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**Sexual Violence and Exploitation of Local Women by UN Peacekeepers:  
Addressing Militarized Masculinity**

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## **Acronyms**

**DPKO** ±UN Department of Peacekeeping Operations

**ECOWAS** ±The Economic Community of West African States

**MONUC** ±United Nations Observer Mission in the Democratic Republic of the Congo

1 \$ 3 ¶National Action Plans

**OAU** ±Organization of African Unity

**OIOS** ±UN Office of Internal Oversight ServTBT/F/MCID 12>> BDC BT1 0 0 1771 0 0 1 114.14 529.75 Tm.r



## **Introduction**

Since the increase of large- V F D O H 81 S H D F H N H H S L Q J P L V V L R Q V L Q W violence conducted by UN peacekeepers against local women has become a problem that has raised controversy within the international community (Whitworth 2004: 24). UN peacekeeping troops have taken part in sexual exploitation and sexual violence, including, but not limited to



equipped to understand aspects of the conflict that are often excluded from analysis (Harding 2007: 54-55). For this paper, the marginalized people that are implicated within the topic of study are the local women who are survivors of sexual violence or exploitation. Their experiences and opinions are crucial for a holistic understanding of the issues involved and for creating viable suggestions on how to enhance gender security.

*Structure*

\$ Q R W K H U R Q H R I W K H N H \ F R P S R Q H Q J W M V R E H H R Q Q L V W U

section of this paper. Furthermore, although there have been cases of sexual violence within other peacekeeping missions that were conducted by smaller groups of countries or regional forces, such as NATO, ECOWAS, and the OAU, this paper will focus solely on UN operations (Hudson 2005: 111-112). Since the UN has provided universal standards for conduct during peacekeeping missions, it is the point of reference for other non-UN peacekeeping operations. Thus, the eradication of sexual violence and sexual exploitation within UN peacekeeping operations may in turn help eradicate it in non-UN peacekeeping missions. In addition, documents discussing the implementation of gender resources for peacekeeping operations were first introduced by the UN and thus, these are the most widely accessible foreign policy documents discussing the importance of linking gender and peacekeeping.

The Women, Peace, and Security Resolutions are crucial to study because efforts to implement a gendered perspective in UN peacekeeping operations have stemmed from the recommendations made in these Resolutions (Carey 2001: 52). This paper will only be engaging in an analysis of certain aspects of Women, Peace, and Security Resolutions 1325 and 1820 that pertain specifically to gender security in peacekeeping and the conduct of peacekeepers. Resolution 1325 covers a wide range of gender mainstreaming recommendations, however, not all pertain to peacekeeping operations. Resolution 1820 covers issues relating to sexual violence in conflict, but the sections on sexual violence with regards to peacekeeping operations will be the focus of analysis.

It is also important to note that this paper does not discredit the fact that there can be other root causes to sexual violence and exploitation by peacekeepers, such as impunity laws and short time spans allocated for general training (Bedont 2005: 87; Raven-Roberts 2005: 57). In fact, this paper examine the literature to show how militarized masculinity is an element that is rooted within issues such as impunity and training and is therefore assisting in creating obstacles to implementing gender security. The main purpose of this paper is to explore the ways in which militarized masculinity presents itself as a root cause of sexual violence and exploitation and how it can exacerbate other perceived root causes. Militarized masculinity is an under-examined theory and thus, this paper will seek to foster attention towards it and uncover its pervasiveness in the realm of peacekeeping (Whitworth 2004: 152).

### ***Defining Key Terms***

#### ***Sexual Violence***

Since one of the main purposes of this paper is to explain the reasons why UN peacekeepers engage in sexual violence, it is important to outline what encompasses sexual violence. The analysis conducted in this S D S H U Z L O O U H O \ R Q W K H : R U O G + H D definition:

Any sexual act, attempt to obtain a sexual act, unwanted sexual comments or advances, R U D F W V W R W U D I I L F R U R W K H U Z L V H G L U H F W H G D J D L C person regardless of their relationship to the victim, in any setting. It includes rape, defined as the physically forced or otherwise coerced penetration (World Health Organization 2011).

This description makes it clear that sexual violence is not exclusive to acts of rape.

### ***Sexual Exploitation***

Sexual exploitation is linked to sexual violence in many ways, as exploitation exacerbates systemic violence and paves the way for vulnerability of the local women that they are exploiting. The fact that peacekeeping personnel have sexually exploited local women in host countries is central to the problem of sexual misconduct among peacekeepers. Sexual exploitation is defined in the UN Secretary- \* H Q H U D O ¶ V % X O O H W L Q R Q



Khmer Rouge took advantage of this by raising propaganda that UNTAC was using prostitution as a method of slowly helping the Vietnamese colonize Cambodia (Whitworth 2004: 68).

In the DR Congo, UN peacekeepers have engaged in prostitution with girls as young as ten years old (Notar 2006: 417). A civilian UN worker told Higate during his field study that at

2004: 492). According to Higate and Henry, this caused social problems between local men and peacekeepers because the men were resentful of the fact that peacekeepers were having sexual

UHODWL RQV ZLWK<sup>3</sup> WKHLU ZRPHQ' + LJDWH DQG + H  
to the reputation of the UN amongst the local population (2004: 492). Furthermore, issues of mixed race arose from the arrival of peace babies, which in turn undermined the long-term social and economic security of the local women and their families (2004: 492). Thus, similarly to how ZRPHQ LQ & DPERGLD ZHUH RVWUDFL]HG IRU KDYLQJ<sup>3</sup> IDNH I ostracized for having children in ways that were considered to be untraditional. In addition to peace babies in the DR Congo, it has been estimated that 25,000 children were conceived by peacekeepers in Cambodia and 6,600 children were fathered by soldiers during the UN Observer mission in Liberia (Geneva Centre for the Democratic Control of Armed Forces 2007: 7). The number of peace babies in the DR Congo is currently unknown, since the mission is still underway (Geneva Centre for the Democratic Control of Armed Forces 2007: 7).

7KH VHFRQG UHSUFXVVL RQ LV WKDW WKH ORFDO ZRPH because once the peacekeepers were finished their deployment, the local women were faced with the sole responsibility of supporting the children (Higate and Henry 2004: 492). Patel and Tripodi (2005) point out that many local women did not hear from the fathers after they left the DR Congo (592). In fact, Patel and Tripodi argue that many peacekeepers abandoned the local women, leaving them without any means of financial stability or survival (Patel and Tripodi 2005: 592). Issues such as peace babies show how peacekeeping operations are more gendered than the UN and contributing countries expected them to be. Patel and Tripodi contend that,  
<sup>3</sup> RQO\ MaknblR sophisticated understanding of gendered experiences and sexual relations, FDQ PRUH HIIHFWL YH SROLF<sup>(2007: 594)</sup> G SUDFWLFHV EH LQLWL

### *Synthesis of Sexual Violence*

, Q DOPRVW HYHU\ 81 SHDFHNHHSLQJ PresV, L RQ VLQFH W peacekeeping troops have been the subject of complaints and reports of sexual violence (Whitworth 2004: 24). During interviews in Cambodia, a doctor at a medical NGO in Phnom Penh told Jennar that for a period of time, the majority of injured people XVLQJ WKH KRVS LW resources were young children who were victims of sexual abuse by UN soldiers (1994: 154). Furthermore, one of the women that Whitworth interviewed expressed how women felt as though UNTAC exacerbated their vulnerability in the confl LFW<sup>3</sup> \$IWHU \HDUV RI ZDU feel afraid. There is no place for them to go, no support if they wp-6(y)20( )->C5support iGno. Anid nw thby

W R Z Q ' 9 D Q005H1Q3E H b  
participatory research in Bosnia, Vandenberg argues that,  
³HYHQ DV WKH ZDU LQ %RVQLD DQG +HU]HJRYLQD VWLOO U  
PLVFRQGXFW' )RU H[DPSOH VRPH SHdFHNHHSHUV

Whitworth also contends that sometimes even teaching combat skills often becomes transitioning into militarized masculinity involves soldiers having to eliminate everything that is perceived as feminine from their identities in order to eliminate emotions that will not fare well in combat such as fear, guilt, and sympathy (Whitworth 2004: 161). In fact, according to Whitworth, anger is considered to be the only acceptable emotion within the military and if a soldier expresses other emotions that are deemed feminine, the group ridicules them and their explains that soldiers who quit basic training are taunted by others with language such as, emasculating name- <sup>3</sup>¶\RX¶UH QRW D PDQ ULJKW" <RX¶UH D OLWWOH ER\ DUHQ<sup>3</sup>ODG\ ' DQG <sup>3</sup>IDJJRW' t the clothes<sup>7</sup>¶Lives were<sup>8</sup>¶Reznt<sup>9</sup>¶W<sup>10</sup> part of soldiering that is meant to be uniform; so too are their identities and there are consequences for deviating from this uniformity.

\$OO RI WKH IDFWRUV GLVFXVVHG DERYH FRPELQH WR F  
KHWURVH[XDOLW\` WKDW FKDUDFWHUL]HV PLOLWDUL]HG P  
provided by Whitworth shows how militarized masculinity is extremely problematic. Being taught to dehumanize the other, to look down upon emotions that are perceived as feminine, and to feel entitled to sex with women has the potential to lead to violence outside the realm of military warfare (Whitworth 2004: 166; Lopes 2011: 6).



E H F D X V H W K H \ Q R U P D O L ] H G L W D V E H L Q J <sup>3</sup> F H Q W U D O W R W K assumed that male peacekeepers need to have a sexual outlet when they are on missions (2004: 490). Thus, Higate and Henry argue that male peacekeepers constructed their masculine identity in relation to local women in highly sexualized ways (2004: 489). Whitworth points out that the <sup>3</sup> E R \ V Z E Q O V E H V K H R U \ H [ S O D L Q L Q J V H [ X D O H [ S O R L W D W L R Q biological natural urges is often used by militaries and soldiers to naturalize militarized masculinity (2004: 106). Thus, it is also a way of reinforcing the notion that peacekeepers have D Q H Q W L W O H P H Q W W R V H [ X D O U H O D W L R Q V Z L W K O R F D O Z R peacekeepers felt entitled to sexual encounters with local women because it fulfilled their <sup>3</sup> Q D W X U D O ' P D V F X O L Q H V H [ X D O Q H ~~H~~ ~~more~~ ~~official~~ ~~friendly~~ ~~Keir~~ ~~Ries~~ O G L Q W X as peacekeepers (2007: 105). According to Higate, even one of the female UN peacekeepers said W K D W V K H <sup>3</sup> S U H I H U U H G W R Z R U N Z L W K D P D Q Z K R K D G D V K H Z D V P R U H O L N ~~H~~ ~~C~~ ~~V~~ ~~W~~ ~~R~~ ~~E~~ ~~M~~ ~~K~~ ~~H~~ ~~F~~ ~~R~~ ~~I~~ ~~Q~~ ~~L~~ ~~W~~ ~~F~~ ~~U~~ ~~H~~ ~~R~~ ~~G~~ ~~O~~ ~~U~~ L Q J W K H Z R U N L Q J shows how militarized masculinity can be naturalized by anyone, not just male soldiers who exemplify behaviours associated with militarized masculinity (Enloe 2000: 33).

6 L P L O D U O \ W d R g s h t t h e D D N C o l l g and Sierra Leone, when assessing the Cambodian case of sexual violence and exploitation by UN peacekeepers, Whitworth points out that the troops were open about their use of prostitutes and their trips to brothels (2004: 67). She argues that this confidence to expose their sexual misconduct stems from the fact that they felt entitled to have sexual relations with local women and because they knew they would not be punished for their actions (2004: 67). As mentioned earlier, military leadership teaches soldiers that they are entitled to sexual relations with local women and that they will not be punished for it even though it goes against codes of conduct created by the UN (Whitworth 2004: 67). This is G L U H F W O \ U H O D M E g a n g W R Q R U R H I T g p e a c e k e e p e r s purchasing prostitutes and going to brothels because militaries argue that a lack of prostitution will lead to <sup>3</sup> U H F U H D W L R Q D O U D S H ' D Q G P R U H Y L R O H Q W V H [ X D O H Q F R X to mention the ways in which engaging in prostitution of local women constitutes as sexual exploitation. The examples provided in the synthesis section of this paper shows that rape of local women by peacekeepers does not stem from a sex drive that is perceived as natural. Instead it is about power assertion over women and unnatural hyper-masculine behaviours associated with militarized masculinity. All of the host countries cited in the synthesis experienced incidents of both sexual exploitation and sexual violence and rape. Thus, neither can be justified nor perceived as natural.

Sexual exploitation as a form of recreation and bonding between soldiers was made evident through the literature. For example, during an interview, a female UN civilian employee L Q W K H ' 5 & R Q J R W R O G + L J D W H W K D W P D Q \ P D O H S H D F H N H of women or girls they had paid to have sex with as a way to compete with one another and <sup>μ</sup> V D W L V I \ ¶ W K H L U V H [ G U L Y H V ' d m a c u \$ i n t y R H Q W L R Q H G D E characterized by this idea of bonding over turning sexual encounters with local women into recreational activities (Enloe 2000: 111). Sub-Saharan Africa is not the only UN peacekeeping mission where evidence of sexual exploitation as a bonding tool has been cited. In both Cambodia and Bosnia, UN peacekeeping troops often went to brothels as a social gathering, where male peacekeepers would buy prostitutes for one another to encourage them to have sex and to see what their reactions would be (Whitworth 2004: 69; Cockburn and Hubic 2002: 110).



Higate and Henry point out that although many



### ***Militarized Masculinity and Training***

Training of peacekeeping troops is a difficult obstacle to implementing the WPS Resolutions. The UN can provide recommendations and manuals for training, but ultimately Troop C R Q W U L E X W L Q J & R X Q W U L H V 7 & & ¶ V -Deployment Training Q V L E O H (Geneva Centre for the Democratic Control of Armed Forces 2007: 4). According to the Geneva Centre for Democratic Control of Armed Forces, gender security training is the most effective way to avoid sexual exploitation and abuse by peacekeepers (2007: 4). However, the problem is WKDW JHQGHU WUDLQLQJ LV QRW LQFOXGHG ZLWKLQ WKH J

the mission (McKay 2005: 275). This way of thinking can also trickle down onto lower-level soldiers. For example, during a training session in Ethiopia, one senior UN military officer argued that since peacekeeping troops are far from home, they deserve to have time off to have

V H[ Z L W K O R F D O Z R P H Q D Q G W K D W W K H \ ^ 3 « D U H Q R W J R L Q J  
U L J K W V ' O F . D \ O F . W K I S V R L Z Q D W V ^ X R Q X M R U W K X D Q W D W H O \ S U H

the hyper-masculine culture within the military (2005: 275). After engaging in the gender training in Eritrea, McKay said that a military colonel argued that gender training was a waste of

missions (Bedont 2005: 86). This means that peacekeepers that engage in misconduct cannot be prosecuted by the host state; instead, peacekeeping troops can only be prosecuted within their

KRPH FRXQWULHV % HGRQW 7KH UHDVRQ IRU WKLV  
want to ensure that their troops will not be punished in host countries (Bedont, 2005: 86).

Another rat LRQDOH RI WKH DJUHHPHQW IRU 7&&¶V LV WKDW VLQ  
ending conflict, they should not be prosecuted there (Bedont, 2005: 86). The rationale for the UN

LV WR HQVXUH WKDW WKHUH LV HQRXJK 2005: 86. WhI YH IRU 7&  
SUREOHP ZLWK WKLV LV WKDW PDQ\ 7&&¶V UDUHO\ SURVHF

engage in sexual misconduct, including sexual violence and sexual exploitation and the UN is  
LQFDSDEOH RI WDNLQJ DFW ~~the group~~ ZK\ (Bedont 2005: 86). TDeLO WR SXQLV

TXHVWLQV WKDW DULVH KHUH DUH ZK\ 7&&¶V GR QRW SXQ  
PLVFRQGXFW DQG ZK\ WKH 81¶V HIIRUVV WR GHWHU WURRS

are not working.

Militarized masculinity can help shed light on these questions. The fact that military peacekeepers are not investigated or penalized once reports are released about sexual misconduct suggests that militarized masculinity is a top-down problem (Bedont 2005: 90). Furthermore, as argued in previous sections, many in-mission officers condone certain forms of sexual misconduct, such as prostitution. Thus, troops are essentially being told that despite UN policies, their behaviours with regards to sexual relations with local women will not be punished.

\$QRWKHU SUREOHP LV WKDW 7&&¶V RIWHQ OHDIYH WKH  
investigating and prosecuting sexual misconduct by peacekeeping soldiers (Bedont 2005: 90).

%HGRQW DUJXHV WKDW 7&&¶V V~~the peacekeeping~~ soldiers PhOLWDU\  
engage in sexual misconduct because of the pervasiveness of militarized masculinity (2005: 90).

She says:

As a male dominated institution, the military is particularly unsuitable for prosecuting individuals in cases of violence against women. Many of the problems that arise in peacekeeping missions are the product of militarized masculinity, namely, the

JORULILFDWLQRI PDVFOLQH DJJUHVVLQ « 5HOHJDWL  
who commit violence against women to those within such a culture therefore creates problems (2005: 90).

Thus, it can be ineffective to prosecute sexual misconduct within the same culture through which militarized masculinity is created and condoned.

Bedont points out that when cases of sexual violence and exploitation by peacekeepers are brought to military courts, they are often dismissed because courts argue that there is not enough evidence to prosecute the accused (2005: 90). For example, in Cambodia, many complaints of sexual violence had passed since the incidents took place (Whitworth 2004: 70). Therefore, UN officials and

7&&¶V FODLPHG WKDW WKH\ ZHUUH QRW DEOH WR JDWKHU D  
a Cambodian LDQ QDWLYH DQG 817\$& KXPDQLWDULDQ DLG ZRUNHU  
should have tried to follow up on issues like this more than we did, but there were so many

WKLQJV KDSSHQLQJ DQG LW ZDV VXFK DEXV\ Whigh PH' : KLWZ  
sexual violence investigations become lost in the chaos of the overarching conflict. Although it is possible that this is often the case, Bedont contends that part of the reason why cases are dismissed is because they are not viewed as troublesome TC & ¶V GXH WR WKH JHQHUDO

within the military that condones hyper-masculine behaviour (2005: 90). Bedont looks at the Italian military court system as an example of this. She says that the Italian military was unable to effectively prosecute peacekeepers that raped and tortured Somali civilians in 1997 (2005: 90). According to Bedont, a specific legal structure to prosecute peacekeepers of rape and torture did not exist within the national military court (2005: 90). More specifically, rape, torture, and maltreatment against civilians was not covered within the Military Penal Code, which led to cases being dropped (Bedont 2005: 90). It is also important to consider why local women wait to report incidents of sexual violence. Patel and Tripodi argue that local women do not feel comfortable reporting sexual violence male UN personnel because they feel as though they are either making themselves more vulnerable or that their issues will not be taken seriously (2005: 592). Since men currently make up more than ninety percent of peacekeeping personnel, local women do not have much of an option (UN Gender Statistics 2012).

: 3 6 5 H V R O X W L R Q F D O O V R Q 7 & & ¶ V W R E H P R U H H I I H  
and the UN has developed some efforts to deter troops from sexual misconduct. Since the UN itself cannot prosecute peacekeepers, Codes of Conduct are one of the main ways through which the UN has attempted to reinforce its Zero Tolerance policy for sexual violence and exploitation (Higate and Henry 2004: 4 8 Q I R U W X Q D W H O \ W K H 8 1 ¶ V D W W H P S W V W  
of Conduct are not being taken seriously by peacekeepers or officers (Higate and Henry 204: 487). For example, in 2004, the UN implemented a new Code of Conduct for peacekeepers in the DR Congo in hopes that peacekeepers would fear the consequences if they violated the code (Higate and Henry 2004: 487). The Code had six components focusing specifically on sexual exploitation and violence. It condemned any act of sexual abuse, exploitation, or humiliation, any type of sexual activity with children under eighteen, the use of children or adults to attain sexual services for others, exchanging money, goods, or employment in exchange for sex, or visits to brothers (MONUC Code of Conduct on Sexual Exploitation and Abuse 2004). The Code also points out that sexual relationships between peacekeepers and local women are strongly discouraged, since they are inherently based on an unequal power imbalance (MONUC Code of Conduct on Sexual Exploitation and Abuse 2004). During his studies in the DR Congo, Higate says that peacekeepers did not take the Code of Conduct seriously (Higate 2007: 112). He argues that the general consensus amongst MONUC peacekeepers was that the code of conduct was

<sup>3</sup> M X V W D Q H R F W K R H U S D S H U \ R X S X W L Q \ R X U S R F N H W ' L Q V W H D  
F R Q V H T X H Q F H V 7 K L V V K R Z V K R Z P L O L W D U L ] H G P D  
from being effective in practice. The culture amongst the military in general, not simply between soldiers, is an obstacle to implementing the WPS Resolutions in peacekeeping.

### ***Militarized Masculinity and the Implementation Practices of the UN***

6 R P H I H P L Q L V W V F K R O D U V D U J X H W K D W W K H 8 1 V \ V W H P  
issue instead of a central one and that people have reported a general animosity toward gender issues within the UN (Whitworth 2004: 123; Raven-Roberts 2005: 44). As a result, the workings of the UN system sometimes allow militarized masculinity 0 1 72.0 0 0 1 72..0 0 0 1 66k 66 3.71 115>-55>3<00

JHQGHU LV QRZ RXWGDWHG DQG QR ORQJHU DQ EVVXH ZLW  
Roberts also say V WKDW WKH 81¶V HIRUVV-~~R~~<sup>W</sup>KRD QJKH JH~~Q~~<sup>W</sup>QHULD O VS  
RI WKH 81 DUH <sup>3</sup>XOWLPDWHO\ SDWFK\ DQG DG KRF '  
SHDFHHSLQJ PLVVLRQV DUH DQ H[DPSOH RI ~~W~~R Z JHQGHU  
(Whitworth 2004: 130). Gender units were established after WPS Resolution 1325 as an attempt



slowly work up to an understanding of militarized masculinity in training that continues throughout and beyond the mission. Furthermore, Myrtinnen (2003) suggests that training could instruct peacekeeping personnel to examine already existing non-violent masculinities and femininities associated with peacekeeping operations in order for troops to gain a sense of the ideal traits of peacekeepers (44; Lopes 2010: 24). This might aid in creating a more positive masculine identity for troops before they embark on missions because they are aware of what is expected of them in terms of how they identify as peacekeepers. Norway is an example of best practice with regards to mandatory gender training because it is nationally mandated that soldiers are trained in human trafficking and WPS Resolution 1325 for all military ranks (Geneva Centre focus on gender identity, the training that the country currently provides is a stepping-stone to an acceptance of more critical forms of gender training.

## ***2. More Cohesive Partnerships between Civil Society Groups and Peacekeeping Officers in Training***

Patel and Tripodi argue that training programs for peacekeeping troops must be conducted alongside feminist civil society groups because civil society members have a deeper understanding of the gendered effects of the sexual misconduct of peacekeepers (2005: 592; Lopes 2011: 25). During in- explain how sexual violence by peacekeepers sabotages their communities as well as the mission itself. This might spark a realization in peacekeeping troops that engaging in sexual violence and

#### **4. Make the Special Representative for the Secretary General Sexual Violence More Active Within the Peacekeeping Forum**

As mentioned in the previous section, authority over ensuring that gender security is being implemented in peacekeeping seems quite ambiguous (Lopes 2011: 21). The Special Representative for the Secretary-General on Sexual Violence should take on responsibility for monitoring gender security issues in peacekeeping to keep track of security issues of local women. This is a more long-term institutional goal, however, Margot Wallstrom herself has recognized that more needs to be done to ensure that peacekeepers do not engage in sexual Y L R O H Q F H D J D L Q V W O R F D O Z R P H Q ) R U H [ D P S O H V K H V D L C vetting before the peacekeepers are deployed. We should also ensure that any such cases are L P P H G L D W H O \ G H D O W Z L W K ' 8 1 ) R F X V , W L V V X J J H to get more funding for gender units in order to bring this goal to fruition.

#### **5. Increased Inclusion of Women Peacekeeping Personnel**

Increased inclusion of women peacekeeping personnel on missions is important not only because gender equality is important, but also because research points out that the presence of women peacekeepers helps to offset militarized masculinity to the point where sexual exploitation of local women becomes less frequent (Geneva Centre for the Democratic Control of Armed Forces 2007: 6). Thus, the presence of women peacekeepers can help to offset militarized masculinity (Patel and Tripodi 2005: 595). However, as of February 2012, only 3.75 percent of all UN peacekeeping personnel were women (UN Gender Statistics 2012). The statistics show that more efforts need to be taken to ensure that women are incorporated in the peacekeeping process (Geneva Centre for the Democratic Control of Armed Forces 2007: 6). The DPKO set a goal of raising the percentage of women peacekeeping police and military personnel from around three percent to ten percent (Geneva Centre for the Democratic Control of Armed Forces 2007: 6). However, instead of focusing solely on increasing women military and police personnel, it is suggested that the DPKO should also focus on recruiting women from civil V R F L H W \ J U R X S V D Q G 1 \* 2 ¶ V

A case from Liberia shows the success of incorporating women in peacekeeping. In 2007, D Q D O O I H P D O H X Q L W I U R P , Q G L D ¶ V S R O L F H I R U F H Z D V V H C Liberia (Patel and Tripodi 2005: 594). One of the findings of this mission was that as peacekeepers, women are more accepting of the psycho-social effects of trauma, not because women are inherently more emotional, but because it is more socially acceptable for women to deal with the emotional aspects of conflict than men (Patel and Tripodi 2005: 594; Lopes 2011: 27). Two more examples come from UN peacekeeping missions in Namibia and South Africa. In Namibia, forty percent of UN peacekeepers were women and in South Africa, fifty percent of peacekeepers were women (Carey 2001: 54). In these missions, it was reported that local women felt more at ease with the presence of peacekeeping troops because of the presence of UN women and local women were more likely to report concerns with regards to their security because they felt as though they were being represented (Carey 2001: 54). This created an atmosphere that made sexual exploitation less acceptable (Carey 2001: 54). Furthermore,

WKURXJK KLV UHVHDUFK RQ 1DPLELD DQG 6RXWK \$IULFD & mission personnel are female, then local women more quickly join peace committees, which are les V KLHUDUFKLFDO DQG PRUH UHVSΡQVLYH WR IHPDOH FRQ increase the goal for the number of women included in peacekeeping missions, as the inclusion of women has multiple benefits that can help make peacekeeping operations more successful. In RUGHU WR LQFUHDVH WKH QXPEHU RI ZRPHQ 7 & & ¶V VKRZO areas of society that are less conventional than police or military forces, such as civil society and 1 \* 2 ¶V

## Conclusion

This paper has shown that sexual violence and exploitation of local women by UN peacekeepers is a problem that prevents not only gender security, but also the success of the peace process itself (Raven-Roberts 2005: 59). Engaging in sexual violence is contradictory to the behaviours and characteristics associated with peacekeeping and therefore, it is important to study what causes this behaviour in order to understand how to put an end to it (Whitworth 2004:

: KLWZR UWK ¶V WKHRU\ RI PLQaimMDisplHoneRoD SiFeXOLQLW\ D the majority of peacekeepers are from the military, these soldiers often bring hyper-masculine and highly militarized behaviours with them on peacekeeping missions, resulting in higher rates of sexual violence and exploitation of local women (Whitworth 2004: 184).

This paper has also demonstrated that the Women, Peace, and Security Resolutions are an LPSRUWDQW VWHS WR HQKDQFLQJ JHQGHU VHFXULW\ DQG L peacekeeping. However, although these Resolutions are widely accepted within the international community in theory, they are not being implemented in practice (Carey 2001: 57). One of the underlying reasons for this disconnect between theory and practice is that militarized masculinity exacerbates

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