. 2010. Vol. 17. No. 2. p. 182.
- Pugh, Michael. 'Peacekeeping and International Relations Theory: Phantom of the Opera?'. *International Peacekeeping*. Vol. 10. No. 4. Winter 2003. pp. 104-112.
- Razavi, Shahra. 'Islamic Politics, Human Rights and Women's Claims for Equality in Iran'. *Third World Quarterly*. Vol. 27. No. 7. 2006. pp.1223-1237.
- Razavi, Shahra. 'Liberalization and the Debates on Women's Access to Land'. *Third World Quarterly*. Vol. 28. No. 8. 2007. pp. 1457-78.

- Reed, Evelyn. 'Women: Caste, Class, or Oppressed Sex?'. *International Socialist Review*. Vol. 31. No. 3. September 1970. pp. 15-41.
- Rose, Gideon. 'The Exit Strategy Delusion'. *Foreign Affairs*. Vol. III. Jan./Feb. 1998. pp.56-67.
- Rothschild, Emma. 'What is Security?'. *Daedalus*. Vol. 124. No. 3. The Quest for World Order. Summer 1995. pp. 53-98.
- Samuels, Kirsti. 'Jus Ad Bellum and Civil Conflicts: A Case Study of the International Community's Approach to Violence in the Conflict in Sierra Leone'. *Journal of Conflict and Security Law*. Vol 8. No. 2. 2003. pp. 315-38.
- Sandler, Todd. 'The Impurity of Defense: An Application to the Economics of Alliances'. *Kyklos*. Vol. 33. 1997. pp. 443-60.
- Schmidl, Erwin. 'The Evolution of Peace Operations from the Nineteenth Century', *Small Wars and Insurgencies*, Vol. 10, Issue 2, 1999, pp. 4-5
- Secombe, Wally. 'The Housewife and her Labor under Capitalism'. *New Left Review*. Vol. 1. No. 83. January-February 1973. pp. 3-24.
- Segal, Mady Wechsler. 'Women's Military Roles Cross-Nationally: Past, Present, and Future'. *Gender and Society*. Vol. 9. No. 6. p. 767-68.
- Sen, Amartya. 'Missing Women: Social Inequality Outweighs Women's Survival Advantage in Asia and North Africa', *British Medical Journal*, 7 March 1992, Vol. 304, pp.587-8
- Sen, Amartya. 'Missing Women – Revisited', *British Medical Journal*, 6 December 2003, Vol. 327, pp. 1297-8.
- Simic, Olivera. 'Does the Presence of Women Really Matter? Towards Combating Male Sexual Violence in Peacekeeping Operations'. *International Peacekeeping*. Vol. 17. No. 2. 2010. pp. 188-199.
- Sotomayor, Arturo. 'Why Some States Participate in UN Peace Missions While Others Do Not? An Analysis of Civil-Military Relations and Its Effects on Latin America's Contributions to Peacekeeping Operations'. *Security Studies*. Vol.19. No. 1. January 2010. pp. 160-195.
- Taylor, Harriet. 'Enfranchisement of Women'. *Westminster and Foreign Quarterly Review*. July 1851. pp. 6-10.
- Tickner, Ann. 'You Just Don't Understand: Troubled Engagements Between Feminists and IR Theorists'. *International Studies Quarterly*. Vol. 41. 1997. pp. 611-633.
- Toktas, Sule. 'Nasionalisim, Militarism and Gender Politics: Women in the Military'.

Minerva: Quarterly Report on Women and the Military. Vol. XX. No. 1. Summer 2002. pp.29-44.

Tryggestad, Torunn. 'State feminism going global: Norway on the United Nations Peacebuilding Commission'. *Cooperation and Conflict*. Vol. 49. No. 4. 2014. p. 470.

Warren, Karen. 'The Power and the Promise of Ecological Feminism'. *Environmental Ethics*. Vol. 12. No. 2. Summer 1990. pp. 125–146.

Warren, Karen. 'Feminism and the Environment: An Overview of the Issues,' *American Philosophical Association Newsletter on Feminism and Philosophy*. Vol. 90. No. 3. Fall 1991. pp. 110–116.

Wedgwood, Ruth. 'The Evolution of United Nations Peacekeeping'. *Cornell International Law Journal*. Vol. 28. 1995. pp. 631-40.

Yannis, Alexandros. 'The UN as Government in Kosovo'. *Global Governance*. Vol.10. No.1. 2004. pp. 67-82.

Occasional Papers and Reports

Agam, Hasmy 'Equitable Geographic Representation in the Twenty-First Century', in Ramesh Thakur (Ed.), *What is Equitable Geographic Representation in the Twenty-First Century, Seminar Report*. (New York: United Nations University, 1999).

Amnesty International. *So Does that Mean I have rights? Protecting the Human Rights of Women and Girls Trafficked for Forced Prostitution in Kosovo*. (London: AI, 2004).

Barnes, Karen. 'Reform or More of the Same? Gender-mainstreaming and the Changing Nature of UN Peace Operations', *York Consortium on International and Security Studies Working Paper*, Number 41, October 2006, p. 9.

Bertolazzi, Francesco. 'Women with a Blue Helmet: The Integration of Women and Gender Issues in UN Peacekeeping Missions'. *UN-Instraw Working Paper*. 2010.

Blanchfield, Luisa. 'New United Nations Entity for Women: Issues for Congress'. *CRS Report for Congress 7-5700*. Washington DC: Congressional Research Service, May 2010.

Blanchfield, Luisa. 'United Nations System Efforts to Address Violence Against Women'. *US Congressional Research Service*. No. 7-5700, RL34518. 12 July 2012.

Cawkill, Paul, Alison Rogers, Sarah Knight, and Laura Spear. 'Women in Ground Close Combat Roles: The Experiences of other Nations and a Review of the Academic Literature'. *Defence Science and Technology Laboratory UK Paper*. No. DSTL/CR37770 V3-0, (London: UK MoD, September 2009)

- Christoff, Joseph A. *Peacekeeping: Thousands Trained but United States Is Unlikely to Complete All Activities by 2010 and Some Improvements are Needed*. Washington DC: U.S. Government Accountability Office, June 2008.
- Cordell, Kristen. 'Security or Tokenism: Evaluating Role of Women as Peacekeepers within the United Nations Department of Peacekeeping'. *Peace Research Institute Oslo Paper*. November 2011.
- Curan, David and Paul Williams. 'Peacekeeping Contributor Profile: The United Kingdom', *Providing for Peacekeeping*. October 2014.
- Cutillo, Alberto. 'Deploying the Best: Enhancing Training for United Nations Peacekeepers'. *Providing for Peacekeeping*. No. 5. New York: International Peace Institute. August 2013.
- Dahrendorf, Nicola. *Sexual Exploitation and Abuse: Lessons Learned Study, Addressing Sexual Exploitation and Abuse in MONUC*. (New York: UN DPKO, March 2006).
- Dharmapuri, Sahana. 'Not Just a Numbers Game: Increasing Women's Participation in UN Peacekeeping', *Providing for Peacekeeping*, No. 4, (New York: *International Peace Institute*, July 2013).
- Durch, William J., Victoria K. Holt, Caroline R. Earle and Moira K. Shanahan. *The Brahimi Report and the Future of UN Peace Operations*. (Washington DC: Henry L. Stimson Center, 2003).
- Elborgh-Woytek, Katrin et. al. 'Women, Work, and the Economy: Macroeconomic Gains from Gender Equity'. *IMF Discussion Note*. September 2013.
- Ford, Harry. 'Evaluating the Operational Effectiveness of West African Female Police Officers' Participation in Peace Support Operations: The Case of Ghana and Nigeria', *Kofi Anan International Peacekeeping Training Centre Occasional Paper*. No. 23. September 2008.
- Geneva Center for the Democratic Control of Armed Forces. *DCAF Backgrounder: Gender and Security Sector Reform*. October 2009.
- Human Rights Watch. 'The Fall of Srebrenica and the Failure of UN Peacekeeping Bosnia and Herzegovina'. *Human Rights Report*. Vol. 7. No. 13. October 1995.
- Integrated Training Service Policy - Evaluation and Training Division UN DPKO. *Report on the Strategic Peacekeeping Training Needs Assessment*. New York: UN DPKO, 2008.
- Integrated Training Service UN DPKO and DFS. *Training: A Strategic Investment in UN Peacekeeping: Global Peacekeeping Training Needs Assessment, Final Report - 2012-2013*, New York: UN DPKO, 2008.

- Kleppe, Toiko Tönisson. 'Gender Training for Security Sector Personnel – Good Practices and Lessons Learned'. Megan Bastick and Kristin Valasek (eds.). *Gender and Security Sector Reform Toolkit*. Geneva: DCAF, OSCE/ODIHR, UN-INSTRAW, 2008.
- Lyytikäinen, Minna. 'Gender Training for Peacekeepers: Preliminary Overview of United Nations Peace Support Operations'. *Gender, Peace & Security Working Paper 4*. Santo Domingo: UN INSTRAW, 2007.
- Morada, Noel. 'Peacekeeping Contributor Profile: The Philippines'. *Providing for Peacekeeping*. December 2013.
- Nario-Galace, Jasmin and Frances Marie Piscano. *Security Council Resolution 1325: Civil Society Monitoring Report*. Manila: Global Network of Women Peacebuilders, 2010.
- Norwegian Agency for Development Cooperation. 'Building Blocks for Peace: An Evaluation of the Training for Peace in Africa Programme'. *Report No. 6*. Oslo: NORAD, 2014.
- Odoi, Nana. 'Cultural Diversity in Peace Operations: Training Challenges'. *Kofi Annan International Peacekeeping and Training Centre Paper*. No. 4. March 2005.
- Olsson, Louise. 'Gendering UN Peacekeeping: Mainstreaming A Gender Perspective in Multi-Dimensional Peacekeeping Operations'. *Report No. 53*. Uppsala: Department of Peace and Conflict Studies, Uppsala University, 1999.
- Pomeroy, Jacqueline. 'Strengthening Women's Access to Employment in North Sumatra and East Java'. *International Labour Organisation Report*. October 2012.
- Rehn, Elisabeth and Ellen Johnson Sirleaf. *Women, War and Peace: The Independent Experts' Assessment on the Impact of Armed Conflict on Women and Women's Role in Peace-building*. New York: UNIFEM, 2002.
- Report of the Special Committee on Peacekeeping Operations*. UN Doc. A/66/19. September 11, 2012.
- Sararith, Suthathip. *Glass Ceiling in Country A's Ministry of Defense: How Thai female Soldiers Overcome Gender Barriers in Male Dominant Workplace*. Bangkok: Conflict Management Club, 2012.
- Sebastian, Leonard. 'Indonesian Peacekeepers in Lebanon'. *RSIS Commentary*. 13 September 2006.
- Serafino, Nina M. 'The Global Peace Operations Initiative: Background and Issues for Congress'. *Congressional Research Service, RL32773*. 11 June 2009.

- Simic, Olivera. 'Moving Beyond the Numbers: Integrating Women into Peacekeeping Operations'. *Norwegian Peacebuilding Resource Centre Policy Brief*. March 2013.
- Sorensen, Brigitte. 'Women and Post-Conflict Reconstruction: Issues and Sources'. *War-torn Societies Project Occasional Paper 3*. (Geneva: UNRISD, 1998).
- Stedman, Stephen. 'Implementing Peace Agreements in Civil Wars: Lessons and Recommendations for Policymakers'. *IPA Policy Paper Series on Peace Implementation*. New York. May 2001.
- Stiehm, Judith. *Mainstreaming a Gender Perspective in Multidimensional Peace Support Operations, Report prepared for the UN DPKO's Lessons Learned Unit*. New York: UN DPKO, 2000.
- UN INSTRAW. *Good and Bad Practices in Gender Training for Security Sector Personnel: Summary of a Virtual Discussion*. (Geneva: The Geneva Centre for the Democratic Control of Armed Forces, UN INSTRAW and Office for Democratic Institutions and Human Rights, June 2007).
- UN Department of Peacekeeping Operation. *Second Report of the Secretary-General on the Feasibility of UN Emergency Force*. 6 November 1965. A/3302.
- UN Department of Peacekeeping Operation and Department of Field Support. *Gender Advisory Team Annual Progress Report 2010*. New York: UN Secretariat, 2010.
- UN Office of Internal Oversight Services. 'Audit Report: Office of Military Affairs'. Assignment No. AP 2009/600/02, 28 May 2010.
- UN Women Evaluation Office. *Evaluation of Gender-mainstreaming in United Nations Peacekeeping Activities (MONUC / MONUSCO) in the Democratic Republic of the Congo*. New York: UN Women, 2010.
- UNDP. 'Progress in Gender Equality'. *Human Development Report 1995*. New York: UNDP, 1995.
- UNHCR and Save the Children-UK. *Note for Implementing and Operational Partners on Sexual Violence and Exploitation: The Experience of Refugee Children in Guinea, Liberia and Sierra Leone*. (London: UNHCR and Save the Children-UK, February 2002)
- United Nations. *Report of the Secretary-General Pursuant to General Assembly Resolution 53/35: The Fall of Srebrenica*. New York. 15 November 1995.
- United Nations. *Report on the Situation of Human Rights in Rwanda submitted by Mr. René Degni-Segui, Special Rapporteur of the Commission on Human Rights/ E/CN.4/1996/68*, 29 January 1996
- United Nations. *The Millennium Development Goals Report: 2014*. New York: United

Nations, 2014.

US Department of State. *Country Reports on Human Rights Practices: Serbia and Montenegro, Kosovo Section 5 – Trafficking in Person*. 25 February 2004.

US General Accounting Office. 'U.N. Peacekeeping: Lessons Learned in Managing Recent Missions'. *US GAO Report*. NSIAD-94-9. Washington DC, December 1993.

Valasek, Kristin. 'Security Sector Reform and Gender'. *Gender and Security Sector Reform*. Geneva: DCAF, OSCE/ODIHR, UN-INSTRAW, 2008.

'Voluntary Briefing on Country A's Experience in United Nation Peacekeeping Operation', *ASEAN Regional Briefing Paper*, 12th ASEAN Regional Forum, Vientiane, LAO PDR, July 2005

World Economic Forum. *The Global Gender Gap Report 2013*. Geneva: WEF, 2013.

Government Documents

Country A - Data Centre to Promote Gender Equality, *Women Status Report 2550*, (Country A Capital: 2007)

Country A - Military Adviser and Minister of Country A Permanent Mission to the United Nations, *Statement before the Fourth Committee of the 68th Session of the United Nations General Assembly*, New York, 28 October 2013.

Country A - National Bureau of 2557-2566, *Human Resource Strategy of Country A Police 2014-2023*, (Country A Capital: 2014), p. 3

Country A - Permanent Mission to UN, *Press Statement*, 9 May 2015.

Indonesia - Chief of Army Decision Letter, *Surat Keputusan Pangad* No.1056/12/1960

Indonesia - Chief of Navy Decision Letter, *Surat Keputusan Pangal* No. Men/Pangal No:5401.24, dated 26 Juni 1962

Indonesia - Chief of Air Force Decision Letter, *Skep Menpangau* No. 794/T-MKS/I/63.

Indonesia - Labour Law No. 13/2003

The Philippines - House of Representatives Quezon City, Republic of the Philippines, 'Thirteenth Congress - Third Regular Session', *House Resolution, No. 1313*, filed on 31 July 2006.

The Philippines - *Statistics on Filipino Women and Men's Labor and Employment*, *Philippine Commission on Women Data*, 13 May 2014.

The Philippines - *Republic Act 3835 to Establish Women Auxiliary Corps in the Armed Forces of the Philippines*, <http://www.pcw.gov.ph/law/republic-act-3835> accessed December 2015.

United Nations Documents

'A Brief History of UNEF'. Ms, c. 1958. *UN Archives*. New York: DAG-1/2.2.5.5.1

'United Nations Armed Forces'. *UN-Archives*. New York: DAG-1/2.3. Box 42, file 399.

'Statement of the Secretary-General on Receiving the Report of the Independent Inquiry Into the Actions of the United Nations During the 1994 Genocide in Rwanda'. *UN Security Council Document*. S/1999/1257. December 1999, Annex.

UN Convention on the Elimination of Discrimination Against Women. *General Recommendation No. 19*. 11th session, 1992.

UN Department of Peacekeeping Operations in cooperation with the UN Department of Public Information. 'Fact Sheet: United Nations Peacekeeping'. *UN Document No. DPI/2429/Rev.7*. March 2010.

UN Document. S/2000/693 - Windhoek Declaration and Namibia Plan of Action on 'Mainstreaming a Gender Perspective in Multidimensional Peace Support Operations', 2000.

UN Document. ST/SGB/2003/13, 9 October 2003 - United Nations Secretariat, 'Special Measures for Protection from Sexual Exploitation and Sexual Abuse', Secretary-General's Bulletin.

UN Document. A/59/710, 24 March 2005 - United Nations General Assembly, 'A Comprehensive Strategy to Eliminate Future Sexual Exploitation and Abuse in United Nations Peacekeeping Operations', Letter from the Secretary-General to the President of the General Assembly.

UN Document. A/RES/59/300, 30 June 2005 - United Nations General Assembly, A Comprehensive Review of a Strategy to Eliminate Future Sexual Exploitation and Abuse in United Nations Peacekeeping Operations, Resolution adopted by the General Assembly.

UN Document. A/60/861, 24 May 2006 - 'Special measures for protection from sexual exploitation and sexual abuse', Report of the Secretary General, primarily containing the report of incidents in 2005.

UN Document. A/RES/63/311, adopted on 14 September 2009.

UN ECOSOC. Report of the Economic and Social Council for 1997. A/52/3/1997.

UN General Assembly Resolution 44/49. UN Doc. A/RES/44/49, para. 6, 8 December

1989

- UN General Assembly Resolution of the 94th plenary meeting. A/RES/49/167, 23 December 1994.
- UN General Assembly Resolution of the 95th plenary meeting. A/RES/50/169, 27 October 1995.
- UN General Assembly Resolution 50/711. UN Doc.A/50/711-S/1995/911. 1 November 1995
- UN General Assembly and Security Council. Report of the Panel on United Nations Peace Operations. UN Document No A/55/305–S/2000/809. 21 August 2000.
- UN General Assembly. ‘Investigation into Sexual Exploitation of Refugees by Aid Workers in West Africa’. Note by the Secretary-General. UN Document A/57/465, 11 October 2002
- UN General Assembly Resolution 59/300. ‘A comprehensive review of a strategy to eliminate future sexual exploitation and abuse in United Nations Peacekeeping Operations’, New York: United Nations, 30 June 2005
- UN Department of Peacekeeping Operations and Department of Field Support. *United Nations Peacekeeping Operations Principles and Guidelines*. (New York: UN DPKO&DFS, 2008).
- UN DPKO. ‘Statistical Report on Female Military and Police Personnel in UN Peacekeeping Operations, March 2010’, accessed at http://www.un.org/en/peacekeeping/documents/gender_sces1325_chart.pdf April 2013
- UN DPKO. ‘Financing Peacekeeper’. <http://www.un.org/en/peacekeeping/operations/financing.shtml>, accessed October 2014
- UN Lesson Learned Unit DPKO. *Mainstreaming a Gender Perspective in Multidimensional Peacekeeping Operation*. (New York: DPKO, July 2000).
- UN Peacekeeping Statistics. ‘Ranking of Military and Police Contributions to UN Operations: Month of Report: 30-Apr-14’, http://www.un.org/en/peacekeeping/contributors/2014/apr14_2.pdf accessed 15 May 2014.
- UN Publication. No. E.96.IV.13, 1996 - Report of the Fourth World Conference on Women, Beijing, 4 to 15 September 1995.
- UN Publication. No. E.03.IV.1, 2002 - UN, Women, Peace and Security: Study submitted by the Secretary-General pursuant to Security Council resolution 1325

(2000).

UN Peacekeeping. 'Gender Statistics by Mission for December 2014'.

<http://www.un.org/en/peacekeeping/contributors/gender/2014gender/dec14.pdf>
accessed 4 September 2015.

UN Peacekeeping. 'Fatalities by Nationality and Mission'.

http://www.un.org/en/peacekeeping/fatalities/documents/stats_2.pdf accessed
December 2015.

UN Peacekeeping. 'Peacekeepers Minimum Recruitment Requirements'.

<http://www.un.org/en/peacekeeping/sites/police/requirements.shtml> accessed
November 2015.

UN Peacekeeping Statistics. 'Troops and Police Contributors'.

<http://www.un.org/en/peacekeeping/resources/statistics/contributors.shtml> accessed
June 2015.

UN Police Division Minimum Recruitment Requirements. 'UN Requirements for
Serving as a UN Military Observer in a Mission'.

<http://www.defence.gov.au/ADFWC/peacekeeping/meom.asp> accessed December
2015.

UN Policy, Evaluation and Training Division. 'About Us in Peacekeeping Resource
Hub'. <http://peacekeepingresourcehub.unlb.org/PBPS/Pages/Public/AboutUs.aspx>
accessed in May 2014.

UN Refugee Agency. 'Helpful Fact and Figures', [http://www.refintl.org/get-
involved/helpful-facts-%2526-figures](http://www.refintl.org/get-involved/helpful-facts-%2526-figures) accessed on 3 April 2013.

UN Security Council General Assembly report A/62/659–S/2008/39. 23 January 2008.

UN Security Council. Report of the Secretary-General on Women and Peace and
Security. S/2012/732, 2012.

UN Term, 'Chapter VI 1/2 Operation'.

[http://unterm.un.org/dgaacs/unterm.nsf/e7c98d129407654185256991007f1aaf/60e28
7d6ffdb6a0485256a00000751e9?OpenDocument](http://unterm.un.org/dgaacs/unterm.nsf/e7c98d129407654185256991007f1aaf/60e287d6ffdb6a0485256a00000751e9?OpenDocument) accessed October 2014.

UN Troops and Contributors Archive. 'Contributor Archive for Peacekeeping' available
year from 2001 to 2014, sex-segregated data available between November 2009 to
December 2014.

http://www.un.org/en/peacekeeping/resources/statistics/contributors_archive.shtml
accessed December 2015.

UN Women. *Women's Participation in Peace Negotiations: Connections between
Presence and Influence*. (New York: UN Women, 2012).

UN Women Training Centre. *Gender Equality Capacity Assessment Tool*. (New York: UN Women Training Centre, 2014).

UN Women. 'How We Work'. <http://www.unwomen.org/en/how-we-work> accessed November 2014.

UNIFEM and DPKO. *Addressing Conflict-Related Sexual Violence: An Analytical Inventory of Peacekeeping Practice*. (New York: October 2012).

UNIFEM Fact Sheets. http://www.unifem.org/about/fact_sheets.php accessed November 2014

United Nations. 'Global Issues: Women', <http://www.un.org/en/globalissues/women/> accessed November 2014.

United Nations. 'National Accounts Main Aggregates Database: GDP and Its Breakdown at Current Prices in US Dollars'. <http://unstats.un.org/unsd/snaama/dnltransfer.asp?fID=5> accessed 1 March 2015.

United Nations. 'Women in Peacekeeping: A Growing Force'. http://www.un.org/News/dh/photos/large/2013/March/CSW/womenpeacekeeping_graph.jpg

United Nations. *The United Nations and the Advancement of Women, 1945-1996*. (New York: Blue Book Series, 1996).

United Nations. *Women, Peace and Security*. (New York: UN, 2002).

United Nations. *Handbook on United Nations Multidimensional Peacekeeping Operations*. (New York: Department of Peacekeeping Operations United Nations, 2003).

United Nations. *The Planning Toolkit*. (New York: Office of Rule of Law and Security Institutions of the United Nations Department of Peacekeeping Operations, 2013).

United Nations Department of Public Information. 'At Indonesia Training Centre, Secretary-General Says Peacekeepers 'The Very Front Line of Our Work for Peace'. Symbol of Hope When Conflicts Rage'. Secretary General Speech SG/SM/14176-PKO/303, 21 March 2012. <http://www.un.org/News/Press/docs/2012/sgsm14176.doc.htm> accessed 15 April 2014.

UNMIK Regulation 2000/47. 'On the Status, Privileges and Immunities of KFOR and UNMIK and Their Personnel in Kosovo'. 18 August 2000.

International Charters, Conventions and Resolutions

Charter of the United Nations, (San Francisco: United Nations, 1945)

Convention on the Political Rights of Women (entered into force 1953).

Convention on the Nationality of Married Women (entered into force 1958).

Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination Against Women - CEDAW (entered into force 1981).

Optional Protocol to CEDAW (entered into force 2000).

United Nations, 'UN Security Council Resolution 1325 on Women, Peace and Security', (S/RES/1325), New York: UN, 31 October 2000.

Protocol to Prevent, Suppress and Punish Trafficking in Persons, especially Women and Children (entered into force 2003).

Resolution 1820 (2008), United Nations Security Council, S/RES/1820 (2008), 19 June 2008

Resolution 1888 (2009), United Nations Security Council, S/RES/1888 (2009), 30 September 2009.

Resolution 1889 (2009), United Nations Security Council, S/RES/1889 (2009), 5 October 2009.

Resolution 1960 (2010), United Nations Security Council, S/RES/1960 (2010), 16 December 2010.

Resolution 2106 (2013), United Nations Security Council, S/RES/2106 (2013), 24 June 2013.

Resolution 2122 (2013), United Nations Security Council, S/RES/2122 (2013), 18 October 2013.

Magazines, Newspapers and Press Release

'40 Female Cadets Joining Pakistan Military Academy Next Month', *Pakistan Times*, 24 September 2006

'7 Latin American Countries That Allow Female Soldiers Into Combat', *The Huffington Post*, 25 January 2013

'Annan Vows to End Sex Abuse Committed by UN Mission Staff in DR of Congo', *UN News Centre*, 19 November 2004

'At Indonesia Training Centre, Secretary-General Says Peacekeepers 'The Very Front Line of Our Work for Peace', Symbol Of Hope When Conflicts Rage', *United*

Nations Department of Public Information Release, SG/SM/14176-PKO/303, 21 March 2012.

‘Basaria Panjaitan, Wanita Batak ini jadi Polwan Pertama Berpangkat Bintang Dua di Polri’, *Liputan 6*, 22 October 2015.

‘Brigjen Pol Rumiah Kartoredjo Kapolda Wanita Pertama di Tubuh Polri’, *National Traffic Management Centre Polri General News*, 23 November 2015.

‘Commander of Indian Female UN Police Unit Arrives in Liberia with Advance Team’, *UN News Centre*, 22 January 2007.

‘Di Balik Monumen dan Usia ke-67 Polwan’, *Padang Ekspres*, 1 September 2015

‘Eni “Srikandi” Jenderal Bintang Satu di Antara 25 Pati TNI Pria’, *Lensa Indonesia*, 15 May 2015.

‘Europe May Curb Albania’, *The New York Times*, 26 May 1914.

‘First UN Female Force Commander Takes Reins in Cyprus’, *UN News Centre*, 11 August 2014.

‘Global Effort Leads to Increase in Female UN Police Worldwide’, *UN News Centre Press Release*, 16 June 2011

‘Human Rights Monitors Study Impact of Sexual Violence During Liberia’s Civil War’, *UNDP Liberia Press Release*, 2 March 2004.

‘In First for UN Peacekeeping, All-female Police Unit Arrives in Liberia’, *UN News Centre Press Release*, 30 January 2007

‘India’s all-female UN police unit serves as inspiration for Liberian women’, *UN News Centre Press Release*, 20 November 2009.

‘International Conference English for Uniformed Forces’, *British Institute Press Conference*, 26 June 2013.

‘Indonesia Aims to be Among the Top Ten Peacekeeping Contributors’, *Jakarta Post*, 30 April 2014.

‘Irriberi Declares Military ‘Gender-Free’ Institution’, *The Philippines Inquirer*, 23 August 2015.

‘KSAL Baru Janji Tingkatkan Jumlah Prajurit Wanita’, *Tempo*, 13 January 2015.

‘LIBERIA: No Impunity for Rapists, Vows President-Elect’, *IRIN News*, 5 December 2005.

- ‘More women officers needed to meet peacekeeping challenges of UN Police, officials say’, *UN News Centre Press Release*, 21 November 2013.
- ‘Navy Appoints First Female Admiral’, *ABC News*, 15 December 2011.
- ‘Peace Inextricably Linked with Equality between Women and Men Says Security Council, in International Women's Day Statement’, *UN Security Council Press Release*, SC/6816, 8 March 2000.
- ‘Peacekeepers 'Abusing Children’’, *BBC News*, 27 May 2008.
- ‘Philippines President Aquino Criticises UN for Mission 'Impossible’’, *The Straits Times*, 1 October 2014.
- ‘Philippine Troops Attacked in Syria's Golan Heights’, *BBC News*, 30 August 2014
- ‘Profile: Bureaucrat at large in the Balkans: Yasushi Akashi, Almost Painfully Diplomatic UN Envoy’, *The Independent*, 30 April 1994.
- ‘Royal Navy’s First Women Warship Commander Sarah West Takes Up Her Post’, *BBC News*, 22 May 2012
- ‘Saudi women challenges and successes’, *UNDP in Saudi Arabia press release*, 9 March 2014
- ‘Secretary-General Ban Ki-moon Lecture at the Indonesia Peace and Security Centre’, *Secretary General Ban Ki-moon Statement, UN News Centre Press Release*, 20 March 2012
- ‘Security Council, unanimously adopting resolution 1325 (2000), calls for broad participation of women in peace-building post-conflict reconstruction’, *UN News Centre Press Release*, 31 October 2000.
- ‘Security Council condemns ‘in the strongest terms’ all acts of sexual abuse, exploitation by UN peacekeeping personnel’, *United Nations Press Release*, UN Document No. SC/8400, 31 May 2005.
- ‘Special Technical Course for Female Military Officers’, *UN Women Asia and the Pacific News*, 13 March 2015.
- ‘TNI AU Masih Kekurangan Prajurit Wanita’, *Berita Satu*, 26 August 2013
- ‘Training Peacekeepers in the Philippines’, *Norway Embassy in the Philippines News*, 6 November 2013.
- ‘Tunjangan Kosmetik Wanita TNI Perlu Ditingkatkan’, *Antara News*, 26 April 2010
- ‘UN Peacekeeping Operations Fact Sheet: 31 October 2015’, *United Nations*

- Department of Public Information Release, DPI/1634/Rev.174, November 2015.*
- ‘UN police officers probed over Kosovo trafficking’, *Reuters*, 5 July 2001.
- ‘UN Security Council Adopts New Resolution, Urges Women’s Full Inclusion in Peace Talks and Transitional Justice’, UN Women Press Statement, 18 Oct 2013.
- ‘UN's Own Financial Crisis’, *The Guardian*, 22 July 2009.
- ‘Women gain as gender gap 'narrows'’, *BBC News*, 24 October 2013
- Agbambu, Chris. ‘Women Now to Go to NDA’, *Nigerian Tribune*, 15 February 2011.
- Basanisi, Matthias. ‘Who Will Watch the Peacekeepers?’, *The New York Times*, 23 May 2008.
- Bell, Thomas. ‘Country A to Recruit First Women Police Officers’, *Telegraph*, 23 January 2009.
- Bigg, Matthew. ‘U.N. peacekeepers likely caused Haiti cholera’, *Reuters*, 30 June 2011
- Brimacole, Ian. ‘Women at war: How roles are changing’, *BBC News*, 18 February 2010
- Brown, Ryan Lenora. ‘Would More Female Soldiers Improve UN Peacekeeping Missions?’, *Christian Science Monitor*, 21 September 2015.
- Carvajal, Doreen. ‘A Female Approach to Peacekeeping’, *The New York Times*, 5 March 2010
- Cumming-Bruce, Nick. ‘Peacekeepers Accused of Sexual Abuse in Central African Republic’, *The New York Times*, 29 January 2016
- Dharmapuri, Sahana. ‘Core Issue Stall Women’s Participation in UN Peacekeeping’, *Global Observatory*, 13 March 2013.
- Dickinson, Elizabeth. ‘For Tiny Burundi, Big Returns in Sending Peacekeepers to Somalia’, *Christian Science Monitor*, December 2011.
- Diola, Camille. ‘AFP honors first female UN peacekeeping commander’, *The Philippine Star*, 15 October 2014.
- Ehrenreich, Barbara. ‘Peacekeeping’. *Z Magazine*. January 1997, pp. 5-6.
- Fonbuena, Carmella. ‘PH's First Woman Peacekeeping Commander Off to Haiti’, *Rappler*, 29 October 2013
- Gladstone, Rick. ‘Rights Advocates Suing U.N. Over the Spread of Cholera in Haiti’,

- The International Herald Tribune*, 8 October 2013.
- KY, I Gede Sumertha. 'Peacekeeping and Women's Role in Peace and Security', *Jakarta Post*, 12 July 2011.
- Lacey, Marc. 'In Congo War, Even Peacekeepers Add to Horror', *The New York Times*, 18 December 2004.
- Puri, Lakshmi. 'UN Women welcomes the unanimous adoption of Security Council Resolution 2106 on Conflict-Related Sexual Violence', *UN Women Press Statement*, 27 June 2013
- Lempiainen, Mirva. 'More Women Sit on the UN Security Council, but What Does It Mean?'. *Pass Blue Covering the UN*. 30 April 2014, <http://passblue.com/2014/04/30/more-women-sit-on-the-un-security-council-but-what-does-it-mean/> accessed 5 October 2015.
- Lynch, Colum. 'Misconduct, Corruption by US Police Mar Bosnia Mission', *The Washington Post*, 29 May 2001.
- Lynch, Colum. 'U.N. Says Its Workers Abuse Women in Congo', *The Washington Post*, 27 November 2004.
- Lynch, Colum. 'U.N. Sexual Abuse Alleged in Congo', *The Washington Post*, 16 December 2004
- Lynch, Colum. 'U.N. Faces More Accusations of Sexual Misconduct', *The Washington Post*, 13 March 2005.
- Massola, Jess and Ben Packham. 'Julia Gillard Backs a Woman's Right to Fight on the Frontline Military Combat', *The Australian*, 12 April 2011.
- McDermott, Josephine. 'Why does Indonesia demand that female military recruits are virgins?', *BBC News*, 19 May 2015.
- Montlake, Simon. 'Country A Enlists Women to Battle Insurgency', *Christian Science Monitor*, 4 April 2007.
- Naik, Rineeta. 'Special Technical Course for Female Military Officers', *UN Women Asia and the Pasific Press Release*, 13 March 2015
- Pekusic, Biljana. 'Women take to the sky with Serbia's Army', *Southeast European Times*, 11 April 2011
- Powell, Danielle. 'Haiti, The UN and Cholera: A Timeline', *Al Jazeera*, 21 August 2014
- Prashant, Shishir. 'India Military Academy ready to welcome women', *Business*

Standard (India), 13 June 2010

Rayment, Sean. 'Army's Most Senior Female Officer Quits Amid Cuts Anger', *Telegraph*, 30 June 2012.

Robillos, Alyosha. 'Women on Top: Keeping Country Safe and Secure', *CNN Philippines*, 2 July 2015.

Sihaloho, Markus Junianto. 'Indonesian Army to Welcome Female Cadets for First Time', *Jakarta Globe*, 22 March 2013.

WE Act 1325. 'Engaging the Security Sector: Training Philippine Peacekeepers', *WE Act 1325 News*, 20 July 2013.

Zambrano, Chiara. 'Meet PH's First Female Peacekeeper Commander'. *ABS-CBN News*. 15 October 2014.

Maps

Map of Southeast Asia – *United Nations, Map*, No. 4365 Rev. 1, March 2012.

Map of UN Peacekeeping Missions in 2014 – *UN Department of Field Support, Cartographic Section, Map*, No. 4259 Rev. 21 (E), November 2014

Training Materials

Military Division UN DPKO. *Gender and Peacekeeping Operations – Generic Training*. New York: UN DPKO, 2002.

Peacekeeping Best Practice Unit UN DPKO. *Gender Resource Package for Peacekeeping Operations*. New York: UN DPKO, 2004.

UN DPKO. 'Introduction to the Core Pre-Deployment Training Materials'. *UN Peacekeeping PDT Standards, Core Pre-Deployment Training Materials, 1st ed.* New York: UN DPKO, 2009.

UN DPKO. 'Unit 3: Effective Mandate Implementation., *UN Peacekeeping PDT Standards, Core Pre-Deployment Training Materials, 1st ed.* New York: UN DPKO, 2009.

UN DPKO. 'Unit 4 Standards, Values and Safety of UN Peacekeeping Personnel'. *UN Peacekeeping PDT Standards, Core Pre-Deployment Training Materials, 1st ed.* New York: UN DPKO, 2009.

UN DPKO. 'Unit 4 Part 1: Conduct and Discipline'. *UN Peacekeeping PDT Standards, Core Pre-Deployment Training Materials, 1st ed.* New York: UN DPKO, 2009.

UN DPKO. 'Unit 4 Part 2: HIV/AIDS and UN Peacekeeping Operations'. *UN Peacekeeping PDT Standards, Core Pre-Deployment Training Materials, 1st ed.* New York: UN DPKO, 2009.

UN DPKO. *Training Guidelines of SGTM 5 D: Prevention of Sexual Exploitation and Abuse.* New York: UN DPKO, 2002.

UN DPKO. *Training Guidelines of SGTM 16 A: HIV/AIDS.* New York: UN DPKO, 2002.

UN DPKO. *Training Guidelines of SGTM 17: Gender Equality in Peacekeeping.* New York: UN DPKO, 2002.

UN DPKO. *Standardised Generic Training Modules.* New York: UN DPKO, 2002.

UN DPKO and DFS. 'Module 1: Overview of the Protection of Civilians'. *Specialized Training Material on Protection of Civilians and Prevention and Response to Conflict-related Sexual Violence.* New York: UN DPKO, 2009. UN Doc. No. 1905-07-03.

UN DPKO and UN Women. *Special Female Military Officers Course.* India: UN DPKO and UN Women, 2015.

Internet

'Action for Equality, Development and Peace', Beijing Platform of Action, The UN Fourth World Conference on Women, Beijing, September 1995, <http://www.un.org/womenwatch/daw/beijing/platform/violence.htm> accessed August 2015.

'Commission on the Status of Women – Overview', UN Women website, <http://www.un.org/womenwatch/daw/csw/> accessed November 2014.

'Current and past UN peacekeeping operations' <http://www.un.org/en/peacekeeping/operations/current.shtml> and <http://www.un.org/en/peacekeeping/operations/past.shtml> accessed October 2014

'Haiti Background: Summary', United Nations Mission in Haiti, accessed via <http://www.un.org/en/peacekeeping/missions/past/unmihbackgr1.html>, October 2014.

'The Covenant of the League of Nations', Preamble, accessed via The Avalon Project: Document in Law, History and Diplomacy, http://avalon.law.yale.edu/20th_century/leagcov.asp, September 2014.

'Transitional page of Office of the Special Adviser to the Secretary-General on Gender

- Issues and Advancement of Women’,
<http://www.un.org/womenwatch/osaginew/index.html> accessed November 2014
- ‘Who We Are: UN INSTRAW’, <http://www.unfoundation.org/how-to-help/donate/instraw.html> accessed November 2014.
- ‘Windhoek Declaration and Namibia Plan of Action’,
http://www.un.org/womenwatch/osagi/wps/windhoek_declaration.pdf accessed November 2014.
- Amnesty International, ‘You Have No Right to Ask – Government Resists Scrutiny on Human Rights’, 18 May 2004, accessed at
<http://www.amnesty.org/en/library/info/AFR64/003/2004/en> June 2013.
- Canada National Defence Archive, ‘Women in the Canadian Forces’, accessed from
<http://news.gc.ca/web/article-eng.do?nid=579569> August 2013
- Civil Service Commission, Republic of the Philippines, Magna Carta of Women (R.A. 9710), <http://web.csc.gov.ph/cscsite2/2014-02-21-08-16-56/2014-02-21-08-19-19/magna-carta-of-women-r-a-9710> accessed December 2015.
- Inter-Parliamentary Union, ‘Number of women in world parliaments, December 2015’,
<http://www.ipu.org/wmn-e/arc/classif011214.htm> accessed December 2015.
- Inter-Parliamentary Union, World Parliament Average, July 2013. Accessed at
<http://www.ipu.org/wmn-e/world.htm>
- IPU - UN Women, Women in Politics: 2012,
http://www.ipu.org/pdf/publications/wmnmap12_en.pdf accessed January 2015.
- Office of the Presidential Adviser on the Peace Process, ‘The Philippine National Action Plan on Women, Peace & Security’, 1 September 2011,
<http://www.opapp.gov.ph/features/philippine-national-action-plan-women-peace-security> accessed December 2015.
- Peace Operations Training Institute, <http://www.peaceopstraining.org/> and
<http://www.peaceopstraining.org/programs/ntcelp/asia/rtarf-poc/> accessed December 2015.
- Philippines Military Academy, ‘The Female Cadets’,
<http://www.pma.ph/?pageid=FemaleCadet> accessed December 2015
- World Bank, ‘Female Legislators, Senior Officials and Managers for period year 2001-2013’, <http://data.worldbank.org/about/data-programs> accessed December 2015.
- World Bank, ‘Population year 2013’, <http://data.worldbank.org/about/data-programs> accessed December 2015.

World Bank, 'Population, female (% of total)',
<http://data.worldbank.org/indicator/SP.POP.TOTL.FE.ZS> accessed December 2015.

World Bank, 'What are Middle-Income Countries?', Financial Year 1990-2006,
accessed October 2014
[http://web.worldbank.org/WBSITE/EXTERNAL/EXTOED/EXTMIDINCCOUN/0,,
contentMDK:21453301~menuPK:5006209~pagePK:64829573~piPK:64829550~the
SitePK:4434098,00.html](http://web.worldbank.org/WBSITE/EXTERNAL/EXTOED/EXTMIDINCCOUN/0,,contentMDK:21453301~menuPK:5006209~pagePK:64829573~piPK:64829550~theSitePK:4434098,00.html)

World Bank, 'World Development Indicators, for Population ratio (female), Labor
participation rate (female and male), 2012'. Accessed at
<http://data.worldbank.org/indicator>

APPENDIX 1: INTERVIEW QUESTIONS

Informed Consent Form for Thesis Interview

“Training Need Assessment for UN Women Peacekeeping Forces: Case Studies of Indonesia, Philippines and Country A”

You are invited to participate in a research study conducted by Fitriani, a PhD candidate at Cranfield University, United Kingdom. Fitriani can be contacted via email at fitriani@cranfield.ac.uk or phone/text message at (+62)8388309686 (Indonesia), (+91)7042272521 (India), (+63)09208013058 (The Philippines) and (+AA)86782203 (Country A).

PURPOSE OF THE STUDY

The purpose of this study is to assess the pre-deployment training for women UN peacekeeping forces, whether the training they received is similar to that received by men peacekeepers and whether the training is sufficient. The aim for this research is to find ways to increase the number of women peacekeeper and also improve the quality and the appropriateness of the training through pre-deployment measures, including training, and other means that can be used as policy improvement in the future.

PROCEDURES

1. Researcher will explain what the research is about.
2. Researcher will collect sign consent form from research participants.
3. Researcher will begin the interview by asking the participants their basic information and continues to specific questions according to their work in relation to the UN peacekeeping operation. It is estimated that each interview will take around 30 minutes to 45 minutes. There are three sets of interview questions for the three types of research participants:
 - a. UN Women Peacekeepers: i) pre-deployment and ii) post-deployment
 - b. UN Peacekeeping trainers
 - c. UN Peacekeeping decision-makers
4. Closing the interview, researcher will thank the participants for their participation and asking them whether they have questions for the researcher that need clarification.
5. Researcher will answer the participant question(s), if any.

POTENTIAL RISKS

There is no foreseeable risk of any participants experiencing either physical or psychological distress or discomfort.

POTENTIAL BENEFITS AND COMPENSATION

There will be no direct benefit, nor compensation for the participant taking part in this study. However, the information gathered in this study may help the understanding of pre-deployment training of UN Peacekeeping for women and provide policy suggestions for the decision-makers in the future.

CONFIDENTIALITY

Information obtained in the study will be used for research purposes only. Audio recording will be made only for transcription purposes. Participant's name and other identifiable information will not be publicised, code will be given to each interview and the data will be presented as an aggregate.

PARTICIPATION AND WITHDRAWAL

Your participation is voluntary. This means that you can choose whether you wish to participate in the research programme, and if you so decide, then you can refuse to answer any question, and can withdraw from the interview at any time without any consequence.

QUESTIONS AND CONCERNS

If you have any questions or concerns about the research, you can contact PhD research supervisor at Cranfield University, Professor Ron Matthews at r.g.matthews@cranfield.ac.uk or +44 1793 785653.

SIGNATURE

I _____ (Initial of Participant) understand the procedures described above and agree to participate in this study.

I agree / do not agree to the audio recording during the interview. (Delete the unnecessary). I understand that my personal identification will not be disclosed anywhere in the written report.

Initial signature of Participant

Date

Code for participant: _____(researcher will fill in)

A) Basic Information

1. Country of origin :
2. Designation/position :
3. Regiment :
4. Number of years in current position :
5. Number of years in the military :
6. Previous peacekeeping experience : Y/N (Delete the unnecessary)
- 6.1 If yes, in which mission(s) :
- 6.2 If yes, how long :
- 6.3 If yes, in what capacity :
7. Gender :
8. Age :

Code for participant: B1_____ (researcher will fill in)

B1) Women peacekeeper interview questions:

I. Background questions

- 1) How did you become involved in peacekeeping? Volunteered? Nominated? (Based on Gertler, *et. al.*, 2011)
- 2) What were the requirements that you need to fulfil in order for you to get the peacekeeping assignment? (Based on Gertler, *et. al.*, 2011)
- 3) Have you been in any UN Peacekeeping pre-deployment training before? (Based on Gertler, *et. al.*, 2011)

If yes, when and where was the training took place? (Based on Gertler, *et. al.*, 2011)

II. Work experience

- 1) What other training/education that you have completed while working in the military/security forces? (Based on Gertler, *et. al.*, 2011)
- 2) What are the key factors influencing the design of your organisation's curriculum? (Based on Gertler, *et. al.*, 2011)
- 3) Is the training in accord with your country policy? If yes, please state which policy. (Based on Gertler, *et. al.*, 2011)
- 4) Is your training approach also in accord with UN policy requirements? If yes, please state which parts of UN policy. (Based on Gertler, *et. al.*, 2011)

III. Training at the Peacekeeping Centre

- 1) Is this your first time joining a peacekeeping operation? (Based on Gertler, *et. al.*, 2011)

If this is not your first time, has the peacekeeping mission training changed since your last mission in terms of pre-deployment training?

(Based on Barbazette, 2006)

- 2) Do women carry out different tasks and roles than men in peacekeeping missions? (Based on Barbazette, 2006)

If yes, can you please explain? (Based on Barbazette, 2006)

- 3) Do you think female peacekeepers should undergo different training? (Based on Barbazette, 2006)

What should be different and what should remain the same? (Based on Barbazette, 2006)

- 4) Should men undergo any special training in addition to basic training? (Based on Barbazette, 2006)

What kind? (Based on Barbazette, 2006)

- 5) Are you trained with the roles of engagements that include code of conduct on the behaviour that peacekeepers have to observe during deployment with respect to local population? (Based on Kirkpatrick, 1996)

- 6) Did you receive peacekeeping mission training on gender issues and/or sexual exploitation and abuse? (Based on Kirkpatrick, 1996)

Do you believe this is important? Please state why (Based on Kirkpatrick, 1996)

- 7) If you have been deployed, do you think the training given to you in pre-deployment stage is sufficient or there is still a possibility for improvement, especially for women and gender-mainstreaming? (Based on Barbazette, 2006)

- 8) All in all, how satisfied are you with the training provided by UN Peacekeeping Training Centre? (Based on Kirkpatrick, 1996 and Barbazette, 2006)
- Not satisfied
 - Somewhat satisfied
 - Very satisfied
- 9) What do you think can be improve from the UN Peacekeeping pre-deployment training? (Based on Barbazette, 2006)
- 10) What do you think could be done to improve peacekeeping missions with respect to issues such as sexual exploitation or violence against women? (Based on Barbazette, 2006)
- 11) As the UN wants to increase women peacekeeping participation to 20 per cent of the total peacekeepers in 2020, what needs to be done to increase the number of women peacekeepers? (Based on Barbazette, 2006)
- (kindly state the actor and the things need to be done)

Code for participant: B2_____ (researcher will fill in)

B2) Peacekeeper trainer interview questions:

I. Background questions

- 1) How/why did you become a trainer? (Based on Gertler, *et. al.*, 2011)
- 2) What is your background (University/UN Training Programme)? (Based on Gertler, *et. al.*, 2011)
- 3) What is the subject you teach/train? (Based on Gertler, *et. al.*, 2011)
- 4) Where do you get your teaching material? (Based on Gertler, *et. al.*, 2011)
- 5) Is the material provided or standardised by the UN PKO? (Based on Gertler, *et. al.*, 2011)

II. Work experience

- 1) How long have you been conducting peacekeeping training? (Based on Gertler, *et. al.*, 2011)
- 2) How is the training given? (for example, how long, is it class-room or outside, you do give any homework) (Based on Kirkpatrick, 1996)
- 3) How do you assess the student ability? Is there any fail/pass grade? (Based on Kirkpatrick, 1996)
- 4) Do you experience change in training material? (Based on Kirkpatrick, 1996 and Barbazette, 2006)

If yes, in which part does the changes takes place and why? (Based on Kirkpatrick, 1996 and Barbazette, 2006)

- 5) Do you also include gender aspect in the training you give? (Based on Kirkpatrick, 1996 and Barbazette, 2006)

III. Training at the Peacekeeping Centre

- 1) How many women peacekeepers on average that you have in you

class? (Based on Gertler, *et. al.*, 2011)

- 2) Has the number of women peacekeepers increased over the year, or in comparison to other place where you trained previously? (Based on Gertler, *et. al.*, 2011)
- 3) What positions do women occupy within your training centre? (Based on Gertler, *et. al.*, 2011)
- 4) What position do you think women will occupy in deployment? (Based on Gertler, *et. al.*, 2011)
- 5) Do you think that the training already sufficiently covers women peacekeeper needs when in deployment? (Based on Kirkpatrick, 1996)
- 6) Are there any challenges in implementing gender-mainstreaming within the training regime (in other words, does the training material differentiate between the peacekeeping roles of women and men when deployed)? (Based on Gertler, *et. al.*, 2011)
- 7) How would you rate the degree of attention to gender issues in peacekeeping training? (Based on Barbazette, 2006)
 - Non Existent
 - Marginally Exist
 - Sufficient
 - High
 - Very High
- 8) Do you think the training given by you in pre-deployment stage is sufficient or there is still a possibility for improvement, in general? (Based on Barbazette, 2006)
- 9) Do you think the training given by you in pre-deployment stage is sufficient or there is still a possibility for improvement especially for

women and gender-mainstreaming? (Based on Barbazette, 2006)

10) Do you know about UNSCR 1325? (Based on Gertler, *et. al.*, 2011)

11) How is the pre-deployment training responding to the mandate of UNSCR 1325? (Based on Barbazette, 2006 and Gertler, *et. al.*, 2011)

12) As the UN wants to increase women peacekeeping participation to 20 per cent in 2020, what can be done to increase the number of women peacekeepers? (Based on Barbazette, 2006)

Code for participant: B3 _____(researcher will fill in)

B3) Decision-makers interview questions:

I. Background questions

- 1) Is the priority given to peacekeeping increasing in your country? Why? (Based on Gertler, *et. al.*, 2011)

Is the priority also given to increase the number of women peacekeeping? Why? (Based on Barbazette, 2006 and Gertler, *et. al.*, 2011)

- 2) What is your general decision-making role? (example: deciding on how many troops to send; deciding whether the country will send/not send peacekeeping mission; deciding training materials; deciding the funding of peacekeeping mission) (Based on Gertler, *et. al.*, 2011)
- 3) How long have you have been involved in decision-making in deployment and pre-deployment training for peacekeepers? (Based on Gertler, *et. al.*, 2011)

How did you become involved? (Based on Gertler, *et. al.*, 2011)

- 4) Have you made decisions in regards of peacekeeping deployment and training? (Based on Gertler, *et. al.*, 2011)
- 5) Do you decide on the choice of security forces deployed in your country peacekeeping missions for the UN? (Based on Gertler, *et. al.*, 2011)
- 6) If you do, what are the criteria of the deployment? (Based on Gertler, *et. al.*, 2011)

- 7) From your experience, was there any specific situation you need to decide deploying men or women? What are the reasons for such condition? (Based on Barbazette, 2006 and Gertler, *et. al.*, 2011)

II. Position on women to peacekeepers training

- 1) Do you think women and men should receive similar training with men peacekeepers? (Based on Barbazette, 2006)

Why? (Based on Barbazette, 2006)

- 2) What positions should women occupy within the peacekeeping mission? (Based on Barbazette, 2006)

Continuing previous question, should they be trained differently because of it? (Based on Barbazette, 2006)

- 3) How would you rate the degree of attention to gender issues in peacekeeping mission decision-making in training policy? (Based on Barbazette, 2006)

- Non Existent
- Marginally Exist
- Sufficient
- High
- Very High

- 4) Is there any issue in implementing gender-mainstreaming within the training? (Based on Kirkpatrick, 1996 and Barbazette, 2006)

- 5) Do you know about UNSCR 1325? (Based on Gertler, *et. al.*, 2011)

- 6) In the decision-making situations you have been involved in, how open is the decision-making team responding to the mandate of

UNSCR 1325 to provide greater participation for women? (Based on Gertler, *et. al.*, 2011)

- 7) As the UN wants to increase women peacekeeping participation to 20 per cent in 2020, what are the things we can do to increase the number of women peacekeeper? (Based on Barbazette, 2006)
- 8) What is the purpose of using women, rather than male peacekeepers? (Based on Kirkpatrick, 1996 and Barbazette, 2006)
- 9) To date, have the women peacekeepers from your country proved successful/effective in deployment? (Based on Kirkpatrick, 1996 and Barbazette, 2006)

How do you measure? (Based on Kirkpatrick, 1996 and Barbazette, 2006)

APPENDIX 2: LIST OF INTERVIEWS

No.	Code	Date of Interview	Interview Site	Rank / Position
1	IP-1	Saturday, 8 November 2014	Indonesia	Sergeant Major
2	IP-2	Monday, 8 December 2014	Indonesia	Lieutenant Colonel
3	IP-3	Thursday, 14 August 2014	Indonesia	Lieutenant Colonel
4	IP-4	Friday, 15 August 2014	Indonesia	First Sergeant
5	IP-5	Saturday, 16 August 2014	Indonesia	First Sergeant
6	IP-6	Saturday, 16 August 2014	Indonesia	Master Sergeant
7	IP-7	Saturday, 16 August 2014	Indonesia	Master Sergeant
8	IP-8	Thursday, 15 August 2015	Indonesia	Sea Marshall
9	IP-9	Friday, 22 August 2014	Indonesia	Lieutenant Colonel
10	IP-10	Thursday, 18 December 2014	Indonesia	First Sergeant
11	IP-11	Monday, 18 August 2014	Indonesia	Master Sergeant
12	IP-12	Friday, 19 December 2014	Indonesia	First Sergeant
13	IP-13	Thursday, 21 August 2014	Indonesia	Air Marshal
14	IP-14	Monday, 9 February 2015	Indonesia	Major
15	IP-15	Friday, 9 January 2015	Indonesia	First Sergeant
16	IP-16	Friday, 9 January 2015	Indonesia	First Sergeant
17	IP-17	Monday, 9 February 2015	Indonesia	Civilian-Ministry
18	IP-18	Sunday, 11 January 2015	Indonesia	Major
19	IT-1	Saturday, 8 November 2014	Indonesia	Sergeant Major
20	IT-2	Sunday, 9 February 2014	Indonesia	Major
21	IT-3	Saturday, 11 January 2014	Indonesia	Major
22	IT-4	Friday, 15 August 2014	Indonesia	Civilian-UNHCR
23	IT-5	Monday, 2 February 2015	Indonesia	Major
24	IT-6	Monday, 2 March 2015	Indonesia	Colonel
25	IT-7	Wednesday, 20 August 2014	Indonesia	Civilian-International Organisation
26	ID-1	Monday, 2 March 2015	Indonesia	Colonel
27	ID-2	Saturday, 8 November 2014	Indonesia	Lieutenant Colonel
28	ID-3	Saturday, 8 November 2014	Indonesia	Lieutenant Colonel
29	ID-4	Sunday, 12 October 2014	Indonesia	Brigadier General
30	ID-5	Monday, 10 March 2014	Indonesia	Civilian - Indonesia Permanent Mission to United Nations, New York
31	INP-1	Friday, 17 April 2015	India	Major
32	INP-2	Tuesday, 21 April 2015	India	Deputy Inspector General
33	INT-1	Thursday, 16 April 2015	India	Civilian-UN Women
34	INT-2	Thursday, 23 April 2015	India	Major
35	IND-1	Thursday, 23 April 2015	India	Brigadier General
36	IND-2	Friday, 24 April 2015	India	General
37	PP-1	Friday, 28 August 2015	Philippines	Non-Commissioned Officer
38	PP-2	Wednesday, 2 September 2015	Philippines	Lieutenant Colonel
39	PP-3	Saturday, 5 September 2015	Philippines	Lieutenant Colonel
40	PP-4	Tuesday, 1 September 2015	Philippines	Navy Captain
41	PP-5	Monday, 31 August 2015	Philippines	Sergeant Major
42	PP-6	Monday, 31 August 2015	Philippines	Staff Sergeant

43	PP-7	Monday, 31 August 2015	Philippines	Staff Sergeant
44	PP-8	Monday, 31 August 2015	Philippines	Sergeant
45	PP-9	Monday, 31 August 2015	Philippines	Air Woman 1 st Class
46	PP-10	Wednesday, 2 September 2015	Philippines	Lieutenant Colonel
47	PT-1	Monday, 7 September 2015	Philippines	Civilian-National Organisation
48	PT-2	Tuesday, 8 September 2015	Philippines	Colonel
49	PT-3	Tuesday, 1 September 2015	Philippines	Sergeant Major
50	PT-4	Tuesday, 1 September 2015	Philippines	Staff Sergeant
51	PT-5	Tuesday, 1 September 2015	Philippines	Staff Sergeant
52	PT-6	Tuesday, 1 September 2015	Philippines	Sergeant
53	PT-7	Tuesday, 1 September 2015	Philippines	Air Woman 1 st Class
54	PD-1	Monday, 31 August 2015	Philippines	Colonel
55	PD-2	Tuesday, 1 September 2015	Philippines	Colonel
56	XP-1	Wednesday, 4 November 2015	Country A	Lieutenant Colonel
57	XP-2	Wednesday, 4 November 2015	Country A	Wing Commander
58	XP-3	Wednesday, 4 November 2015	Country A	Lieutenant Colonel
59	XP-4	Friday, 6 November 2015	Country A	Commander
60	XP-5	Monday, 2 November 2015	Country A	Colonel
61	XP-6	Saturday, 31 October 2015	Country A	Colonel
62	XP-7	Friday, 6 November 2015	Country A	Colonel
63	XP-8	Sunday, 1 November 2015	Country A	Major
64	XP-9	Sunday, 1 November 2015	Country A	Squadron Leader
65	XT-1	Friday, 6 November 2015	Country A	Commander
66	XT-2	Monday, 2 November 2015	Country A	Colonel
67	GPT-1	Sunday, 15 November 2015	Singapore	Civilian-International Organisation
68	UN-1	Wednesday, 22 July 2015	Skype	Civilian-UN DPKO New York, Gender Advisor
69	UN-2	Tuesday, 29 December 2015	Email	Major-UN DPKO New York, Planning Officer

APPENDIX 3: SCHEDULE OF UN SFMOC

WEEK ONE - UN SPECIAL FEMALE MILITARY OFFICERS COURSE (SFMOC)

Date/Time	Day 1	Day 2	Day 3	Day 4	Day 5
0800-0850	Course Registration and Opening Ceremony	Gender Responsive Peacekeeping Issues	Rules of Engagement and Use of Force	Role of Civilian components and humanitarian actors in Protection	Protection of Civilians
0850-0900	Break	Break	Break	Break	Break
0900-0950	Opening Ceremony	Gender Responsive Peacekeeping Issues	Rules of Engagement and Use of Force	Role of military component	Understanding Mandates
0950-1010	Coffee	Coffee	Coffee	Coffee	Coffee
1010-1100	Administrative remarks and Course Overview	Introduction to Conflict Related Sexual Violence	<i>Exercise #1 RoE and Use of Force</i>	Role of UNPOL	<i>Mandated to Protect Video Discussion</i>
1100-1110	Break	Break	Break	Break	Break
1110-1200	The Operational Environment	Consequences of Violence on Women, Peace, & Security	<i>Exercise #1 RoE and Use of Force</i>	Role of Public Information	Child Protection: Children and Conflict
1200-1300	Lunch	Lunch	Lunch	Lunch	Lunch
1300-1350	The UN System	Consequences of Violence on Women, Peace, & Security	<i>Exercise #1 RoE and Use of Force</i>	Civil-Military Coordination	<i>Exercise #3 Protecting children</i>
1350-1400	Break	Break	Break	Break	Break
1400-1450	UN Mission Structures and Staff Duties	Legal Framework	<i>Exercise #1 RoE and Use of Force</i>	<i>Exercise #2 Mission Coordination</i>	<i>Exercise #3 Protecting children</i>
1450-1510	Coffee	Coffee	Coffee	Coffee	Coffee
1510-1600	Principles of Peacekeeping	Human Rights	<i>Attitude, Cultural Awareness, Gender</i>	<i>Exercise #2 Mission Coordination</i>	<i>Exercise #3 Protecting children</i>
1600-1610	Break	Break	Break	Break	Break
1610-1700	Vulnerable populations	International Humanitarian Law	<i>Attitude, Cultural Awareness, Gender</i>	<i>Exercise #2 Mission Coordination</i>	<i>Exercise #3 Protecting children</i>

WEEK TWO - UN SPECIAL FEMALE MILITARY OFFICERS COURSE (SFMOC)

Date/Time	Day 6	Day 7	Day 8	Day 9	Day 10
0800-0850	Conduct and Discipline	Interacting and Interviewing Victims	Operating in Mixed Team	LGD: <i>Trafficking, SEA, COC</i>	Exercise #7 Community Outreach and Expectations Management
0850-0900	Break	Break	Break	Break	Break
0900-0950	UN Military Experts on Mission	Exercise #5 <i>Interviewing Victims Exercise</i>	Operating in Mixed Teams	LGD: <i>Trafficking, SEA, COC</i>	Exercise #7 Community Outreach and Expectations Management
0950-1010	Coffee	Coffee	Coffee	Coffee	Coffee
1010-1100	Early warning Signs and Threat Analysis	Exercise #5 <i>Interviewing Victims Exercise</i>	Film: SBGV & Protection	Stress Management	Exercise #7 Community Outreach and Expectations Management
1100-1110	Break	Break	Break	Break	Break
1110-1200	Early Warning Signs and Threat Analysis	Exercise #5 <i>Interviewing Victims Exercise</i>	<i>Sexual and Gender Based Violence Case Study #1</i>	Discussion: Stress Management	Exercise #7 Community Outreach and Expectations Management
1200-1300	Lunch	Lunch	Lunch	Lunch	Lunch
1300-1350	Information Gathering on Sexual Violence	Victim's Information Management & Referrals	<i>Sexual and Gender Based Violence Case Study #2</i>	Community Outreach and Expectation Management	Wrap up, Course Evaluation and Review
1350-1400	Break	Break	Break	Break	Break
1400-1450	Exercise #4 <i>Information gathering Exercise</i>	Exercise #6 <i>Referrals and Victim Info Management Exercise</i>	<i>Sexual and Gender Based Violence Case Study #2</i>	Community Outreach and Expectations Management	Course evaluation and Discussion with observers and the Panel of Experts
1450-1510	Coffee	Coffee	Coffee	Coffee	Coffee
1510-1600	Exercise #4 <i>Information gathering Exercise</i>	Exercise #6 <i>Referrals and Victim Info Management Exercise</i>	<i>Sexual and Gender Based Violence Case Study #3</i>	Exercise #7 Community Outreach and Expectations Management	Closing Ceremony
1600-1610	Break	Break	Break	Break	Break
1610-1700	Exercise #4 <i>Information gathering Exercise</i>	Exercise #6 <i>Referrals and Victim Info Management Exercise</i>	<i>Sexual and Gender Based Violence Case Study #3</i>	Exercise #7 Community Outreach and Expectations Management	Administration

APPENDIX 4: SUGGESTED TIME ALLOCATION FOR SGTM

UN Standardised Generic Training Modules (SGTM)

Unit	Materials	Minutes	Percent of time
1A	Peacekeepers' Introduction to the United Nations System	45	3%
1B	Peacekeepers' Introduction to United Nations Peace Operations	45	3%
2	Structure of United Nations Peace Operations	45	3%
3	Legal Framework of United Nations Peace Operations	90	6%
4	Stress Management	45	3%
5A	Code of Conduct	45	3%
5B	Cultural Awareness	90	6%
5C	Child Protection	45	3%
5D	Prevention of Sexual Exploitation and Abuse	150	10%
6	Personal Security Awareness	90	6%
7	Landmine and Unexploded Ordnance Awareness	90	6%
8	Human Rights in Peacekeeping	45	3%
9	Humanitarian Assistance	45	3%
10	United Nations Civil–Military Coordination	45	3%
11	Communication and Negotiation	135	9%
12	Disarmament, Demobilization and Reintegration	45	3%
13	Media Relations	45	3%
14	Uniformed Personnel in Peacekeeping	45	3%
15	Logistics in Peacekeeping	45	3%
16A	HIV/AIDS	90	6%
16B	Malaria	45	3%
16C	Basic Life Support	45	3%
16D	Personal Hygiene.	45	3%
17	Gender Equality in Peacekeeping	90	6%
	Total	1,545	

APPENDIX 5: SUGGESTED TIME ALLOCATION FOR CPTM

UN CORE PRE-DEPLOYMENT TRAINING MATERIALS (CPTM)

Unit	Materials	Minutes	Percent of time
Unit 1 Part 1	Introduction to UN Peacekeeping	120	12%
Unit 1 Part 2	Fundamental Principles of UN Peacekeeping	60	6%
Unit 2	Establishment and Operationalization of Security Council Mandates in Peacekeeping Operations How United Nations Peacekeeping Operations Function	120	12%
Unit 3 Part 1a	International Law Relevant to Peacekeeping Operations	70	7%
Unit 3 Part 1b	Human Rights Protection in UN Peacekeeping Operations	60	6%
Unit 3 Part 1c	Women, Peace and Security: The Role of UN Peacekeeping Operations	60	6%
Unit 3 Part 1d	Protection of Children: The Role of UN Peacekeeping Operations	60	6%
Unit 3 Part 2	Working With Mission Partners	60	6%
Unit 4 Part 1a	Introduction to Conduct and Discipline	60	6%
Unit 4 Part 1b	The Consequences of Misconduct	60	6%
Unit 4 Part 1c	Sexual Exploitation and Abuse	90	9%
Unit 4 Part 2	HIV/AIDS and UN Peacekeeping Operations	80	8%
Unit 4 Part 3	Respect for Diversity	120	12%
	Total	1,020	

---End---