

Female Leadership in Conflict Prevention, Diplomacy and UN Peacekeeping Initiatives

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Declaration

I hereby declare that this dissertation is my own original work.

(signature)

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Introduction

If you want something said, ask a man. If you want something done, ask a woman'. Margaret Thatcher's famous words ('Speech to National Union of Townswomen's Guilds Conference on May 20, 1965') are as applicable and pertinent to conflict prevention and resolution as to any other field, and yet females remain significantly underrepresented within these endeavours (Shire, 2014). Moreover, previous researchers have provided ample evidence that women have greater difficulty advancing and being promoted within an organization, especially if they practice their profession within a traditionally male-dominated one, such as conflict prevention, preventative diplomacy, and United Nations (UN) peacekeeping.

The adoption of UNSCR 1325 (2000) by the UN Security Council acknowledged gender inequity within the organization and that women were underrepresented in the areas of conflict prevention, conflict resolution, and UN peacekeeping. Despite significant efforts by the UN, numerous obstacles continue to hinder women's participation in these fields. Nearly fifteen years later, and even with the adoption of six further resolutions, the share of military positions held by women in UN peacekeeping operations has remained steady, at approximately 3% over the last few years, female police constitute approximately 10% of the UN police, and although women are better represented among civilian staff members, such staff comprise only approximately 30% of all UN international staff (Dharmapuri, 2013). Although the May 2014 appointment of the first female force commander in a UN peacekeeping mission (UNFICYP) is to be applauded, the fact remains that a gender imbalance continues within the organization and that women continue to be underrepresented in the areas of conflict prevention, preventative diplomacy, and UN peacekeeping.

While I acknowledge that the topic of gender equality and female representation is not limited to those activities within the United Nations, given that female legal advisers, educators, human rights advocates, economists, and others face similar barriers within the organization, the focus of this study will be restricted to conflict prevention, preventative diplomacy, and UN peacekeeping operations. References to the United Nations are also limited to the UN Secretariat, UN missions, and UN agencies, funds, and programmes.

Through my examination of gender imbalance within conflict prevention, preventative diplomacy, and UN operations, the dissertation will demonstrate that there are significantly fewer females than males involved in preventive action and conflict resolution due to discrimination, cultural and emotional stereotypes, and historical perceptions of gender roles.

To set the context for this gender analysis of UN peace-related initiatives, I will first define conflict and preventative action and diplomacy and discuss the key role that the UN plays in those focus areas. I will then argue for the importance of a gendered approach to preventative action and conflict resolution and for the equitable participation of women in the prevention and resolution of conflicts and within UN missions. I will then address the degree to which the current imbalance of females in leadership positions in conflict prevention, diplomacy and UN peacekeeping prevails because of differences in leadership styles, discrimination and cultural stereotypes, and a combination of these and other factors that may impede women's progress.

For the purpose of simplification, further references to UN peacekeeping and special political missions herein are grouped together under the category of UN operations. Where further distinctions may be necessary, they will be made within the analysis itself. Following this, I more closely examine women's participation in UN operations. In doing so, I will focus on women's current contribution to UN operations, describe the status and percentages of females in peacekeeping and

political missions, and outline possible reasons why females are underrepresented in this area. The evidence for this research is drawn from a wide range of resources, including various documents and reports from international organizations such as the United Nations and subject experts' research and writings. Regulations and reports issued by selected missions are also utilized. For the purposes of comparative analysis, this analysis makes use of data collected from the United Nations Assistance Mission for Iraq (UNAMI).

Then I focus on specific barriers to women's participation in the areas of preventative diplomacy linked to conflict prevention and UN peacekeeping activities. Women working for the United Nations, despite being as smart, educated, and skilled as their male colleagues, remain proportionally underrepresented in leadership roles in the conflict prevention and peacekeeping sector. I will argue that that despite potential differences in the leadership styles of men and women, there is no defensible reason for women's underrepresentation in managerial roles. I also maintain that the limited number of women in conflict prevention and peacekeeping is a result of their underrepresentation in the related national police or military services, as these professions are still considered masculine, suggesting that women are unable to perform as well as men due to their physical and emotional differences.

Last, I will recommend actions that can be taken to reverse the existing situation, providing practical examples and best practices to demonstrate that the goal of increasing women's participation in the areas of conflict prevention and UN peacekeeping is possible.

In conclusion, I argue that in spite of cultural and profession-related stereotypes and traditional working patterns,

- females are capable of performing as well as males in all fields of conflict prevention, preventative diplomacy, and UN peacekeeping at commensurate levels utilizing similar styles, standards, and behaviors; and

- the UN must do much more about gender mainstreaming if it is to achieve the targeted gender equality with respect to the underrepresentation of women in conflict prevention and resolution.

Chapter I: The International Community's Responses to Conflict

The international community (IC) has various tools to choose from when responding to an armed conflict, depending on its phase. Beyond the countries or parties involved in the conflict, the main players in international conflict resolution are the United Nations and regional and non-governmental organizations (NGOs). Through appropriate actions, they aim either to prevent the conflict or to react to the crisis situation. This chapter defines conflict and differentiates between various types of armed conflict. It also distinguishes between preventive diplomacy and conflict prevention, provides an overview of their evolution, and discusses a few of the obstacles faced by these efforts. It ends with a discussion of peacemaking, peacekeeping, and peace building, which are the main alternatives after the eruption of a crisis, and their means of implementation.

Considering that women constitute approximately half of the population of every community and that the task of dealing with conflict is so great (Schirch and Sewa, 2005), it seems obvious that females should be actively involved in preventive action and conflict resolution. Women's central role in communal life and the fact that violence against women is associated with other forms of violence makes their participation in relevant efforts even more essential. Additionally, given that women are capable of both violence and peace, they should be encouraged to contribute their talents and diverse perspectives to the process of building peace (Schirch and Sewa, 2005). Therefore, this general introduction to the different UN responses to conflict also offers a few examples of females' successful participation in such circumstances to demonstrate the important role that increased female representation can play in preventive actions and conflict resolution operations.

1.1. Conflict versus Armed Conflict

Conflict, according to the *Oxford Advanced Learner's Dictionary*, is 'a situation in which people, groups or countries are involved in a serious disagreement or argument'. Disagreement or conflict is a natural and often productive element of society; it becomes challenging, however, when disputing parties are unable to resolve their issues by peaceful means. The prevention of violent intensification of a dispute can include a wide range of actions. Dependent on whether it is applied before the escalation or after the de-escalation phase, violence prevention can be an immediate and short-term action or a protracted solution. The first of these interventions aims at promoting a non-violent solution to the problem, while the second is intended to achieve a peace agreement (Fusato, 2003).

The Uppsala Conflict Data Program (UCDP) defines an armed state-based conflict as 'a contested incompatibility that concerns government and/or territory where the use of armed force between two parties, of which at least one is the government of a state, results in at least 25 battle-related deaths in one calendar year'. From the perspective of this paper, which focuses on conflict prevention (i.e., the regulation of potential conflicts), the threshold of battle-deaths is considered irrelevant. Perhaps more useful is the broader definition offered by the International Criminal Tribunal for the former Yugoslavia: 'an armed conflict exists whenever there is a resort to armed force between States or protracted armed violence between governmental authorities and organized armed groups or between such groups within a State'.

A state-based armed conflict can break out between two or more states (inter-state), but also between a state and a non-state group from outside its own territory (extra-state). An internal armed conflict takes place between the government of a state and internal opposition groups, which can turn into an internationalized armed conflict through intervention from other states. Afghanistan's case is particularly notable in that it represents all three of these types of conflict (Gleditsch et al., 2002). In cases of intense conflict, it should be noted, women's involvement in

dialogue between the hostile parties is often the only channel of communication. Two outstanding examples are the Jerusalem Link and Women in Black in the Israeli-Palestinian conflict, who managed to facilitate constant dialogue between women's groups in the two countries even when formal communication among the participants in the conflict was irregular and limited (Schirch and Sewak, 2005).

1.2. Preventive Action: Preventive Diplomacy and Conflict Prevention

Both preventive diplomacy and conflict prevention are intended to avert armed conflicts before they escalate into widespread violence (Zyck and Muggah, 2012). Preventive diplomacy is the short-term deterrence of conflict through the use of operational activities such as 'good offices', monitoring, mediation, and arbitration. Conflict prevention, in contrast, refers to a longer-term mechanism that may include strengthening human rights and investing in risk reduction through social and economic development, and more equitable resource management (Muggah and White, 2013).

1.2.1 *Preventive Diplomacy*

Preventive diplomacy is a peaceful approach that facilitates dialogue between the involved parties in order to avoid future problems and does not involve the use of force (Gerolle, 2003). As described by Secretary-General Dag Hammarskjöld in 1954, the purpose of preventive diplomacy is 'to prevent disputes from arising between parties, to prevent existing disputes from escalating into conflicts and to limit the spread of the latter when they occur'. Preventive diplomacy is most commonly practiced by diplomatic envoys posted in conflict areas with the purpose of peaceful resolution of disputes through dialogue and compromise. This form of preventive action, however, can also include the involvement of the Security Council, the secretary-general, or other actors, depending on the nature of the tension (UN, 2011a).

According to Cahill (2000), preventive diplomacy may adopt several approaches. One of these approaches incorporates peacemaking, and hence the use of force to a certain extent. This option requires commitments by great powers with influence and capacity to intervene should it become necessary. A second method focuses on mediation with the purpose of resolving matters without appealing to force. This can also include confidence-building measures by means of 'good offices' and diplomatic intervention, as, for instance, in 1998 when Secretary-General Kofi Annan negotiated a dispute settlement between Iraq and the United States over arms inspections in Iraq. In this instance, the UN secretary-general benefited from the prestige of his office as well as the threat of Security Council action in the event that Saddam Hussein decided not to agree to the continuation of inspections. An earlier example would include SG Javier Perez's arbitration of the Soviet withdrawal from Afghanistan. A third approach involves the actions of non-state actors such as non-governmental organizations (NGOs) and private voluntary organizations (PVOs), whose efforts aim at early detection and intervention and the provision of economic assistance and disaster relief (Cahill, 2000).

In its 2011 study of why preventive diplomacy had emerged as a major approach in the previous decade, the UN Department of Political Affairs (DPA) notes that conflicts place additional strains on war-ravaged societies, resulting not only in the implementation of expensive security measures and humanitarian assistance but in the loss of lives. With the emergence of political tensions and in the absence of coercive measures, preventive diplomacy has been increasingly recognized as an available option for maintaining peace. If successfully applied, preventive action can stop crises from spreading and reduce the negative impacts of the conflict (UN, 2011b).

According to that study, the potential effectiveness of preventive action has led to an upsurge in 'national, regional and international capacities for preventive diplomacy'. As others have noted, the United Nations and regional organizations such as the African Union (AU) and European Union (EU) have increased their advocacy of

preventive diplomacy and conflict prevention (Muggah and White, 2013). Among the latter, the Conflict Prevention Framework (ECPF) proposed by the Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS) specifically emphasizes women's contributions in early warning (i.e., data collection and processing), preventive diplomacy (e.g., local conflict mediation and alternative resolution), and conflict management (Agboton Johnson, 2013). The 2005 World Summit as well as two UN documents, the 2011 report mentioned above and the 2012 'Strengthening the Role of Mediation in the Peaceful Settlement of Disputes, Conflict Prevention and Resolution' have publically proclaimed the UN's promise to further a culture of prevention.

The increased implementation of early warning and crisis monitoring systems as well as more flexible funding options have allowed responses to be made more promptly. The United Nations has significantly strengthened the Department of Political Affairs as well as establishing a new unit - the Mediation Support Unit - to provide the required expertise in negotiations. Furthermore, the current world economy certainly justifies the UN member states' preference for cheaper solutions to a crisis, and conflict prevention requires significantly fewer resources than the costly deployment of a peacekeeping mission (Zyck and Muggah, 2012). Part of its lower cost is accomplished by the inclusion of unpaid volunteers and affected parties, including women, in the process.

The UN's first successful preventive action, the United Nations Preventive Deployment Force (UNPREDEP), designed 'to prevent disputes in its mandate area from turning into serious conflicts', was deployed in Macedonia in 1995 (www.un.org). In the case of Macedonia, which a decade after achieving independence in the early 1990s entered into a period of crisis due to ethnic Albanian and Macedonian tensions, the Ohrid Framework Agreement (2001) was able to achieve its goals only with the support of civil society. Women at the forefront of this effort used various strategies to prevent the escalation of tensions

and foster reconciliation, including the re-writing of the history of Macedonia and creation of an impartial curriculum for schools (Conaway and Sen, 2005).

1.2.2 Conflict Prevention

Chapter VI of the UN Charter outlines a variety of actions that are aimed at conflict prevention through diplomatic interventions, which include 'negotiation, enquiry, mediation, conciliation, arbitration, judicial settlement, resort to regional agencies or arrangements, or other peaceful means of their own choice' (UN, 1945). As with preventive diplomacy, the United Nations and regional and non-governmental organizations share a great interest in conflict prevention.

There are several types of conflict prevention, which vary depending on the aim of the applied preventive action (i.e., from reducing violence to resolving the incompatibility), its timing, and its means (i.e., level of coerciveness) (Melander and Pigache, 2007). 'Primary prevention', for instance, is the narrowest form, including preventive measures that are implemented before violence has erupted. 'Secondary prevention' is a broader concept that includes containing the conflict and engaging in prevention efforts during the violent period. The greatest dispute over whether it should be considered conflict prevention is 'tertiary prevention', which includes peace building in the aftermath of a violent conflict in order to prevent the violence from reoccurring (Melander and Pigache, 2007). This third form is particularly espoused by the Carnegie Commission, which emphasizes that the re-emergence of violence can often be prevented 'through the creation of a safe and secure environment in the aftermath of a conflict and the achievement of a peace settlement' (UN, 2007).

In addition to these three forms of conflict prevention, preventive strategies fall into three broad categories:

1. *Direct prevention* - otherwise referred to as 'operational' or 'light' prevention
- is designed to provide an instant response to an imminent crisis. It is a

short-term action aimed at reducing violence between the parties. Practical examples include monitoring, fact-finding, mediation, negotiation, and confidence building. The Carnegie Commission classifies such measures into four categories: (a) early response and warning. (b) preventive diplomacy (i.e., non-coercive measures), (c) economic measures (e.g., sanctions), and (d) forceful measures (Melander and Pigache, 2007).

2. *Structural (or deep) prevention* is more inclusive and - in addition to violence reduction - aims at addressing the root of the problem. It refers to a multidimensional approach that not only includes social, political, and economic features, but also promotes good governance, the protection of human rights, and poverty reduction (Melander and Pigache, 2007). Reflecting UNSC 1325, which affirms the 'important role of women in the prevention [...] of conflicts and stresses the importance of their equal participation and full involvement in all efforts for the maintenance and promotion of peace and security', the United Nations Development Fund for Women's Actions (UNIFEM) highlights the importance of implementing gender perspectives into these conflict prevention mechanisms.
3. Finally, the term *systemic prevention* was coined by SG Kofi Annan to refer to 'measures to address global risk of conflict that transcend particular states' and require widespread international effort through global partnerships. Examples include the fight against HIV/AIDS and human rights violations, as well as drug trafficking and the illegal arms trade (Melander and Pigache, 2007).

1.2.3 Obstacles to Conflict Prevention and Preventive Diplomacy

There are a number of factors that make conflict prevention and preventive diplomacy challenging. One is that it is difficult to predict and take timely action in response to a rapidly escalating conflict situation in which the changing nature of violence also needs to be taken into account. Another is that although localized

small-scale insurgent activities can quickly escalate into complex inter-state conflicts, the UN Security Council (UNSC) currently is unable to gain the urgent attention of member states to such conflicts, let alone implement immediate action. Another great challenge to preventive diplomacy is getting the potential interveners onboard before the conflict has escalated. Hoping that the situation will get better on its own, countries that might help tend to wait until it is too late (Melandar and Pigache, 2007).

Given that difficult conflicts are easier to prevent than they are to react to later, the importance of early warning and timely intervention is significant (Zyck and Muggah, 2012). The importance of involving women in the early warning process was demonstrated in Kosovo and Sierra Leone, where interviewed women reported that they had possessed valuable information about weapon caches and planned attacks but did not have the means to communicate it to those who could respond. Taking advantage of women's access to information through their daily activities and their visibility at the local level can help peacemakers recognize factors contributing to conflict and its possible prevention (SaferWorld, 2014). Despite differing opinions on what preventive diplomacy and conflict prevention include and if they should be considered 'soft' arbitration or 'muscular' mediation including the possibility of pre-emptive military action (Zounmenou, Motsamai, and Nghanje, 2012), most would agree that resolving a conflict requires not only the reduction of violence but also efforts to address the underlying sources of tension to prevent the conflict from erupting again. In some cases, preventing opposing parties from fighting each other might require the destruction of their means of fighting or deterrence through a credible threat of military interference. Typically, though, the guiding principle of preventive action is to undertake measures that are non-coercive in nature, as opposed to costly and destructive ways of dealing with a conflict (Wallensteen and Möller, 2003).

1.3. Peacemaking, Peacekeeping, and Peace Building

Preventive diplomacy, peacemaking and peacekeeping are closely interconnected (UN, 2001). Whereas preventive diplomacy is generally described as a tool to resolve arguments before the outbreak of violence, peacemaking and peacekeeping are designed to stop conflicts and maintain peace once a conflict becomes violent. The successful implementation of these measures provides the basis for post-conflict peace building, which is intended to prevent the violence from reoccurring through political, humanitarian, developmental and human rights mechanisms (UN, 1992). Evidence from Cambodia, Kosovo, Timor Leste, Afghanistan, Liberia, and the Democratic Republic of Congo reveals that attention to a gender perspective in those missions improved operational effectiveness in such key areas as information collection, operational credibility, and improved force protection (Dharmapuri, 2011).

Although UN peace operations - namely peacemaking, peacekeeping, peace building, and peace enforcement - are generally recognized as essential instruments in maintaining or enforcing order in conflict zones, the application of Chapter VII of the UN Charter, which allows the use of force in such operations, is more controversial (Derolle, 2013). This section will introduce the differences between the tools of these respective peace operations and why some governments might have difficulties accepting them.

1.3.1. Peacemaking

Peacemaking - the duty to try to achieve an agreement by peaceful means between hostile parties - is an activity that falls between the tasks of pursuing the prevention of conflict and keeping the eventual peace. In 'An Agenda for Peace' (1992), Secretary-General Boutros Boutros-Ghali defines peacemaking as 'action to bring hostile parties to agreement, essentially through such peaceful means as those foreseen in Chapter VI of the Charter of the United Nations'. In other words,

peacemaking is intended to end violence between opposing parties through diplomatic means and non-violent dialogue (Ouellet, 2003).

As with preventive diplomacy, the United Nations secretary-general may enable the resolution of a conflict through his or her 'good offices'. Additionally, peacemaking may be exercised by means of special envoys, prominent individuals, governments and non-governmental groups and regional organizations (www.un.org). The purpose and scope of peacemaking actions has been elaborated on in several General Assembly (GA) declarations and resolutions, including the 1982 Manila Declaration on the Peaceful Settlement of International Disputes, the 1988 Declaration on the Prevention and Removal of Disputes and Situations Which May Threaten International Peace and Security and on the Role of the United Nations in this Field, and the 1898 Resolution 44/21 on Enhancing International Peace, Security and International Cooperation in All its Aspects in Accordance with the Charter of the United Nations.

The UN Department of Political Affairs (DPA) anchors the United Nations' peacemaking efforts. They monitor political dynamics worldwide and advise the secretary-general on preventive measures to avoid possible crises and make recommendations for their management. The DPA also guides the delegated special envoys in crisis diplomacy and peace talks. The supervision of UN political missions - like the United Nations Assistance Mission for Iraq (UNAMI) and the United Nations Assistance Mission in Afghanistan (UNAMA) - that are mandated to help nations to resolve conflicts peacefully are also within their responsibility (un.org).

Gerolle (2013) claims that whether peacemaking, as opposed to other pre-emptive measures, should be considered a peace operation is debatable because of its unusual legal basis and its more severe use of force. Arguing that offensive actions authorized by Chapter VII of the UN Charter taken by the 'blue helmets' belittle countries' sovereignty and cause additional anguish to the local population, Gerolle posits that peacemaking is the harshest operation compared with peacekeeping and

peace building. She points out that it can be performed during the crisis without the consent of the conflicting parties and might also involve offensive actions through the use of heavy weaponry. The Brazilian Government, for example, does not recognize peacemaking operations, claiming that such interference without the parties' consent is against the United Nations' basic principles, namely security and peace. Hence, Gerolle argues, hard power should be used by the United Nations only as a last resort.

According to Oullet (2013), however, peacemaking, if taken out of the UN context, can also be used to describe a specific phase of a conflict. If relevant action is taken after the failure of diplomatic intervention (i.e., preventive diplomacy) but before the deployment of peacekeeping forces, peacemaking means involvement during armed conflict. When peacemaking is considered in this broader sense, she claims, it also includes peace enforcement. Although peacemaking is generally defined as diplomatic efforts to end conflict, peace enforcement allows the active use of force and is therefore a distinct but supplementary aspect of peacemaking. As an example of military intervention in a peacemaking context, Oullet cites the NATO Implementation Force (IFOR) and Stabilizing Force (SFOR) in Bosnia. According to Nan, Bartoli and Mampilly (2012), during and following this conflict the Women of Srebrenica broke the cycle of women's invisibility and advocated the practice of non-violent struggle, including peacemaking efforts. In 1996, they formed a movement for truth, reconciliation, and justice that demanded attention to the issue of disappeared men, an undertaking that demonstrates bottom-up peacemaking efforts and highlights their complexity pertaining to gender.

Although peacemaking is a tool that can be used in violent conflicts, it is insufficient on its own to successfully deal with difficult conflict situations. And not every peacemaking attempt ends in military intervention as it did in the case of Bosnia; other available instruments can be applied on a 'use of force continuum' basis as required. Peacemaking should be seen as closely interconnected with preventive diplomacy, peacekeeping, and peace building. Of these, preventive diplomacy, which

is designed to avoid the eruption of a violent conflict, is the most desirable. In the case that preventive action fails, however, other diplomatic efforts are needed. Peace enforcement is a viable solution when widespread human loss is at stake. Peacemaking efforts are meant to get the conflicting parties into negotiations, while peacekeeping forces are designed to enforce an agreed-upon ceasefire (Oullet, 2003).

It is important to note the difference between traditional peacemaking and so-called second-generation peacekeeping. The next section will further elaborate on first-generation peacekeeping (meant to enforce ceasefires with impartial 'interposition' forces) and second-generation peacekeeping (which permits more flexibility and ranges from guaranteeing ceasefires through election monitoring to peace enforcement) (Oullet, 2003).

1.3.2. Peacekeeping

According to the UN Peacekeeping website, peacekeeping is one of the United Nations' most effective tools in assisting host countries to resolve conflict and achieve peace. Peacekeeping missions are deployed by mandates from the UN Security Council, which has primary responsibility for the maintenance of international peace and security, as per the UN Charter.

Peacekeeping operations are deployed after a cease-fire has been achieved and with the consent of the conflicting parties. In addition to consent, the other two principles of peacekeeping are impartiality and the non-use of force except to defend themselves, the mandate, and civilians. In other words, peacekeeping is designed to maintain order in a territory, and peacekeepers are to be neutral in the conflict and are allowed to use force only in a defensive manner (www.un.org).

The term *peacekeeping* does not appear in the UN Charter. Chapters 6 and 7, informally referred to as 'Chapter 6 and a Half', provide its legal basis. The former – 'Pacific Settlement of Disputes' – stipulates that conflicting parties should resolve

their disputes by peaceful means such as negotiation and mediation. The Security Council is authorized to issue recommendations, but these are not binding in nature. Chapter 7, 'Action with Respect to Threats to the Peace, Breaches of the Peace, and Acts of Aggression', on the other hand, approves more powerful methods. Not only does it allow the use of sanctions, but if those prove inadequate, the Security Council is authorized to take action 'by air, sea, or land forces as may be necessary to maintain or restore international peace and security' (www.usip.org).

In mid-2014 there are 17 UN peacekeeping operations on four continents, which exhibit different characteristics than those of previous such undertakings. Their mandate is not limited to maintaining peace and security, but also includes facilitating disarmament, demobilization, and reintegration (DDR). They also assist in the political process, organize or monitor elections, protect civilians and human rights, and restore rule of law. Despite difficulties in challenging environments, these multidimensional peacekeeping operations have had an impressive record during their 60 years of existence, including winning the Nobel Peace Prize (www.un.org).

One difference in more recent peacekeeping operations is that 3 of the 56 currently deployed UN Peacekeeping Units involved in those operations are all-female contingents. The first – made up of 103 Indian policewomen – was deployed in Liberia in 2007 (Peacekeepers and Sexual Violence in Armed Conflict, n.d.), and two from Bangladesh are deployed, one in the Democratic Republic of the Congo and another in Haiti (Shire, 2014). Although their numbers are still small, the important role that female peacekeepers can play in a society is noted by Atifete Jahjaga, president of the Republic of Kosovo, who stated from firsthand experience that women 'bring different issues to the discussion table than the men, and they will never leave the table before the solution has come forward' (Shire, 2014).

Peacekeeping has changed significantly over the years. The UNSC has launched a new generation of peacekeeping operations, which depart from the three traditional

foundations of prior consent, impartiality and non-resort to force except in self-defense.

Features of earlier generations of peacekeeping. The following characteristics and conditions exemplify earlier generations of peacekeeping operations:

- a) The United Nations cannot impose peacekeeping upon unwilling parties; deployment of troops has to wait until consent is given. However, consent can be withdrawn, as happened in 1967, when Egypt's President Nasser demanded that the UN leave Sinai, subsequently triggering the Arab-Israeli War (en.wikipedia.org).
- b) UN peacekeeping operations are agreed upon with the support of the international community. In accordance with the UN Charter, the mandate to establish a peacekeeping mission must be supported by the five permanent members of the Security Council and at least four of the non-permanent members ('United Nations Peacekeeping').
- c) Peacekeeping operations are under the command of the secretary-general, who is, in turn, accountable to the Security Council. This important principle is intended to ensure that peacekeeping troops, instead of serving their own countries' interests, are able to maintain impartiality, which is at the heart of peacekeeping ('United Nations Peacekeeping').

New trends in peacekeeping. There has been an exponential increase in the size, profile, and level of complexity of UN peacekeeping operations since the 1990s. Following 'the failure of UN peacekeeping to prevent the tragedies in Bosnia and Rwanda during the 1990s' (cic.nyu.edu), the Department of Peacekeeping Operations (DPKO) was created in 1992 to coordinate integrated efforts of the UN, governmental, and non-governmental organizations with respect to peacekeeping operations. In response to the contemporary security environment, the Security Council has steadily demonstrated an increased willingness to authorize

peacekeeping missions to use force under Chapter VII of the United Nations Charter (Holt and Taylor, 2009).

The UN responses to crises in Sierra Leone, East Timor, and Haiti were much more robust, with peacekeepers authorized to use force in support of the mandate. According to the UN News Centre (2013), emergent trends in the most recent DPKO missions include:

1. The Security Council's authorization of the deployment of an 'intervention brigade within the current United Nations peacekeeping operation in the Democratic Republic of the Congo (DRC) to address imminent threats to peace and security' on 28 March 2013.
2. The Security Council's approval of the UN Multidimensional Integrated Stabilization Mission in Mali (MINUSMA) on 25 April 2013 authorizing the 'blue helmets' 'to use all necessary means' to carry out their mandate.

Both of these operations are permitted to conduct targeted offensive operations against armed opposition groups with robust rules of engagement (RoE) allowing the use of tactical force to protect civilians and the mandate and, in the case of the DRC, to 'neutralize' armed groups.

In particular, the use of unmanned aerial vehicles in the DRC, which provide an unprecedented level of intelligence, surveillance, and reconnaissance (ISR), along with Special Forces creates a higher level of tactical situational awareness. In such events, a direct military action can be taken against insurgents to tactically strike and disrupt them. This capability in conjunction with robust RoE may well evolve into the newest generation of peacekeeping operations (www.huffingtonpost.com).

In short, in response to contemporary trends in conflicts, the UN has adapted its peacekeeping response options. New-generation operations are characterized by more robust RoE, better ISR, and the ability to target opposition groups.

Consequently, this achieves the aim of neutralizing hostile elements and by doing so creates a safer environment for the implementation of the respective missions in support of their mandate.

1.3.3. Peace Building

Peace building is provided by the United Nations in post-conflict zones or following natural disasters. This activity is carried out through cooperation with NGOs and other institutions and is intended to assist local government in resolving economic and social issues causing the conflict (Gerolle, 2003). According to Galtung (2003), the idea of peace building emerged in the 1970s as a model that incorporates various measures designed to promote lasting and sustainable peace in circumstances of existing, developing, or former conflict. These measures are intended to address the root causes of violent conflict through conflict resolution and peace management. Measures taken vary from disarmament to the rebuilding of economic, judicial, political, and civil institutions.

The United Nations' concept of peace building was first introduced in Boutros Boutros-Ghali's 'An Agenda for Peace: Preventive Diplomacy, Peace-making and Peacekeeping' (1992). The Brahimi Report (2000) defined peace building as 'activities undertaken on the far side of conflict to reassemble the foundations of peace and provide the tools for building on those foundations something that is more than just the absence of war.' The OECD paper on 'Preventing Conflict and Building Peace' (2005) argues that peace building should be considered a supplement to preventive diplomacy, peacemaking, conflict resolution, and peacekeeping. Its measures address issues in the developing, current, or post-conflict environment for the specific purpose of preventing the outbreak of violent conflict and promoting sustainable peace. Several peace-building activities are similar to developmental cooperation efforts in countries that are not affected by conflict but with some structural differences in deployment.

Whether or not peace building is seen as an important tool in post-conflict scenarios, there is no disagreement that lasting and sustainable peace can only be achieved if - in addition to political leaders' commitment - the population also accepts the peace process. As indicated in the OECD report, peace building necessitates 'reconciliation and the promotion of non-violent conflict resolution' not only among political and religious leaders, but also in the military and at the grass roots - in other words, at all levels of society (OECD, 2005).

The aforementioned peace-building tools created by the United Nations with the assistance of its member states have played a significant role in avoiding and addressing conflicts in the world. For reasons described above, however, some experts believe that these tools need revision to ensure their alignment with the principles of the UN Charter. Gerolle (2003), for instance, argues that these actions threaten member states' sovereignty and are applied too intrusively.

The United Nations plays a central role in organizing concerted efforts for peace building through policy development and coordination with other regional and non-governmental organizations (NGOs). Although the African Union (AU) and European Union (EU) have increased their peace-building activities, the UN is still considered the lead agency in coordinating such activities along with conflict prevention, peacemaking, and peacekeeping. The UN (2004) has proposed a Peace-building Commission and Support Office to provide a stronger planning process at headquarters level to guide prioritization, time allocation, and division of responsibility and to provide tools and support for implementing activities in the field.

1.4. Conclusion

The terms *peacemaking*, *peacekeeping*, and *peace building* are often confused with one another. Simply put, *peacekeeping* means that peacekeepers - a neutral force - serve as an obstacle between the conflicting parties to prevent them from attacking each other. They are not meant to resolve the dispute or negotiate, but to simply

keep the opponents apart. It is *peacemaking* that is designed to achieve a settlement between the disputants. This can be done through direct negotiations with the parties, but the process often includes a third-party mediator to improve communication and progress towards a feasible peace accord. Peacemaking, however, is not the final stage in the peace process. As demonstrated in the Bosnia example earlier, achieving peace in a region often requires more than a peace accord. Such an agreement must be followed by *peace building*, which is a long-term process to reconcile differences between warring factions and to normalize relations (Gerolle, 2003).

Peace operations are seldom limited to one kind of activity, which means that the borders between conflict prevention, peacemaking, peacekeeping, and peace building are indistinct. Principally, although UN peacekeeping operations are deployed to enable the implementation of a peace agreement or ceasefire, these operations frequently get involved in peacemaking efforts or engage in initial peace-building activities (www.un.org).

The United Nations, along with its member states, is moving away from a culture of reaction towards one of prevention. This effort requires comprehensive strategies capable of addressing deep-rooted conflicts more successfully with fewer resources. The Department of Political Affairs is dedicated to coordinating conflict prevention activities through its inter-agency mechanism and supporting national abilities to affect the same (www.un.org). Considering the inspiring examples of females' contributions to preventive action and conflict resolution, efforts also must be made to acknowledge women's role in maintaining peace on the ground and at the negotiating table (Shire, 2014).

Chapter II: A Gendered Approach to Preventive Action and Conflict Resolution

Commencing with the Declaration on the Elimination of Violence against Women (1993), followed by the Beijing Declaration and Platform for Action (1995), and culminating with the subsequent Security Council Resolution 1325 (UNSCR 1325), the world has gradually acknowledged the ‘impacts of conflict on women – and of women on conflict’ (Zuckerman and Greenberg, 2004). Women’s actions and contributions in this area have been recognized at different forums and in various United Nations (UN) documents as invaluable in resolving conflict and building sustainable peace (Speake, 2013).

Due to the changing nature of violence and instability over the past decades - resulting in the majority of conflicts now being defined as intra-state or civil wars and involving widespread violence against women - the roles and responsibilities of international organizations, and of the UN in particular, have also changed. Since the beginning of the 1990s, the mandate of UN peacekeeping missions has expanded to cover ‘multidimensional missions’ incorporating a wide range of activities (Bertolazzi, 2010). This novel comprehensive approach towards preventive action and conflict resolution has also necessitated a new and gender-sensitive approach that ensures that women’s needs and interests are taken into consideration. Indeed, the General Assembly has ‘called for the full participation of women at all levels of decision-making in peace processes, peacekeeping and peace building’ at its twenty-third special session on Women 2000: Gender Equality, Development and Peace for the Twenty-First Century (UN, 2002a).

This introduction to the following study on a gendered approach to preventive action and conflict resolution will discuss the various declarations and documents that the UN has made for the purpose of empowering women, although it also notes that initiatives of this sort continue to too often marginalize and disregard gender

issues and that the involvement of women in formal talks and field missions remains low (Diaz, 2010). It will also provide examples that demonstrate that women remain underrepresented in UN peacekeeping and political missions, which further limits the number of females in managerial positions within the organization. While I acknowledge that these issues are highly topical and could provide a vehicle for a comparative analysis of the UN, EU, AU, and NATO conflict prevention and peacekeeping operations, the scope of this paper precludes dealing with the focal area of gender in leadership in any but the UN. I will therefore constrain my focus exclusively on the UN and its mandated operations.

2.1 Requirement for Equitable Gender Distribution within UN Missions and Peace Support Missions

Innovative thinking about peace operations and the idea of integrating a gender perspective into peace operations have stemmed from the reality of complex emergencies and their gendered aspect in the post-Cold War period. From the perspective of this dissertation, the term *gender* refers not to biological differences, but to qualities of and expectations toward men and women and people's understanding of those. Gender refers to differences in the roles that women and men play in society and in their social status. The way people view the role of women and men depends mainly on their respective society's traditions and social and cultural background (Beekman, 2005).

The incorporation of a gendered perspective into UN peace support operations is subject to international human rights and humanitarian law. UN instruments and documents provide the rationale, foundation and internationally recognized standards for gender mainstreaming (Vayrynen, 2004), which has been defined by the Economic and Social Council (ECOSOC, 1997/2) as 'the process of assessing the implications for women and men of any planned action, including legislation, policies or programmes in all areas and at all levels.' It is a strategy which derives from the recognition that women and girls are affected differently than men and

boys by armed conflict and its aftermath and that acknowledges the significant contributions to be made by women in peace processes (SG Report, 2003). According to ECOSOC, 'The ultimate goal is to achieve gender equality' (ECOSOC, 1997/2). From the UN's perspective, the aim of gender mainstreaming is to incorporate men and women's perspectives, experience and knowledge into the policy-making, planning, and decision-making process. Mainstreaming, however, is not meant to replace targeted, women-specific policies and programmes.

According to the Cambridge Dictionary, 'gender equality' is the 'act of treating women and men equally'. It 'does not imply that women and men are the same, but that they have equal value and should be accorded equal treatment'. The concept of gender equality therefore refers to equal rights, responsibilities and opportunities among women and men and to the allocation of these not being dependent upon whether an individual is born male or female (www.unwomen.org). The goal of gender equality would enforce all of the above and has been declared by governments and international organizations, as well as being included in various international commitments besides the Millennium Development Goals (Carpenter, 2006).

2.2 History and Description of Preventative Action and Conflict Resolution

UNSCR Resolution 794 (1992) established the Unified Task Force (UNITAF) and accepted the United States' offer to assist in creating a 'secure environment for the delivery of humanitarian aid in Somalia, and authorized, under Chapter VII of the Charter, the use of all necessary means to do so'. The mechanism created for coordinating between the United States' and the United Nations' peacekeeping forces was named Operation Restore Hope. The new establishment replaced UNOSOM I (The United Nations Operation in Somalia), which was originally set up 'to facilitate humanitarian aid to people trapped by civil war and famine'. Although the deployed 50 uniformed but unarmed UN military observers were keen to carry out their mandate through consultation with the parties in Mogadishu,

disagreement between Somali factions made the effective deployment of UN troops impossible (www.un.org).

Operation Restore Hope included 28,000 US personnel and 17,000 UNITAF troops from 23 Countries. These UN peacekeepers were deployed to Somalia to protect the population from the 'anarchy of civil war', but their accomplishments were overshadowed by allegations of the brutalization, rape, torture and murder of Somali civilians by those sent to act as peacekeepers. Reference UN Secretary-General Kofi Annan was 'appalled and outraged by these actions, which are unacceptable and counter to everything peacekeeping stands for', but his hands were tied. The UN in general could do very little to discipline peacekeepers, because the organization had limited authority over member states and had to refrain from insulting troop-contributing countries (TCCs) (Casert, 1997).

In their effort to alleviate the effects of peacekeepers' wrongdoing, the UN was forced to implement practical solutions. In the case of UN peacekeepers who raped women collecting firewood outside the refugee camps, for example, the UN provided women with stoves that did not burn wood. In another camp, they reinforced the perimeter fence with barbwire in order to discourage peacekeepers from entering (DeGroot, 2002).

In another example, women's organizations reported that civilian police and military peacekeepers of the UN Transitional Authority (UNTAC) in Cambodia were engaging in sexual harassment and abuse and soliciting prostitution. The UNTAC leadership chose to deal with the situation by ordering an additional 800,000 condoms for the force, which totaled 23,000. They also warned peacekeepers to be more discrete and recommended them to remove any recognizable UN insignia and park their vehicles away from brothels (Mazurana, 2003).

More recent examples of misconduct by several peacekeeping missions took place during 2004 in the Democratic Republic of Congo, Sierra Leone, Ivory Coast, Haiti, Burundi, and Liberia, and the abuses uncovered by the UN's Office for Internal

Oversight Services (OIOS) were appalling. In response, Secretary-General Kofi Annan initiated a dialogue with the troop-contributing countries and appointed Prince Zeid (the Jordanian Ambassador to the UN) to develop a comprehensive reform proposal for disciplinary and training procedures. Some of the recommendations of the report (released on 24 March 2005) included measures such as requiring the TCCs to investigate charges of sexual misconduct and report results, disciplinary proceedings against the individual peacekeepers and financial accountability for their abuses (i.e., compensation) (Fleshman, 2005).

Despite all measures taken, sexual misconduct by participants in peacekeeping missions has continued, and the acts of a few 'blue helmets' have damaged the credibility of the organization (Fleshman, 2005). The UN is committed to tackling the issue through rules and procedures for its personnel (Galvez, 2014), but increasing the number of women in peacekeeping and political missions would fundamentally boost their effect.

These examples, however extreme, capture the root of the gendered problems facing peacekeeping efforts and the necessity of integrating gender consideration. Although the United Nations had made some prior efforts within its legal framework, under the given political situation, resolving this gender issue was clearly required.

2.3 Gendered Vulnerabilities

An acknowledgement of gendered vulnerabilities and that women and girls must be afforded protection from violence are generally accepted elements of a gendered approach to peace building. Women and girls are differently affected than men and boys by conflict and its aftermath (Strickland and Duvvury, 2003; Sweetman, 2005). They all have different roles in society and have specific vulnerabilities, and hence are targeted by perpetrators in different ways by virtue of their gender (Alberdi, 2010).

In addition to examining how men and women experience conflict differently, a comprehensive gendered approach to studying peacemaking must also explore why women are more vulnerable to conflict (Speake, 2013). As others have noted, 'women are not more vulnerable per se in times of war; they are made more vulnerable because of pre-existing inequalities in so-called peaceful societies' (Pueachguirbal, 2010, p.7), and 'women do not suffer in war because of any intrinsic weakness, but because of their position in society' (Pankhurst, 2000).

2.4 The Main Causes of Gender Inequality

Relevant studies have demonstrated that financial crises have a substantial gender-specific impact on women and girls (UNDESA, 2007). According to Sabarwal and Sinha (2009), the primary reason women are more exposed to recession is related to their 'incidence of unemployment'. In other words, less-skilled female workers are discriminated against in labor markets due to skill-intensive industrialization (Stiglitz, 2012), which ultimately promotes further disparities between men and women (UNRISD, 2010).

Women and girls also have unbalanced access to paid work due to their unequal educational opportunities (World Bank, 2003), which also become a barrier for their capacity development in the labor market (UNRISD, 2010). Women's lack of access to property is another factor in unequal power relations within society (Lim, 2012). Women can easily lose their ownership of land and have limited access to credit, which in turn increases the unequal control over resources (Pena, Maiques and Castillo, 2008).

In addition to these financial and economic aspects, gender inequality also needs to be examined from the perspective of social norms (UN, 2002b). The lack of women's authority in decision-making leads to – amongst other things - inequality within their families and limitations to participation in the governmental system, policy-making institutions and political activities (OECD, 2010). Carin and Bates-Earner (2012) and the Gender Inequality Index (GII) assert that not only the labor market

and reproductive health but also both political and social empowerment affects gender equality.

According to the Relative Women Disadvantage Index (RWD), the non-monetary indicators of gender inequality are health (life expectancy at birth and sex ratio), education (combined primary, secondary and tertiary enrolment ratio and literacy rate), and participation (percentage of parliamentary seats and rate of economic activity). Similarly, the Women's Quality of Life Index (WQL) identifies the causes of gender inequality as health, education and work opportunities (Bérenger and Verdier-Chouchane, 2011).

The effects of such gender inequality are patently worse and more detectable in conflict situations (UNDP, 2001). During large-scale violence or conflict, crimes committed against women (such as sexual assault) are also likely to increase (UNDP, 2010).

2.5 Women and Armed Conflicts

Today, armed conflicts continue to erupt all over the world and have shown an escalating trend over the last decade. The characteristics of contemporary armed conflicts include internalization and an excessive number of civilian casualties. The latter is due to civilians being targeted through ethnic cleansing and genocide, abduction, torture and rape. Moreover, women and girls are specifically affected in armed conflict due to their status in society. As noted in the Beijing Platform for Action (1995), 'while entire communities suffer the consequences of armed conflict and terrorism, women and girls are particularly affected because of their status in society and their sex'.

As a general rule, women and men do not have equal status within a society. In cultures where women are discriminated against prior to a conflict, their status is expected to worsen during that crisis. If women's decision-making is not structured

into a society, their involvement in decisions about the conflict or peace process is also unlikely (UN, 2002c).

According to the Secretary-General's Report on Women, Peace and Security (2002), the UN has actively responded to the impact of armed conflict and emergency situations on women and girls. Despite the considerable number of documents relevant to this matter issued by the UN, some have criticized the organization for dealing with gender as a 'technocratic category', in which women's involvement and empowerment have been limited to a 'tick box' exercise (Cornwall, Harrison and Whitehead, 2007). While the UN's rhetoric regarding a gendered approach has been ambitious, practical implementation has been challenging because of the multitude of UN agencies and departments and their different approaches. Finally, the UN is also limited in its transformative power due to its dependency on the member states (Speake, 2013).

2.6 Not Only Victims but also Combatants

Gender-based violence has become a defining characteristic of contemporary armed conflict, in which such acts have become a widespread weapon of warfare. Women and girls, however, are not only victims of contemporary armed conflicts, but sometimes also actively participate in them. According to Pankhurst (2000), women play diverse roles and occupy various positions in society, sometimes including actively participating in combat.

The changing nature of armed conflict has influenced the status of women and girls, who are often considered carriers of cultural identity, making them prime targets of violence. Anderlini (2007) argues that ignorance of inequalities and power dynamics in a society can lead would-be peacekeepers to misunderstand the fundamental roots of the conflict, which in turn undermines efforts towards building sustainable peace.

Women and girls can be manipulated into violent acts (such as those of female suicide bombers and girl soldiers) through abduction, intimidation and propaganda, but they may also choose to partake on grounds of religious or political beliefs or loyalties. They may participate in fighting willingly, either as combatants or through supporting roles (UN, 2002d). They may also engage in non-military support in conflict situations by performing other tasks - such as cooking and cleaning and acting as messengers – that directly support combatants. Other indirect supporting actions of women include inspiring children to go to war, engaging in propaganda activities and backing the military campaigns of governments (UN, 2002e).

Conversely, many women also actively participate in peace efforts before, during and after conflict. They are often involved in socio-political and economic activities aiming at rebuilding their societies, and yet are generally excluded from negotiations, agreements or reconstruction.

2.7 Combating Violence against Women - The United Nations'

Acknowledgement of the Problem

Sexual violence against women and girls is one of the main reasons that a gendered approach to preventive action and conflict resolution is encouraged (Speake, 2013). As emphasized by the Peace Building Initiative, a gendered approach also brings attention to gender-based violence during and after a conflict. Gender-based violence, especially sexual violence, is used against women, systematically targeting women's bodies.

Although UN activities pertaining to women and gender had been in progress for decades (Moore, n.d.), the primary catalyst for change came about in the decade following the cessation of the Cold War. The changing nature of warfare, of genocide in the former Yugoslavia, Rwanda, and Sierra Leone, and of the study of the impact of war on women and children eventually culminated in UNSCR 1325. A brief summary of history of the UN's acknowledgement of gender inequalities follows.

CHRONOLOGY OF EVENTS LEADING TO UNSCR 1325

Year	Action Item	Desired Outcomes
1969	Commission on the Status of Women	The Commission on the Status of Women considered women's need for special protection during crises, which led to the Declaration on the Protection of Women and Children in Emergency and Armed Conflict in 1974.
1975	UN Conference on Women in Mexico	The significance of women's involvement in matters of peace was recognized.
1976	United Nations Decade for Women	The United Nations Decade for Women commenced, focusing on peace, development and equality.
1985	The Third World Conference on Women	The Nairobi Forward-Looking Strategies for the Advancement of Women was adopted following vigorous discussions on women, peace and security.
1993	Declaration on the Elimination of Violence against Women	An acknowledgement that women are particularly vulnerable to violence during armed conflict was adopted by the General Assembly.
1995	Beijing Declaration and Platform for Action	The declaration recognized women and armed conflicts as one of the 12 'critical areas of concern' that needed to be addressed. It directed that "governments, the international community and civil society, including NGOs and the private sector... take strategic action" regarding "the effects of armed or other kinds of conflict on women, including those living under foreign occupation". It also highlighted that women and children comprise a substantial number of the civilian casualties of armed conflict, which in any case outnumber military casualties.

Year	Action Item	Desired Outcomes
1998	Commission on the Status of Women	The commission's activities and report addressed issues about women's participation in all stages of the peace process. This includes conflict prevention, conflict resolution, reconstruction and disarmament issues.
1999	Uppsala University Conference	This conference was organized to orient the UN towards mainstreaming gender aspects in its peacekeeping operations. The two-day symposium explored whether greater representation of women in peacekeeping might result in greater success and raised host countries' awareness of their need for women peacekeepers.
2000	Report of the Panel on United Nations Peace Operations (2000)	Commonly called the Brahimi Report, this report was written in response to failures of UN peacekeeping operations in the 1990s, particularly in Rwanda and Srebrenica. Along with Boutros Boutros-Ghali's 'An Agenda for Peace' (1992), it aimed at the renewed commitment of the member states to the 'maintenance of International peace and security' (Gray, 2001). Although the report did not directly address gender issues – the roles and rights of women in particular – they were accentuated during its implementation.
2000	Millennium Summit in September	This summit specified eight Millennium Development Goals (MDGs) and stipulated a set of benchmarks to measure progress. A target date of 2015 was set for achieving development in the key areas of poverty, health, gender equality, hunger, education and environmental sustainability (United Nations, 2000). One of these objectives was to achieve gender equality and empowerment of women through employment in the non-agricultural sector, parity in education and participation in decision-making. The latter includes full engagement in political activities as well as more seats in national parliaments.

Year	Action Item	Desired Outcomes
2000	Windhoek Declaration	As a follow-up to the Uppsala Conference, numerous UN officials, academics, non-governmental organizations (NGOs) and soldiers gathered again in 2000 in Windhoek, Namibia. The panel's report on UN peace operations established that equitable gender representation is required in the leadership of multidimensional peacekeeping missions. The seminar resulted in the Windhoek Declaration and the Namibia Plan of Action on Mainstreaming a Gender Perspective in Multidimensional Peace Operations, which played a critical role in the adoption of UNSCR 1325 (2000).

2.8 The United Nations' Response - UNSCR 1325

The importance of including a gender perspective in conflict prevention, peace building and peacekeeping was incorporated into UN Security Council Resolution 1325 (2000) on women, peace and security. The resolution acknowledged that men and women have different experiences during and after conflicts and that women face unique challenges in relation to peace building and security (Beever, 2010). The resolution recognized 'that an understanding of the impact of armed conflict on women and girls ... can significantly contribute to the maintenance and promotion of international peace and security' {UN, 2000a}. It also declared that all reports addressed to the Security Council (SC) should include detailed reports on the progress of gender perspective in each mission, including the 'number and levels of women involved in all aspects of the mission' (UN, 2000b).

With the creation of Resolution 1325, the United Nations Security Council formally recognized that acknowledgement of the shifting nature of warfare was necessary, that greater protection for the human rights of women and girls in conflicts must be sought, and that gender perspectives on security – including greater representation of females in peacekeeping efforts – must be conceded.

Although the recognition that women have an important role to play in conflict resolution, conflict management and sustainable peace has resulted in improved efforts in recruiting women peacekeepers, the matter is still one of the greatest challenges facing the United Nations. (UN, 1998)

2.9 Alignment of MGD 3 and the UNSCR 1325

The goals of gender equality and the empowerment of women are interrelated with the other Millennium Development Goals (MDGs). The inclusion of gender issues in the MDGs not only increases the likelihood of achieving its other objectives, but the advancement of gender equality also depends on the evolution of the other goals. The member states' commitment to gender equality and gender mainstreaming as well as the requirement for women's participation in peace efforts is captured in MGD 3.

MDG 3 calls for member states 'to promote gender equality and the empowerment of women, as effective ways to combat poverty, hunger and disease and to stimulate development that is truly sustainable' (UN, 2000c). Given the pivotal role of women in peace making and peacekeeping, described in detail earlier, countries were urged to invest more in women. Despite progress made since the United Nations Conference on the Decade for Women in 1975 and the International Conference on Population and Development Programme for Action in 1994, there has been little advancement in this field.

Gender equality and the empowerment of women are yet to be reinforced by many national parliaments. Women's integration into the decision-making process through full representation is fundamental both in the national and international arena. In Latin America, for example, 'the extraordinarily high representation of women in Scandinavian parliaments has been used as an argument in support of the introduction of electoral gender quotas' (Dahlerup and Freidenvall, 2003). Nevertheless, effective participation of women in national parliament is not solely a matter of the number of seats they hold in parliament but also requires capacity building and commitment to guaranteeing committee-chairing positions for equally qualified and capable females. This comprehensive approach by individual nations would also improve the situation internationally, since women's participation in peacemaking, peacekeeping and peace building would significantly improve (Dahlerup, 2006).

2.10 Implementation of UNSCR 1325: A Report Card

Unquestionably, UNSCR 1325 was a milestone in addressing the gendered impact of war on women and promoting the importance of gender equality in conflict management and resolution. Since the resolution, gender mainstreaming has become one of the core components of UN missions, both peacekeeping and political missions, and it is unquestionable that progress has been made. The requirement for mainstreaming and incorporating a gender perspective into peacekeeping operations operates from the very beginning of field missions through their inclusion in the initial mandates. The Gender Unit of UN DPKO in New York has been established, gender advisers have been deployed in ten

multidimensional peacekeeping missions, and six traditional peacekeeping missions are enforcing gender focal points. (UN, 2010a)

Nonetheless, the resolution has had mixed results. As alluded to earlier, UNSCR 1325 is the irreducible benchmark by which to measure success and evaluate progress in embracing change and gender equality regarding preventative action and conflict resolution within the UN. Aligned with the Millennium Development Goals, changing UN mandates, and societal changes and women's increased participation in governance, the reality is that the UN is not keeping apace with international trends. On the basis of the 1995 Beijing Platform for Action - in which a minimum quota of 30% women at decision-making levels was agreed upon by the world's governments - the resolution urged all member states to increase the number of women in decision-making positions at not only the national but regional and international levels. Governments were encouraged to include more females in the relevant roster, and the secretary-general urged appointing more female special representatives and special envoys in missions. Since 1948 through mid-September 1948, thirty-five women have held forty-one positions as heads or deputy heads of United Nations missions in the field, a percentage that is still far from the target 30% representation (Dharmapuri, 2013; UN, 2013). In addition to the highest-level officials - such as SRSGs, DSRSGs and special envoys - the secretary-general is required to increase the number of women and ensure gender balance in all areas of UN field missions. Notwithstanding this, women remain underrepresented among military observers, civilian police and human rights and humanitarian personnel (Dharmapuri, 2013). Conversely, it is the United Nations itself - and the Department of Peacekeeping Operations in particular - that continues to sideline women and fails to give them opportunities at high levels of leadership (Rehn and Johnson Sirleaf, 2002).

2.11 Implementing the Peace Building Initiative

The Peace Building Initiative (2007) was designed to develop a partnership with the United Nations Peace Building Support Office for the purpose of information sharing within the peace-building community (www.peacebuildinginitiative.org). The Paper reasons that

peace building and conflict resolution have two key dimensions in terms of a gendered approach. Primarily, the approach must recognize the differences in women and men's experiences and ensure that their essential characteristics are properly heeded, but also it acknowledges the peculiar roles that women play in peace building and conflict resolution (Peace Building Initiative, 2009).

Clear differentiation between the elements of these two dimensions is impossible. Firstly, the understanding of the main players in the field of peace building and conflict prevention (the UN along with a range of NGOs and activists) differs. Secondly, there are overlapping activities among the different actors as well as conflicting implementation. In other words, although the concept of the gendered approach has been established, its meaning, aim and results differ depending on who applies them. 'Furthermore,' as Speake (2013) acknowledges, 'the gap between rhetoric and implementation is not insignificant' (Speake, 2013).

2.12 Additional Initiatives

Increasing female peacekeepers. While efforts to increase the number of female peacekeepers in missions have clearly showed a positive impact, only a few countries have managed to significantly increase the number of women within their national police and military forces. On one hand, sending more female peacekeepers to UN missions has challenged the traditional concept of gender roles and encouraged women to join their national security institutions. On the other hand, retaining qualified female personnel is a challenge because of the deeply rooted 'men only' culture of security establishments in which the environment potentially facilitates discrimination and sexual harassment against females (Speake, 2013).

Arguments relating to a gendered approach in preventive action and conflict resolution have come from various sources offering different opinions and recommendations. Some of these sentiments are instrumentalist, focusing on women only as devices for achieving objectives – i.e., what women can do for sustainable peace - whilst completely neglecting the debate over what peace can do for women. Others employ an essentialist classification

of women, which restricts them to their motherly and caregiving roles and denies them the opportunity to participate in preventive action and conflict resolution (Puechguirbal, 2010).

United Nations Gender Unit. In spite of the Security Council and Special Committee's support, the recommended Department of Peacekeeping Operations (DPKO) Gender Unit did not materialize until 2003. The Advisory Committee on Administrative and Budgetary Questions (ACABQ) – citing the lack of 'coherent policy in the Secretariat regarding ... gender issues' – only agreed to such an element within the department following the submission of additional reports on woman, peace, and security as part of the Brahimi Report (2000) and on gender mainstreaming by the Future of UN Peace Operations (2003).

The importance of a Gender Unit and the role of gender advisors in peacekeeping missions is proved by the fact that women and children are undoubtedly the most vulnerable victims of internal conflicts and outnumber men in refugee camps. Additionally, UN operations are mainly deployed to post-conflict situations, where women's rights are subject to the local culture and laws. Military and police troops (mostly male) and international civil servants can worsen an already bad situation unless they conduct themselves according to the highest standards. In order to facilitate such a standard, DPKO has developed relevant gender-awareness training programmes for the field and created gender units or appointed gender advisers to five UN peacekeeping missions (Kosovo, East Timor, Sierra Leone, DRC and Bosnia) (UN, 2010b).

2.13 Conclusion

The implementation of measures recognizing the essential role of women within both conflict and peacemaking efforts seems straightforward. Clear direction has been provided by the SG through the adoption of UNSCR 1325 and supporting resolutions as well as the establishment of the Inter-agency Task Force on Women, Peace and Security chaired by the Special Adviser on Gender Issues and Advancement of Women and comprising representatives of the Secretariat, UN agencies, funds and programmes and observers from the international community. Although all these measures are supported by metrics and

reporting mechanisms to monitor and evaluate success, the UN still lags in meeting its goals and has seen little change in attitudes and only marginal increases in the role of females in preventative action and conflict resolution within the organization. In my next chapter, I will examine in detail the possible reasons for women's underrepresentation in such leadership positions.

Chapter III: Gender and Leadership

As discussed in the previous chapter, numerous obstacles remain in terms of improving gender balance and gender equality at all levels of peacekeeping missions. Despite significant efforts and clear direction made by the UN organization underrepresentation in the areas of conflict prevention, conflict resolution, and UN peacekeeping fields continues. This chapter examines to what extent this situation prevails because of differences in leadership styles, discrimination and cultural stereotypes, and other factors that impede women's progress.

3.1 Definition of Leadership

There is no standard definition of leadership, but according to Hochschild (2010) most such definitions tend to incorporate one or more of the following elements: (a) leaders and non-leaders are distinguished by their behaviors and a combination of personality traits; (b) leadership involves persuasion, which is associated with followers' perceptions; (c) leadership requires a specific setting that tolerates leadership. Although there may be various meanings of leadership, it is apparent from my research that none of them include gender as a discriminator, nor do they delineate separate male and female leadership principles. This paper employs the definition offered by Chemers (1997), which states that leadership is 'a process of social influence in which one person can enlist the aid and support of others in the accomplishment of a common task'.

3.1.1 Leadership Styles

In terms of what constitutes successful leadership, recent studies have focused on which styles can be most effective within an organization (Eagly and Carli, 2003). The most commonly used distinction is that between transformational and transactional leadership styles, which was originally proposed by Burns (1978) and elaborated on by Bass (1990) and (Bosch, 2011), among others.

3.1.1.1 Transformational Leadership

The transformational leadership model requires that individuals possess certain qualities that enable them to become leaders who place the needs and interests of their followers before their own and to transform the motivation and performance of those followers into an increased level of success (Bass and Riggio, 2006). This theory stipulates that anyone can be placed in a leadership position, but those who are successful at it are those who, in addition to providing supervisees a sense of direction, are capable of fostering a strong sense of shared aims and the personal engagement of workers in their actions. In this model, successful leadership is based on concern for employees, intellectual stimulation, and providing a group vision (Bass, Avolio and Atwater, 1996).

3.1.1.2 Transactional Leadership

Transactional leadership is commonly contrasted with transformational leadership and differs in that it influences followers' behavior by planning and organizing activities, setting objectives, monitoring performance, and providing conditional compensation. It also involves the exchange of labor for rewards. The transactional leader has the power, granted by the respective organization, to perform certain tasks and to reward or punish the team based on its performance. Managers of transactional leadership style have the opportunity to lead the group, and the group agrees to follow his lead to accomplish a predetermined goal in exchange for something else. Power is given to the leader to evaluate, correct, and train subordinates when productivity is not up to the desired level, and to reward effectiveness when an expected outcome is reached (Burns, 1978).

Naturally, both leadership styles include methods that are important and necessary for effectively managing organizations and personnel. However, organizations are becoming increasingly interested in utilizing the transformational leadership model for the reason that research has indicated this style results in better performance by increasing higher levels of motivation and job satisfaction, which in turn leads to improved functioning at the organizational or corporate level (Voon, Lo, Ngui and Ayob, 2011).

3.1.2 Male and Female Leadership Styles

The consensus among researchers is that women encounter more difficulties than men in advancement and promotion within a corporate or organizational context, especially if their profession is a traditionally male-dominated one. Additionally, they argue that female leaders, both in the public/private sector and in UN peacekeeping missions, face prejudice because they work in a field that is incongruent with their gender role. Even though evidence abounds that the UN takes gender balance in all areas of employment seriously, we have yet to see the full implementation of UN directives and higher levels of female employment within the areas of preventative diplomacy, conflict prevention, and UN missions. As Kirsten Haack (2014) states, the UN has paid more attention to women's issues in its member states than in its own organization, where women have often been merely channeled into gender-specific portfolios, and thus the organization is not leading by example. As in the corporate world, leadership in the United Nations remains predominantly a masculine privilege, with women rarely becoming top leaders within their organizations (Carli, 2001; Eagly and Carli, 2007; Eagly and Carli, 2004; Karau and Eagly, 1999).

The debate over whether men and women have different leadership styles is a long-running one, and numerous theories and findings both support and dispute the assertion. According to 'Is There a Female Leadership Style?' (KellogInsight, 2012), 'earlier work in social psychology and management has found that men and women do indeed have disparate management styles, with women tending to interact and communicate with their subordinates differently than men'. Theories in favor of differences in the managerial styles of men and women, according to Bosch (2011), hold that managers are affected by both their leadership role constraints and gender differences (Carli, 2001). Although Matsa and Miller (2012) and many others remain resolute that male and female management methods and success differ according to gender, others argue that differences between the two are difficult to map because the male leadership style is so deeply entrenched in organizational life that females are compelled to adapt to it, hence clouding research results (Matsa and Miller, 2012). Surveys conducted in the private sector (Sealy and

Vinnicombe, 2013) support the view that women do not perform any better or worse than men as managers and that their success as leaders depends on their personality traits, as opposed to their gender, and the organizations they work for (KelloggInsight, 2012).

Of particular interest in the case of the UN, previous research indicates that an additional disadvantage for women in leadership roles is that they rarely benefit from gender-based support networks. As opposed to men, women leaders in the United Nations seldom gather to provide advice or mutual support to one another, for example (Hochschild, 2010). The reasons for this are various and could be the subject of a different paper, but one explanation may be the relationship between female leaders and female subordinates that is sometimes called the 'Queen Bee Syndrome'. This phenomenon occurs when a female boss shows no intention of nurturing female colleagues who aim to follow in her footsteps or even actively undercuts their progress. According to Drexler (2013), in the past many women who succeeded in male-dominated fields tended to resist the rise of other women, which Drexler argues is because females who manage to advance in a patriarchal work culture become obsessed with their authority and wish to maintain it. Additionally, some women might reasonably believe that the organization is willing to allow only a small number of women in leadership positions and want to make sure it includes them. Paradoxically, the very same women who may have complained about unequal treatment for decades may sometimes demonstrate the same behavior toward their own sex (Drexler, 2013).

3.1.3 Prejudices and Stereotypes about Female Leadership

Although research into the nature and degree of differences between men and women's leadership styles may be inconclusive, there seems to be more consistency in the research about the difficulties and prejudices that women face within societies where authority is traditionally vested in men (Hochschild, 2010). The main difficulty for females appears to originate from the fact that gender stereotypes tend to be automatically triggered (Kunda and Spencer, 2003), particularly when leadership roles are identified with masculine characteristics (Bosch, 2011). Where people associate the attributes of leadership with

men - i.e., to view those attributes as masculine - they are less likely to associate them with women (Eagly and Karau, 2002). As a result, particular styles of leadership tend to be perceived as positive for men, but as negative when employed by women. In particular, research has shown that women are evaluated more negatively than male leaders for behaviors that are considered dominant or directive or lacking in compassion or warmth (Hochschild, 2010). In another study, Antonakis (2012) finds that 'whereas male leaders who were perceived as autocratic were evaluated as modestly positive, female leaders perceived as autocratic were rated negatively'.

Therefore, this research concludes, women leaders face additional demands if they want to be successful. Not only are they expected to have more competence in order to be considered equal to men, but they also need to be warm and accommodating so that they are not seen as threatening. In other words, beyond needing to perform at a high standard, they must also appear to be appropriately womanly (Hochschild, 2010). Kidder and McLean Parks (2001) also argue that perceptions of leaders' behaviors are affected by socially constructed gender roles. This has different consequences for males and females however; females behaving in a way that is perceived as masculine are undervalued in comparison to their male counterparts, while men who lead in a feminine manner are not similarly penalized (Eagly, Makhijani and Klonsky, 1992).

This gender difference is also manifest in the evaluations of male and female leaders, even in situations of similar behavior and work outcomes (Johnson, Murphy, Zewdie and Reichard, 2008), which researchers generally attribute to the different perceptions of men and women because of their sex roles (Eagly and Karau, 2002). Several studies on male and female performance demonstrate that, generally speaking, male expertise is favored (Bosch, 2011; Carli, 2001; Johnson, Murphy, Zewdie, and Reichard, 2008; Swim, Borgida, Maruyama and Myers, 1989; Wood and Karten, 1986). Additionally, men tend to receive similar evaluations from raters of both genders, while men tend to evaluate women leaders less favourably than women (Eagly and Carli, 2003a; Schein, 2001). Attributes that are associated with leadership roles are also more commonly associated with men than women (Eagly and Karau, 2002), and leadership is more commonly associated with the masculine

gender role than the feminine gender role (Eagly and Carly, 2007). Consequently, females working in leadership positions tend to face more prejudice and receive worse performance evaluations than their male counterparts (Bosch, 2011).

3.1.4 Changes in UN Leadership

This raises the question of whether changes in UN mandates, policies, and practices that dictate the inclusion of gendered approaches to UN missions have made a difference in the UN Leadership style. The United Nations employs personnel from all over the world, with different experiences, levels of experience, and education levels. Leaders within the hierarchy of the UN do not necessarily 'grow up' within the organization, as leaders at the director and undersecretary levels are often appointed by their governments and come from industry or senior military or police appointments. As a result, it is impossible to characterize the organization's leadership requirements as falling within one style; rather, it may be best termed 'cross-cultural leadership' (Taleghani, Salmani and Taatian, 2010). Not only do leaders in the UN come to their positions with varied experiences, but they find themselves in situations where they lead and manage people from diverse backgrounds and cultures and with different experience bases, in situations ranging from the benign to the volatile. As a result, it can be argued, the UN leadership style (i.e., competency model) is a hybrid, combining both the transformational and transactional leadership models.

3.1.5 Adoption of the United Nations Competency-based Model

The participatory process initiated by Secretary-General Kofi Annan in his efforts to reform human resource management within the United Nations was designed to identify the core values and the core managerial competencies of the organization and its personnel. According to the UN website, 'Organizational core values are the shared principles and beliefs that underpin the work of an organization and guide the actions and behavior of its staff. Core competencies refer to the combination of skills, attributes and behavior required of all staff, regardless of their level or function. Managerial competencies are the additional skills, attributes and behaviors required of those who manage other staff' (www.un.org). These competencies have been identified as a result of an extensive interview process with

numerous UN staff both in the field and at headquarters level and the involvement of focus groups.

During the competency-based Interview process, a 'gender question' is asked of each candidate to determine how committed they are to gender equality. Also, all advertised vacancy announcements include the provision that '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' (Charter of the United Nations - Chapter 3, article 8). Seemingly, then, the United Nations is making a lot of effort to hire the right personnel and ensure that suitable leaders - including females - manage the organization. In reality, though, these efforts appear to be carried out purely to satisfy relevant rules and regulations, and the statistics presented in the next chapter clearly show that obstacles to women's participation in conflict prevention, peacemaking, and peacekeeping still exist. According to Hochschild (2010), instead of recruiting more qualified and experienced women to the organization, political and geographical considerations lead those hiring to recruit candidates with fewer skills and less experience and then try to equalize the situation through training opportunities. As Kathleen Cravero points out, however, 'an increase in training will never be able to compensate for having chosen individuals whose leadership experience, ability or potential are not adequate. Training cannot make up for poor selection' (Hochschild, 2010).

3.1.6 Leadership in the United Nations

As an intergovernmental Organization (IGO), the United Nations bears the critical characteristics of multilateral relationships: regular interactions with member states, a bureaucratic organizational structure, clearly defined methods of decision-making, and organizational independence from other IGOs (Volgy, Fausett, Grant and Rodgers, 2006). The stability of the organizational structure and autonomy are critical, and therefore regular interactions by the states and an appropriate administrative apparatus are necessary to facilitate the required interaction and functioning (Barnett and Duval, 2005). As stated in the United Nations Loyalty Oath, which is signed by everyone joining the

organization, each worker is a 'member of the international service of the United Nations'. In this capacity, staff members fulfill their functions in the interest of the organization only, without seeking or expecting governmental or other external instructions with regards to performing their duties (www.un.org).

When the job of the top leader of the UN, the secretary-general, was once compared to that of a Chief Executive Officer (CEO) in the private sector, Kofi Annan remarked in amusement, 'I have no real power, no real control over resources – this is an organization that is everything to everyone ... I have no real autonomy' (Hochschild, 2010). Characteristics of the United Nations' leadership in peacekeeping or special political missions is also distinctive. Such leaders represent an organization that is somewhat similar to its civilian counterparts, but that also operates alongside military and police components. In a peacekeeping mission, civilian and military/police personnel work hand-in-hand, in a system that incorporates the sending countries' practices as well. In special political missions – such as UNAMI and UNAMA - mission management is reinforced with military and police advisors whose task is to ensure proper coordination with the International Security Assistance Force (ISAF) and to provide advice to the SRSG.

Therefore, the leadership and management within UN missions is unique – a hybrid of experience, management and leadership styles, and civilian, political, military and police interlocutors. As Bennis and Nanus (2005) observe, 'There is a profound difference between management and leadership, and both are important. To manage means to bring about, to accomplish, to have charge of or responsibility for, to conduct. Leading is influencing, guiding in direction, course, action, opinion. The distinction is crucial. Managers are people who do things right and leaders are people who do the right things'. In those terms, within UN missions in areas of conflict prevention and conflict resolution, we would necessarily observe a hybrid style of leadership and management.

Despite recent statistics that reveal that women's participation in UN peacekeeping missions have remained steady at 3% and accounts for only 10% of police and just 30% of international staff women (Dharmapuri, 2013), Haack (2014) observes that 'women have

increasingly gained a foothold in international organizations. Not only are women considered essential to the achievement of UN goals, but the UN itself shows a greater degree of women's participation in global governance at all levels'. As noted earlier, the appointment of Major General Kristin Lund of Norway as the first woman to serve as a force commander in a United Nations peacekeeping operation in May of this year sends a strong message that the winds of change are upon the United Nations. Global and societal changes and the growing complexity of UN missions indicate a growing appetite for greater involvement of women in the areas of conflict prevention, conflict resolution, and UN peacekeeping.

A cultural change that recognizes the crucial roles that women have played over millennia seems achievable if the UN is able to mirror the increasing role that woman now play in global governance. At the four-day Global Summit To End Sexual Violence in London in June 2014, Lieutenant General Morrison, the Chief of the Australian Army, declared that 'armies that revel in their separateness from civil society, that value the male over the female, that use their imposed values to exclude those that don't fit the particular traits of the dominant group' effectively do nothing to assist a change in culture and make militaries more responsive and capable in a changing world environment. Furthermore, he has encouraged militaries around the world to open up all areas of service to women as a way of changing their culture and wiping away barriers to achieving their full potential, sending a clarion call to all who serve that talent, not gender, will prevail.

3.1.7 Conclusion

Morrison's strong message acknowledges that global gender barriers in leadership are being torn down and that 'first world' armies are providing equity, equality, and gender balancing through opportunity and merit, not traditional male stereotypes, and are maintaining pace with global trends (www.abd.net.au). Unfortunately, while positive advances are being achieved in the UN, they are small, are not keeping pace with contemporary trends, and are tempered by the fact that women's issues continue to be

seen as soft issues and women are therefore channeled into specific portfolios (Haack, 2014).

In the next chapter, I will examine women's participation in UN operations, introducing case studies and statistics collected in the field and outlining some 'best practices' aimed at increasing women's participation in the areas of conflict prevention and UN peacekeeping.

Chapter IV: Women in Peacekeeping Operations and Barriers to Their Participation in UN Missions

Despite the positive effects that globalization has had for many women, large numbers of women around the world remain underprivileged in many areas of life, including health, civil rights, education, and employment. As indicated earlier in the dissertation, MDG 3 is designed to help improve global gender disparities through the promotion of gender equality and empowering women (www.globalization101.org), goals that are shared by the stipulations of UNSCR 1325 and subsequent resolutions.

This chapter examines how successful the UN itself has been in meeting MDG3 goals for the inclusion of women, describes women's participation in UN operations and reviews the impact of women peacekeepers (i.e., military and police) on UN peacekeeping operations (PKOs). Although the chapter focuses on PKOs, many of the issues it raises are also applicable to national military and police services as suppliers of peacekeeping personnel. It will also examine barriers to women's participation in peacekeeping operations and makes suggestions for increasing women's participation in the areas of conflict prevention and UN Peacekeeping and presents case studies and statistics collected from the field.

4.1 Women's Participation in UN Operations

Women's participation in UN operations traditionally has been low. According to Bertolazzi (2010), between 1957 and 1989, only 20 of all UN peacekeepers were female. Ten years after the passage of UNSCR 1325, the UN revisited the issue of females' low participation in peacekeeping. In acknowledgement that more robust efforts were necessary to address the problem, the UN launched its Global Effort initiative with the intention of increasing the percentage of female UN police officers to 20% by 2014. The United Nations Office of Military Affairs (OMA) also made efforts to encourage member states to deploy more female soldiers, but without setting any targets (Dharmapuri, 2013). As a consequence,

women now make up approximately 3% of the military and about 10% of police personnel, in contrast to 1993, when the percentage of deployed uniformed women's was just 1%. Females also participate in peacekeeping and political missions in civilian positions, and they account for about 30% of all UN staff at various levels (Ivanovic, 2014).

These figures still fall short of the target of achieving a 50/50 gender balance throughout the organization to which the UN has committed itself (Conaway and Shoemaker, 2008). The Department of Peacekeeping Operations (DPKO) has addressed the factors hindering progress through various means. They conduct studies to improve females' recruitment and retention, initiate new training programmes for military and police peacekeepers, and conduct surveys of female UN staff. Member states have also undertaken new initiatives to increase the number of women within their respective forces and to integrate gender perspectives into their internal and international operations. Bangladesh, for instance, has pioneered all-female police units (FPU) in peacekeeping missions, while Ireland, Sweden, and South Africa, among others, have created military gender advisor positions within their national armed forces (Dharmapuri, 2013).

The groundbreaking appointment of Major General Lund of Norway as the first female force commander in a UN peacekeeping operation represented the first significant acknowledgement of women's involvement in UN peace operations (Ivanovic, 2014). Her appointment both demonstrated a positive result of the existing UN policy to involve more females in UN operations and affirmed the role women play in preventive action and conflict resolution, including negotiations, humanitarian responses, peacekeeping, and post-conflict reconstruction (Ivanovic, 2014). It also confirmed the statement of Under-Secretary-General for Peacekeeping Operations Herve Ladsous at the Security Council's debate on 30 November 2012 that 'women can and must play a leading role in political participation, conflict resolution and the transition from conflict to peace.'

In peacekeeping missions, the activities of military and police personnel, complemented by civilian staff in various roles, are fundamental to the operation's success. In special political missions, in which peacekeeping forces are absent, civilians bear all responsibilities for the

mission and are supported by the expertise of military and police advisors. Among other functions, UN civilian staff members assist in the implementation of peace agreements by serving as liaisons between political and civil society actors, delivering humanitarian assistance, supervising and conducting elections, strengthening the rule of law, and contributing to post-conflict recovery (UN, 2003).

4.2 The Impact of Women in Peacekeeping Operations

One of the main goals of UNSCR 1325 and related efforts is to increase women's participation in peacekeeping operations. Advocates of this approach argue that increasing the number of women in the field will improve the operational effectiveness of the mission. This 'add women and stir' strategy, however, does not resolve the issue of gender mainstreaming, which instead requires an institutionalized gendered approach requiring appropriate design and implementation (Dharmapuri, 2013).

According to Jennings (2011), proponents for increasing women's participation give the following main reasons:

1. **Women peacekeepers' effect within missions.** Women peacekeepers are less intimidating than their male counterparts and bring increased sensitivity and awareness, especially regarding females and children. Hence, they are more capable of protecting citizens. In addition to being more capable of identifying with victimized women and children, women peacekeepers also seem to have a 'civilizing' effect on male peacekeepers, who tend to be less abusive and better behaved when in female company. There are significantly fewer female perpetrators of sexual exploitation and abuse committed by peacekeepers, and therefore their increased presence lowers the overall level of such incidents.
2. **Women peacekeepers' effect locally.** It is easier for women peacekeepers to establish good relations with local women. Through these improved relations, they have easier access to information, and hence a better understanding of the possible security threats against the population, women and girls in particular. Ivanovic (2014) cites an excellent example from Afghanistan, the Female Engagement Teams

that were able to penetrate the conservative and male-dominated society through regular interaction with local women. They managed to gain women's trust to the point that local women were willing to share valuable information about areas in which the Taliban were conducting recruitment. Women peacekeepers also serve as inspiring role models for locals, which in turn contributes to enhanced gender relations with the local society. Greater numbers of females and their active interaction with the population (e.g., as in mixed patrols) increases the local credibility of and confidence in the mission. As Dharmapuri (2013) puts it, it shows that 'the UN is practicing what it is preaching'.

Although these arguments for increasing women's participation are sound and gaining in acceptance, some critics question the evidence about the impact of women peacekeepers, which they describe as mostly ad hoc and anecdotal. According to these critics, results are collected from women peacekeepers themselves, male colleagues, or commanding officers rather than from locals. Yet the research conducted for this dissertation uncovered and cited several articles that presented data collected from the local population which supported women's effectiveness. In most of these cases, female peacekeepers were seen as more approachable, empathetic towards gender issues, and better able to reduce tensions and find alternative solutions than many male peacekeepers. Nonetheless, it is undeniable that more information and systematic research on the subject are required, including studies of all-female, mixed, and all-male PK units through surveys and interviews with both the local population and peacekeepers (Jennings, 2011).

Jennings (2011) also notes a lack of evidence in studies that women in peacekeeping forces have a 'civilizing' effect on men, thereby decreasing sexual exploitation and abuse committed by men peacekeepers. In order to be accepted, she argues, women incline to adapt their behavior to that of their male colleagues. By becoming 'one of the boys', they tend either to become more tolerant towards dubious acts by their colleagues or to segregate themselves. According to my personal experience in two peacekeeping (UNMIBH and UNMIK) and two political missions (UNAMI and UNAMA), where I worked as a female both in the capacity of civilian police and security officer, becoming 'one of the boys' does

not automatically mean increased tolerance towards misconduct by male colleagues. In my opinion, acting upon a criminal act such as sexual exploitation and abuse is not necessarily a matter of gender but of ethics. When something is immoral or against the law, gender is neutral, with males and females being duty bound to stop or prevent the action and report it, although women seem to be doing so more frequently. Furthermore, as previously mentioned, a more equal ratio of males and females in the peacekeeping forces would be expected to reduce the number of violent incidents - including sexual exploitation and abuse - as women are less likely to be involved in such acts.

Jennings (2011) also contests the argument that female peacekeepers serve as role models to local women and that their presence is more comforting to victims of sexual violence, arguing that women peacekeepers might be uneasy counseling victims of sexual violence or are unequipped to do so (Jennings, 2011). Yet previously referred research material suggest that female victims of sexual assault are more comfortable talking to women peacekeepers, whom they perceive as having more empathy and understanding of such violence. Although it might be true that not all women peacekeepers are equipped to deal with matters of sexual violence, relevant training can significantly improve those skills.

Jennings (2011) also argues that peacekeepers do not have much actual access to the local population, and therefore increasing the number of females among them is not likely to make much difference. Interacting effectively with the local population is indeed a significant challenge in all UN missions, and Iraq and Afghanistan in particular provide challenges of accessibility and cultural bias. This, however, does not mean that lack of access to residents means that gender equality in PK missions should not be promoted. Instead, the organization and mission leaders need to review how the respective missions can gain more access to the local communities. UN agencies, funds, and programmes appear to be more successful when this interaction is achieved, as in the success of polio eradication by WHO and UNICEF.

Despite opposing sentiments, it can be concluded that women's involvement in peace building and conflict resolution has a positive impact on operational effectiveness. Not only

do locals find them easier to talk to, but they also provide positive examples of female accomplishment and leadership (Bertolazzi, 2010). Therefore, while increasing the number of females would not require significant additional funding, the deployment of women in greater numbers might increase the success of UN operations. The presence of females in peacekeeping forces not only contributes to a more empathetic and better-behaved operation, but also improves its ability to protect women and its capability to respond to local gender issues.

It should be re-emphasized, however, that simply increasing the number of females in peacekeeping forces does not result in a gender-equal operation (Jennings, 2011). As Dharmapuri highlighted during her speech on increasing women's participation in UN peacekeeping operations at a 2013 IPI-hosted panel discussion, the measure of success is not only the number of females serving in peacekeeping mission, but how well the mission fulfills its mandate in serving the local population through de-escalating violence and increasing protection. She added that in order to increase operational effectiveness, both males and females are needed; hence the requirement for gender mainstreaming.

4.3 Barriers to Women's Participation in UN operations

As noted, UNSCR 1325 stipulated the protection of women's rights and their equal participation in peace processes (Pratt and Richter-Devroe, 2011). Additionally, it affirmed the UN's commitment to increasing women's role in decision-making and in field operations. It suggested that training guidelines be provided to member states regarding the protection, rights, and specific needs of women; that rape and sexual abuse of women and girls be eliminated; and that overall support (financial, logistical and technical) be increased to support a gender-sensitive approach to peace building and conflict resolution (UN, 2000d; Speake, 2013).

The goal of gender mainstreaming has been criticized by several studies as dealing with gender as a 'technocratic category' and reducing women's empowerment to a simple 'tick-box exercise' (Cornwall, Harrison, and Whitehead, 2007). Although the UN Women, Peace and Security agenda is ambitious and transformative in its rhetoric, and despite the fact

that many UN bodies and agencies are committed to a gendered approach to peace building and conflict resolution, obstacles to reaching that goal still remain (Speake, 2013).

According to Dharmapuri (2013), there are three core barriers to advancing the United Nations' goals of increased participation of females and the integration of gender perspectives in the daily work of peacekeeping missions. These are: (a) member states' lack of understanding of UNSCR 1325 and UN policy on gender equality, (b) the inadequate data on and analysis of the relationship between females' participation in national security establishments and its relation to peacekeeping globally, (c) and the dominance of biases and social norms 'which promote gender inequality within the security sector and in UN peacekeeping missions by extension' (Dharmapuri, 2013).

Researchers have also identified other such obstacles, many of them related to the internal structure and culture of the UN itself. For instance, the UN organization incorporates a multitude of departments and agencies that have different sentiments and approaches to gender issues, which compromises a coherent gendered approach (Speake, 2013). Another such obstacle is that budgets and funding priorities are determined by economic and political necessities. Under the current milieu of budget cuts at all levels within the organization, advancing a gendered approach is perceived by many as an additional burden (Onslow and Schoofs, 2010). Furthermore, the organization is limited in its authority for delivering transformative change unless agreed upon by member states (Speake, 2013).

Others have argued that the United Nations - and DPKO in particular - continues to marginalize women and fails to place and promote them to higher-level leadership positions (Rehn and Johnson Sirleaf, 2002), often by overlooking women's education and experience due to their gender in the selection and promotion process. For that reason, it is essential that both the contributing community and DPKO pay special attention to the gender issue during the recruitment process and through relevant training programmes (Strickland and Duvvury, 2003). According to numerous studies, large organizations - including the United Nations - tend to have a masculine culture and practice, favoring hierarchy, individualism, and competitiveness over cooperation and consultative ways of

functioning (Pankhurst, 2000). As a result, some argue, the UN itself discourages gender equality through its deep-rooted gender hierarchy (Speake, 2013).

- a) In some troop contributing countries the number of female peacekeepers remains low due to the high levels of sexual harassment and abuse as well as gender discrimination within their own militaries (Bertolazzi, 2010).
- b) The UN continues to utilize definitions of women as mothers, caregivers and providers. This essentialist approach, which in addition categorizes women and children alike, implies innocence, weakness, and need for protection (Puechguirbal, 2010). This emphasis on females' vulnerability magnifies the historical and genetic imprint in males, which stereotype of women portrays them as unsuitable for powerful roles such as negotiations, peace building and security (Puechguirbal, 2010). Women, therefore, are only considered for administrative roles as opposed to the more masculine military/police or Human Rights positions.
- c) Gender balance is well understood within the organization, but comprehending and implementing gender mainstreaming is also important (Hicks, 2011). Unfortunately, the United Nations and especially its peacekeeping operations lack gender-aware leadership and none of them have mainstreamed gender perspectives (Mazurana, 2003). Due to the existing imbalance, some men feel threatened about efforts towards gender parity, because they are afraid of the reduction of their opportunities. As it has been correctly pointed out, simply increasing the number of women in leadership positions will not necessarily increase sensitivity towards gender issues (Hicks, 2011).
- d) The DPKO works in dangerous environments, often in crisis mode. Due to existing stereotypes, the UN is cautious about recruiting females for field positions, as well as it is difficult to obtain troops (especially females) from the contributing countries on a short notice. This results in using the previously known individuals from the existing pools of candidates, which works against the rapid achievement of gender balance (Hicks, 2011).
- e) According to the UN very few qualified and experienced women are available for

employment in peacekeeping, on the other hand women express frustration over not finding employment opportunities (Hicks, 2011).

- f) There are debatable examples where women were hired or promoted to a leadership position in the UN only because of their gender and due to internal politics. These cases do not promote gender equality, they rather result in antipathy and objection at various levels. Gender equality does not mean that women should be getting positions they do not qualify for. What it means instead is that women should be given equal opportunities to compete for these positions, and to receive appointments when deserved. Equal opportunity, among others, includes access to the same information as men, fair consideration and evaluation.

4.4 Representation of females in UN operations

The hypothesis of this study proposes that females are underrepresented in the United Nations system and have greater difficulties in advancement and promotion in a corporate organizational sense, especially if their profession is nested within that of a traditionally male dominated one. This section first reveals the trend of international civilian male and female staff representation throughout the UN, including the United Nations Organization, UN Agencies, Funds and Programmes (AFP), the Specialized Agencies and affiliated organizations. Then, it demonstrates the distribution of grades, at the professional and higher category, between male and female personnel.

Following the provision of an overall indication of female representation within the UN, a comparative analysis of the United Nations Assistance Mission for Iraq (UNAMI) will be provided to demonstrate an example of the reality in UN field operations. For expediency and due to the reality that roles in the United Nations and its operations are vast in number and varying in post, the research will be concentrating on the representation of males and females and their grades in UNAMI only and not conducting further analysis of the various divisions. There will be specific focus, however, on international civilian female staff in UN Security, indicating their status in the hierarchy.

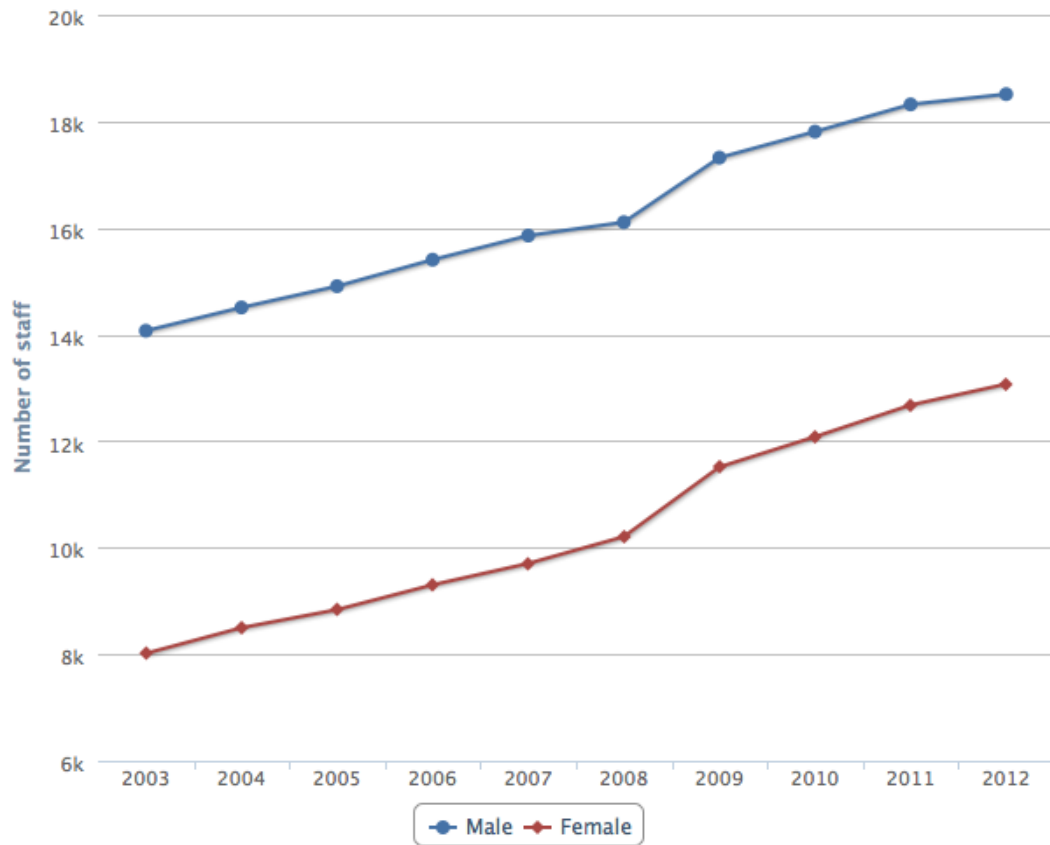
The following two charts from the United Nations System Executives Board for Coordination (the latest that were made public on 31 December 2012) demonstrate gender data distribution at the professional level within the UN system, as well as the number of male and female staff in each professional grade.

a) Chart 1: UN System Distribution of Gender at Professional Level

The figures shown below clearly demonstrate that between 2003 and 2012 there was a progressive increase in the number of females in the professional category, resulting in a 39% increase from 8,016 to 13,071 in ten years. The encouraging trend however, is overshadowed by the fact that while the increase of male staff is slightly lower when compared to women (a 24% increase), escalating the male figures from 14,072 to 18,512 by the end of 2012, proportionally the male staff figures continue to rise at a commensurate level to women. Effectively this means that while there is a definite upsurge of women's representation in the professional category for the past 10 years, the clear observation that women's numbers have increased to 13,071 needs to be tempered by the fact that this evolved number falls short by 1000, relative to the start state of men (14,072) when analyzing male to females in this analysis. One might note that although the number of women effectively increased by 15%, proportionally men still have the majority of professional positions and their recruitment, placement and distribution seems to maintain pace with that of women. It is also paramount to note that while statistically the figures look good for women, the baseline or start state figures in 2003 skew the analysis as the number of males in professional positions far exceeded women. So despite the improvement of women's representation in the professional category, gender parity has not become more pronounced and the author proposes that to create uniformity, courses of action that might include freezing male recruitment in certain areas and allowing natural attrition through retirement in the male domain, while appointing females into the vacated professional position might be appropriate and progress the more balanced apportionment of gender.

UN System Distribution of Gender at Professional Level

This chart shows the number of male and female staff at the professional level in the UN over the last 10 years.



Highcharts.com

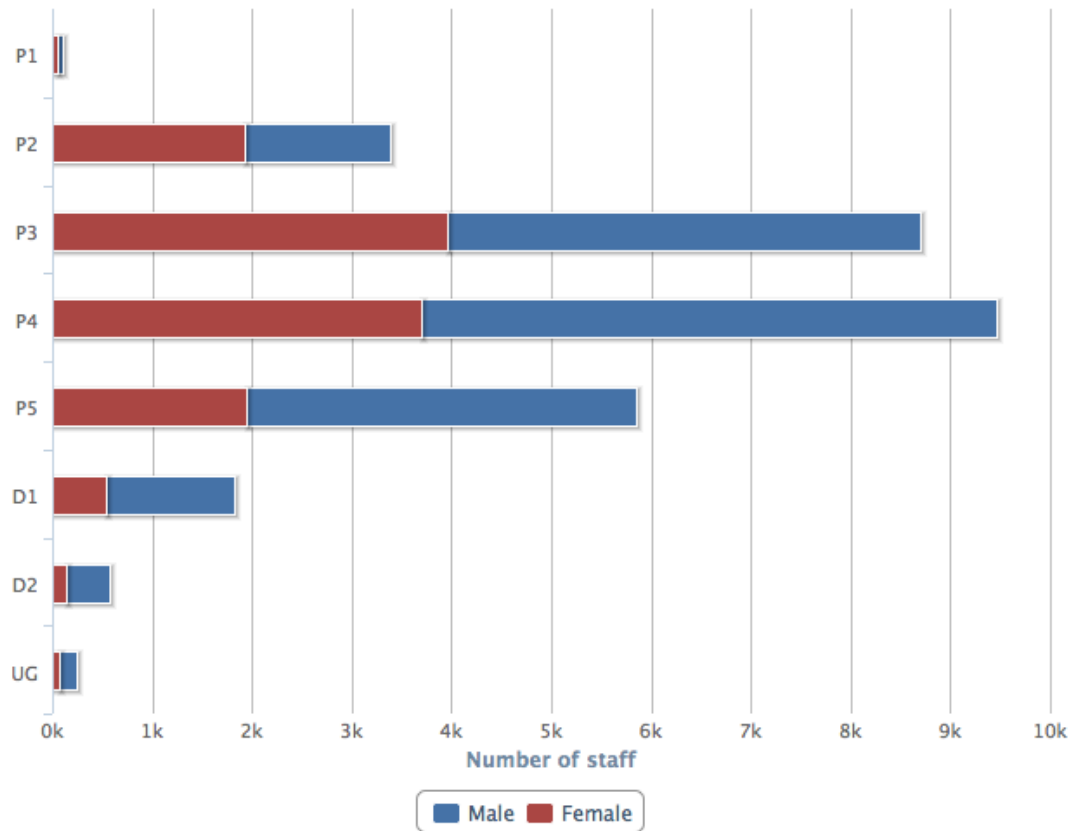
Number of staff	2003	2004	2005	2006	2007	2008	2009	2010	2011	2012
Male	14072	14509	14908	15405	15858	16109	17321	17809	18320	18512
Female	8016	8497	8837	9303	9704	10207	11514	12082	12677	13071

b) Chart 2: UN System Distribution of Professional Staff by Gender

Figures below indicate the representation of male and female UN staff in each professional grade from P1 (P or professional levels range from P1 to P5, with P1 being the lowest) through D (Director level, D1 and D2) to UG (Under Secretary-General being the highest). As shown, there are only two categories where females are better represented than their male colleagues, namely the lowest P1 and P2 categories. In every other level (i.e., from P3 to UG), and the highest categories in particular, women are underrepresented. As demonstrated in Chart 2, at the end of 2012 females constituted 59% of the P1 and 57% of the P2 professional categories. In every other category it becomes apparent that the higher the grade gets the lower female representation becomes. At the P3 level for example women represent 46% of all UN staff, while at P4 level their representation is only 39%. At the P5 category only 33% of staff are women, and they constitute 30% and 27% of the Director 1 and Director 2 categories respectively. At the UG level the 77 females represent only 30% of all staff in the category.

UN System Distribution of Professional Staff by Gender

These charts shows the number of male and female staff in each professional grade.



Highcharts.com

Number of staff	P1	P2	P3	P4	P5	D1	D2	UG
Male	48	1456	4737	5759	3909	1271	426	178
Female	69	1930	3964	3703	1948	552	156	77

In contrast to the overall gender distribution within the United Nations system, below is an introduction of the United Nations Assistance Mission for Iraq (UNAMI). The intention is to demonstrate through this specific example how the number of females compares to the overall statistics in a field mission.

4.5 The United Nations Assistance Mission for Iraq (UNAMI)

The United Nations Assistance Mission for Iraq is a political mission, which was established at the request of the Government of Iraq in 2003. The mission is mandated by UN Security Council Resolutions 1500 (2003) and 1770 (2007) to assist the Government and people of Iraq to advance political dialogue and national reconciliation, assist in the electoral process, facilitate dialogue between Iraq and its neighbors, promote the protection of human rights, judicial and legal reform. The mandate also tasks UNAMI with the coordination of humanitarian and development efforts of the 20 UN agencies, funds and programmes through government partners and civil society. UNAMI is headed by the Special Representative of the UN Secretary-General (SRSG) for Iraq. He is supported by two deputies SRSG (DSRSG), one overseeing the political and human right affairs and the other leading the UN humanitarian and development efforts. UNAMI is administered by the UN's Department of Political Affairs (DPA) and supported by the Department of Peacekeeping Operations (DPKO) as well as the Department of Field Support (DFS) (www.uniraq.org).

The senior leadership of UNAMI consists of the male SRSG and DSRSG Political, and female DSRSG Humanitarian. The Chief of Mission Support (CMS) and Chief Administrative Services (who deputizes the CMS in her absence), the Chief Public Information and Acting Chief Human Resources are females. The Chief of Staff, Chief of Human Rights, Chief of Humanitarian Affairs, Chief of Technical Services, Chief of Logistics, Chief Information Technology and Communications, Chief Medical Services, Chief Security Advisor are all males.

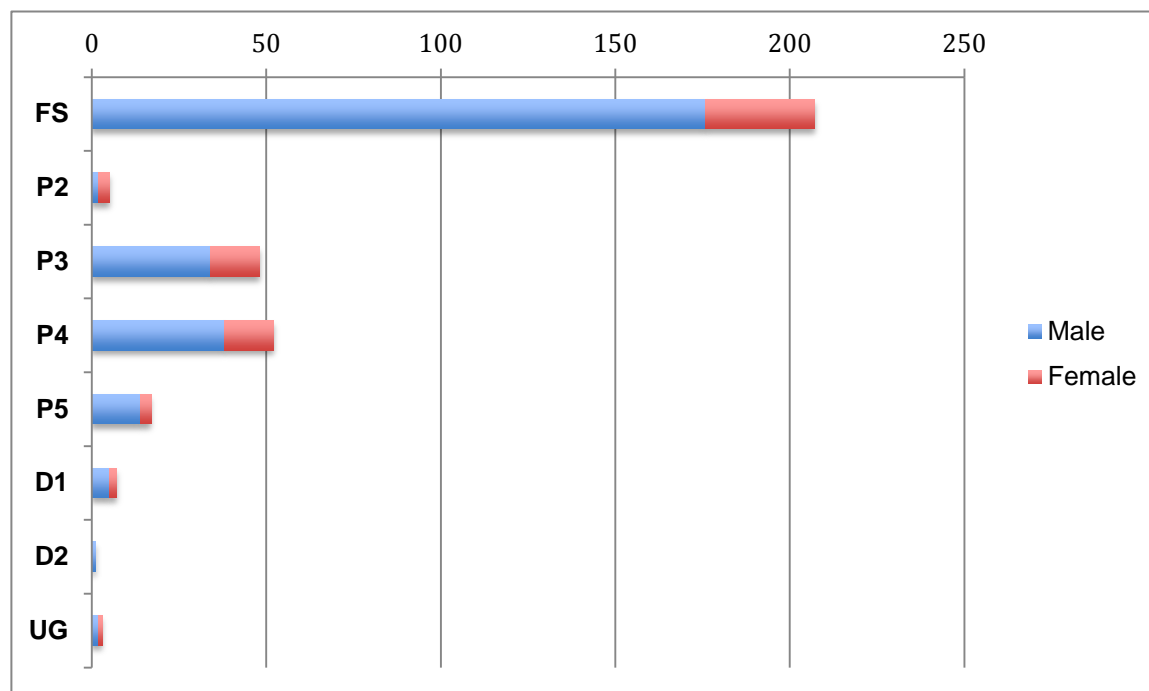
c) Chart 3: UNAMI distribution of Professional and Field Service Staff by Gender

Statistics received from UNAMI Human Resources Section provide the number of civilian international personnel and military personnel as of 31 May 2014. The total number of UNAMI International Staff is 340, out of which 68 (20%) are females. Considering that a significant number of staff in most field missions is made up of Field Service (FS) Staff - which category does not exist at the UN Headquarters, UN Agencies, Funds and Programmes, the Specialized Agencies and affiliated organizations -, for the purpose of authenticity, they will be included in the following demonstration.

As indicated earlier, the study focuses on male and female representation within the mission, therefore only gender distribution and grades will be introduced without having the numbers broken down to divisions. Chart 3 below demonstrates that at the Field Service category females represent 15% of all UNAMI FS Staff. There is no P1 level staff in the mission, however the P2 category consists of 60% females, which tends to confirm ratios similar to observations made in reference to the same grade within the wider UN system. There are 29% females at P3 level and 27% at the P4 category, while females represent only 18% of all P5 UNAMI Staff. At the Director level: 29% female representation is noted at D1 level, but there is no woman representative at the D2 level. Out of the three mission leaders at the UG/AG level, 33% female representation is demonstrated.

UNAMI distribution of Professional and Field Service Staff by Gender

This chart shows the number of male and female staff in each professional grade, plus field service staff as one category*



Number of Staff	FS	P2	P3	P4	P5	D1	D2	UG
Male	176	2	34	38	14	5	1	2
Female	31	3	14	14	3	2	0	1

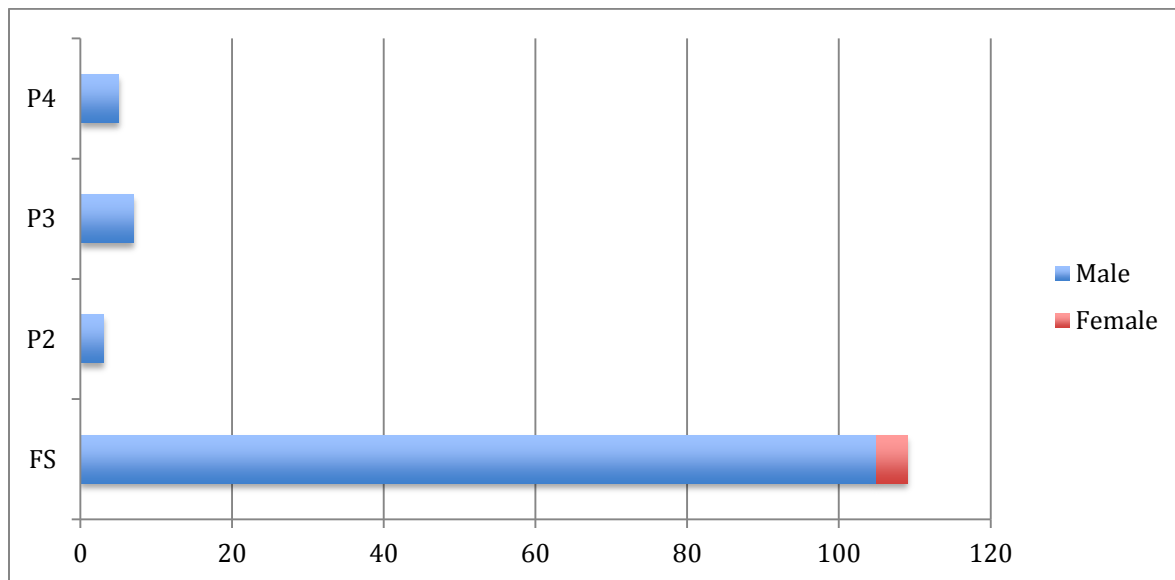
Until now we have seen the overall representation of women at all levels and in all roles and functions within the mission. In contrast, the number of women in the UN Security Section in Iraq reveals that women are significantly underrepresented in a typically male-dominated field, as per the thesis hypothesis and due to reasons demonstrated above.

d) Chart 4: UNAMI Security Section in Iraq (SSI) Distribution of All Staff by Gender

According to data received from UNAMI SSI, as of July 2014 out of the 139 SSI approved posts for year 2014 there are 124 currently encumbered. Chart 4 demonstrates that out of 124 SSI personnel there are only 4 females, representing only 3% of all UNAMI SSI Staff. Moreover, all females are in the Field Service category, hence women are not at all represented in the mid-managerial / managerial P-level category.

UNAMI Security Section in Iraq (UNAMI SSI) distribution of Professional and Field Service Staff by Gender

This chart shows the number of male and female staff in each professional grade, plus field service staff as one category*



Number of Staff	FS	P2	P3	P4
Male	105	3	7	5
Female	4	0	0	0

4.6 Conclusion

This chapter has demonstrated that despite relevant efforts, the United Nations has not been greatly successful in incorporating mandated change with the aim of achieving gender parity in its operations. Clearly, women have a positive impact on UN peacekeeping operations and in political missions, and yet, they are significantly underrepresented in the system. The introduced numbers have shown that the generally low number of females in the organization (including the headquarters) is further reduced in Missions with associated in field operations. More evidently, the number of females becomes almost insignificant when they are examined in the context of a male-dominated field, such as security.

UN Security personnel are former military and police officials of their own countries who are selected through the UN Competency-based Interview process and based on their relevant experience. While the UN has clearly directed change, gained agreement from within and globally received the same support, the proportion of women being recruited into positions, promoted or seconded (through Military and Police) is assessed as being unacceptable. The respective national military and police forces must incorporate gender mainstreaming in their selection process in order to advance in the promotion of gender equality, and subsequently assisting more balanced female representation in the field of security. The UN Headquarters, UN Agencies, Funds and Programmes, the Specialized Agencies and affiliated organizations must do more and be proactive to institute the clear UN direction to integrate and increase women's participation on par with men in all UN Missions. Additionally societal norms have changed globally and while male stereotypical resistance can still be found in some Military's and private security sectors, the recent successful examples of US/UK/Swedish and German armies using women in Female Engagement Teams in Afghanistan and the recent very public support by the Chief of the Australian Army for gender parity in all employment categories within his Army amplify the call for change. The UN must accept this global trend and inwardly reflect on their process in order to overcome bias, history, cultural and the stereotyping of women in order to force change. Additional course of action both at the national and international (i.e., UN)

level might also include freezing male recruitment in certain areas, providing positions for next level line management as women, to allow better on the job training with the view to posting them at the next level to follow-on posts, allowing natural attrition through retirement in the male domain, while appointing qualified females into the vacated professional position. While the UN has adopted change and the requirement to re-balance gender, the advances have been almost glacial. 'Unless this rate of progress improves, overall gender parity will not be achieved until 2034' (www.unwomen.org).

Conclusion

My thesis examines the issue of gender imbalance within conflict prevention, preventative diplomacy, and UN operations, and through analysis demonstrates that there are significantly fewer females than males involved in preventive action, conflict resolution and in peacekeeping due to discrimination, cultural and emotional stereotypes, and historical perceptions of gender roles. My research is supported by statistical analysis of data from UNAMI, examination and comparison between a number of UNSCR and other high level UN direction, global trends in gender advancement and my personal experiences and recollections as a Contributing Nation Policewoman to two UN Peacekeeping operations and working for the UN Department of Safety and Security in two other Missions. It is significant to note that similar issues exist within the EU, AU, and NATO conflict prevention and peacekeeping operations arenas, however the scope of my thesis, including these organizations would have been too broad, and as such I constrained my thesis exclusively on the UN and its mandated operations.

Traditional methods of conflict prevention and resolution have proven inadequate in the face of 21st-century violence, in which interstate conflicts have significantly decreased and civil wars in countries already affected by conflict have dramatically increased. Despite international efforts to facilitate peace agreements, a considerable number of civil wars have reignited within 5 years. With this in mind and to set the scene for my dissertation I initially defined conflict and differentiated between various types of armed conflict. I also distinguished preventive diplomacy and conflict prevention, while providing an overview of their evolution, and discussed some obstacles faced by these efforts while describing the United Nations' role in these focus areas. I concluded that it is clear that novel approaches to conducting peace operations using adaptive, evolutionary methods are necessary to deal with the complex conflicts and operations that mark the 21st century. Yet plainly some alternative and adaptive approaches remain unexploited, in particular granting a greater role to women in conflict prevention, preventative diplomacy, and UN peacekeeping (IPI,

2013). Based on my findings in Chapter 1, it is evident that the UN and member states have evolved from a culture of reaction to one of prevention, and I contend that it is equally clear that the positive contribution and effect that women can have on conflict prevention, preventative diplomacy, and UN peacekeeping missions has lagged in comparison.

Based on my findings in Chapter 2, UN peacekeeping has been part of the response to conflict and its resolution for almost 60 years. While it is evident that women are disproportionately affected by conflict situations due to pre-existing gender inequalities, it is just as apparent that their role as agents of change had been largely ignored until 2000, as attested to by the fact that no specific request for women peacekeepers was made by the organization until the late 1990s. The initiative to integrate a gender perspective into peace operations only emerged from the reality of the complex emergencies that followed the Cold War. Following Secretary-General Boutros Boutros-Ghali's first effort to reassess the nature of new conflicts and related operational requirements in 'An Agenda for Peace' (1992), the UN Security Council acknowledged gender inequity within the organization and various obstacles that had impeded women's participation in conflict prevention and resolution (Vayrynen, 2004). Since then, several UN policies and guidelines have recognized the effects of multidimensional peacekeeping missions on women and committed the organization to gender mainstreaming and women's participation in peacekeeping, although the implementation of relevant measures has been far from perfect (Stiehm, n.d.).

Among the major steps in this direction has been the United Nations Millennium Declaration (2000), which recommends concerted actions to meet current challenges in development, governance, peace, security, and human rights. Secretary-General Kofi Annan's report, 'We the Peoples, The Role of United Nations in the 21st Century' (2000), asserts the need to think anew about the role of the UN in the globalizing world. In addition to addressing core issues such as climate change and pollution, it also calls for the inclusion of gender issues in security discourse. It recognizes that women are an essential part of globalization efforts, but remain insecure because of global patriarchal practices (Vayrynen, 2004).

UNSCR 1325, the landmark foundation of the UN Women, Peace, and Security agenda, is ambitious and employs a transformative rhetoric, calling for women's involvement at all levels of the peace-building agenda. As result, a marginal increase has occurred in the number of women involved in formal peace talks and peacekeeping operations, and women's concerns have been raised slightly more frequently in the agenda of peace talks (Speake, 2013). Women's participation in governmental positions has also increased in post-conflict societies, and statistical evidence provided by the UN shows a rise in parliamentary seats taken by women in areas in which peacekeeping and peace-building activities have taken place. Another positive impact of gender mainstreaming has been that specific training materials related to gender implications of peacekeepers' work have been developed and are now provided to UN peacekeepers (Karakoulaki, 2012)

Yet fifteen years into the 21st century, with the adoption of UNSCRs, the MGD, clear direction at the highest level and positive rhetoric from within the UN, I contend (supported by data in Chapters 1, 3 and 4) that women's meaningful participation in UN peacekeeping and conflict prevention still remains more an aspiration than a reality, and the challenge of integrating the non-discriminatory engagement of women in these arenas continues.

Chapter 3 examined the extent to which women's underrepresentation exists in the area of conflict prevention, preventative diplomacy, and UN peacekeeping because of differences in leadership styles, discrimination and cultural stereotypes, and other factors that impede women's progress. I concluded with supporting evidence of researchers that the consensus among them is that women encounter more difficulties than men in advancement and promotion within a corporate or organizational context, especially if their profession is a traditionally male-dominated one. This is apparent with the UN. My research also concluded that men and women do indeed have disparate management styles, with women tending to interact and communicate with their subordinates differently than men. Be that as it may, I assert that a gendered approach and the equal participation of women in UN operations are important because of the added value that women bring to the table by means of their different perspectives. My study has also determined that women's

underrepresentation in UN missions is not directly related to differences in their leadership style, but rather to a combination of discrimination and cultural and emotional stereotypes that limit their participation in preventive action and conflict resolution. As concluded by Kirsten Haack (2014), while the UN has paid more attention to women's issues in its member states than in its own organization, where women have often been merely channeled into gender-specific portfolios, and thus the organization is not leading by example. My contention is that women working for the United Nations, despite being as smart, educated, and skilled as their male colleagues, still remain proportionally underrepresented in leadership roles in the conflict prevention and peacekeeping sector despite a comprehensive strategy to increase participation. I posit that despite potential differences in the leadership styles of men and women, there is no defensible reason for women's underrepresentation in managerial roles. I also maintain that the limited number of women in conflict prevention and peacekeeping is a result of their underrepresentation in the related national police or military services, as these professions are still considered masculine, suggesting that women are unable to perform as well as men due to their physical and emotional differences.

The statistics about heads and deputy heads of missions presented in this study also confirm that women have greater difficulty advancing within the United Nations and argue that gender mainstreaming and a firm commitment to gender equality will be fundamental to changing these metrics. Female UN staff – no matter how smart, educated, and skilled – remain proportionally underrepresented in leadership roles in the conflict prevention and peacekeeping sector. The case studies and best practices presented in this study support the claim that females are capable of performing as well as males at all levels and in all fields of conflict prevention, preventative diplomacy, and UN peacekeeping and of utilizing similar styles, standards, and behaviors as their male colleagues.

As research has shown, although women have a number of positive and contributory effects on peacekeeping operations, the inclusion of females within UN operations does not appear to have changed the institution's fundamentally male structure or culture (Mazurana, 2003). In spite of the historical importance of UNSCR 1325, gender

mainstreaming, while not a complete failure, has not been an overarching success, either. Significant evidence reveals that women who play important roles in grass-roots conflict prevention, preventative diplomacy, and in UN missions are consistently underrepresented in all those areas and among those who participate in formal meetings or negotiations. Relevant studies speculate that this has been caused by a lack of understanding of the concept of gender mainstreaming both by the United Nations as an institution and by local governments that have tried to implement gender mainstreaming under the UN mandates (Karakoulaki, 2012).

They confirm that the low number of females in national military and police forces is responsible for the limited representation of women within UN security sections, as several years of relevant experience within the national armed forces is required to qualify for any security position within the United Nations. Despite significant efforts by the UN and member states, these professions are still widely considered masculine, based on the false premise that women are unable to perform as well as men due to their physical differences.

In summary I conclude that despite the various forms of commitment to gender issues, in particular female leadership in conflict prevention, diplomacy and UN peacekeeping operations by the United Nations, gender mainstreaming has not fully realized its potential. I substantiate this finding with the following observations:

- UNSCR 1325 currently remains more rhetoric than a practical commitment, and women still lack the resources to voice their perspectives or legitimize their roles in solutions to conflict and reconciliation.
- Although women form over half of the global population and are both victims of war and local agents of peace and change, they remain essentially excluded from formal peace negotiations and marginalized within the decision-making processes that reconstruct their future (Willet, 2010).
- Recent UN resolutions have recognised the central role that women play in conflict prevention and peacekeeping and have paved the way for ‘a more systematic approach to the implementation of commitments on women, peace and security,’

including a range of concrete measures that recognise the importance of gender equality to international peace and security (www.positivenews.org.uk). Despite this, the metrics and figures gathered by this study regarding the United Nations Assistance Mission for Iraq support the hypothesis that women are underrepresented in UN operations, especially within traditionally male-dominated fields, such as security.

- The findings of this study demonstrate that supporters of gender balance and mainstreaming need to develop a variety of new strategies to overcome disinterest and resistance. The process requires the creation of clear mandates, selection of gender-aware leaders, adequate recruitment and budgets, relevant training, and an adequate accountability framework.
- To adopt more just and equitable responses to the overriding security challenges of this era, the international community must enable and empower those who are most affected by insecurity and injustice - women - to participate in their own problem-solving.
- Decision-makers must listen to women from all levels of society to acknowledge their knowledge and experience and empower their solutions to conflict resolution and peace building.
- Mainstreaming gender in all aspects of peacekeeping, peacemaking, and peace building requires a widely shared understanding of gender dynamics that does not reduce gender to the prevailing essentialist assumptions about men and women's roles in war and peace. Moreover, a secure world for all of its inhabitants cannot be achieved as long as oppressive and discriminatory gender hierarchies exist. Progress towards a non-gendered standpoint – which is a more inclusive and human way to think about our collective future – men and women must share equally in the construction of a safer and more just world (Willet, 2010).

Last, and quoting UN Women Executive Director Phumzile Mlambo-Ngcuka at the Security Council's open debate on women, peace, and security (www.sabc.co.za, 2013), 'Women's leadership and collective action have changed the world by combatting violence against

women and building equality. Women's leadership is central to reconciliation and conflict resolution and to peace building efforts that bring results for families and communities.' A final observation from Eleanor Roosevelt (1996) is offered to underline the potential worth of women in UN operations: 'A woman is like a tea bag; you never know how strong it is until it's in hot water'.

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