

ABSTRACT:

Peacekeeping forces are supposed to ensure protection and security for the communities and civilian populations amidst conflict and post-conflict situations. However, reports beginning in the 1990s of UN peacekeepers exploiting women and girls demonstrated that peacekeeping, in many cases, not only does not provide the security intended, but actually increases the insecurity and horrors experienced by local civilian populations. This research focuses on examining the role of women in conflict situations, particularly focusing on the cases of victimization by UN peacekeeping officers. This paper also analyzes the processes of UN peacekeeping operations and to what degree they may or may not be contributing to the exploitation and insecurity of women and girls. Ultimately, this paper looks at what needs to be done moving forward to prevent such cases of sexual exploitation.

INTRODUCTION:

UN peacekeeping missions, post-Cold War, have and continue to be sent to regions around the world that suffer from severe political violence, armed conflict, humanitarian emergencies, and large-scale violence against civilian populations. Peacekeeping is intended to be mechanism of the international community to ensure global peace and security. In fact, there are currently 15 peacekeeping missions around the world including Western Sahara (MINURSO); Chad and Central African Republic (MINURCAT); Sudan (UNMIS); Cyprus (UNFICYP); Lebanon (UNIFIL); Syria (UNDOF); Afghanistan (UNAFA); India and Pakistan (UNMOGIP); Haiti (MINUSTAH); Liberia (UNMIL); Cote d'Ivoire (UNOCI); Darfur (UNAMID); Democratic Republic of the Congo (MONUC); Burundi (BINUB); Middle East (UNTSO); and Timor-Leste (UNMIT).¹ Thus, it is shocking to discover UN peacekeepers have been broadly involved with the exploitation of women and in some cases children. The very forces that are intended to uphold the security and protect civilians have been caught preying on the desperation and vulnerability of the populations that need protection the most.

Security is a global affair and is an issue that is important for all states to take a stake in, especially as the world becomes ever-more interconnected world. Furthermore, with the rise in

¹ United Nations. "United Nations Peacekeeping Operations." *United Nations*, <http://www0.un.org/en/peacekeeping/bnote.htm>; (accessed 25 January 2010).

armed conflict, of which the civilian population has born the brunt of the consequences, the international community has become increasingly dedicated and willing to respond to regions in which gross human rights violations are taking place. The mode through which the international community engages in these issues such as security and human rights is through UN peacekeeping. Therefore, it is incredibly important to analyze UN peacekeeping and the gaps it has demonstrated, which is indicated by the instances which it has been implicated in the exploitation of women and children. Additionally, women and children make up the bulk of the civilian population in armed conflict. Therefore, because women and children are the primary populations the UN peacekeepers will be engaging with, it is important to evaluate the interactions which exist between women and peacekeepers. This is an important factor to analyze, especially if peacekeeping is going to ever “succeed” at bringing holistic peace and security to conflict and post-conflict societies. Furthermore, it is important to recognize the important yet ignored role that women play in the process of peace itself as well as peacebuilding. Therefore, the ultimate question is since the end of the Cold War, what effects have peacekeeping had upon women and girls and their situation in conflict and post-conflict situations?

During the final stages and the eventual end of the Cold War in 1991, a new type of war was beginning to emerge, particularly in developing states throughout Africa, Latin America, Asia, the Middle East, and former satellites of the USSR such as the Balkans. These emergent conflicts have been distinguished by a number of characteristics including criminal impunity; a mobilization of fighting groups outside the state; a high percentage of civilian casualties; population displacement; the privatization of violence; and often ultimately ‘state failure.’² It is

² Mary Kaldor, *New & Old War: Organized Violence in a Global Era* (California: Stanford University Press, 2007), 96-97.

important to note that civilians are exponentially the ones to endure most of the violence in new war, in that they are used as a means for combating groups to gain control over territory and resources. Due to the key nature of citizens in combatants strategy, the objectives of new war have become genocide, ethnic cleansing, and rape to consolidate power and territory. As Caroline Kennedy-Pipe states, “what were previously byproducts of war – rape, genocide, and ethnic cleansing – have now become its primary aims.”³

In today’s conflicts, civilian casualties count between 75%-90%⁴⁵ of overall casualties and according to the 2002 UN Secretary General’s report women and children represent an “unprecedented number of the victims.”⁶ It is widely established that women and children (particularly) girls experience armed conflict, especially since the emergence of new war, in a particular way. Women are in disadvantaged positions in societies economically, educationally, socially, and politically; these disadvantages, particularly in regards to men, leaves open a huge gap for women to be further marginalized, exploited, and abused during armed conflict. Violence in armed conflict post-Cold War has often specifically targeted women and children, because this better allows combatants to destabilize communities. This phenomena is seen clearly in the Democratic Republic of the Congo, where rape has become a deliberate weapon of war. Though men too experience direct violence, marginalization, and exploitation during armed conflict, the nature of these factors regarding women and children (particularly girls) in armed conflict is unique. Violence for women, especially in armed conflict, is often sexual in nature.

³ Caroline Kennedy-Pipe, “From Cold Wars to New Wars,” in *International Security in a Global Age*, ed. Clive Jones and Caroline Kennedy-Pipe (Portland, OR: Frank Cass Publishers, 2000), 21.

⁴ Report of the Secretary-General to the Security Council on the protection of civilians in armed conflict (S/2001/331), 30 March 2001, <http://www.un.org/>

⁵ Caroline Kennedy-Pipe, “From Cold Wars to New Wars,” in *International Security in a Global Age*, ed. Clive Jones and Caroline Kennedy-Pipe (Portland, OR: Frank Cass Publishers, 2000), 21.

⁶ Report of the Secretary-General to the Security Council on the protection of civilians in armed conflict (S/2002/1300), 26 November 2002, <http://www.un.org/>

This sexual violence and exploitation takes many forms including rape by an individual or group of individuals, torture, forced pregnancy, sexual slavery, forced prostitution, and trafficking.⁷

Today, UN peacekeeping forces participate in a range of activities that are largely more complex than anything peacekeeping tried to tackle during the “first generation” of its existence. Some of the activities that “second generation” peacekeeping missions participate include military and police functions, the monitoring of human rights, the conduction of elections, the delivery of humanitarian aid, the repatriation of refugees, the creation and conduct of state administrative structures.⁸ However, the overarching goals of peacekeeping missions are to quell violence and bring security during both conflict and post-conflict situations, which means ensuring that human tragedies such as the Rwandan genocide never happen again. This mandate suggests that a large aspect of peacekeeping is protecting civilians.

Therefore, it is shocking to discover that the peacekeepers in a broad number of regions and missions have themselves participated in the sexual exploitation of women and children civilians. Given that peacekeeping is the mechanism through which the international community responds to armed conflict, natural disasters, complex humanitarian emergencies, and ultimately global security and peace, it is important incredibly significant that UN peacekeeping as a mechanism is implicated in the atrocities they are attempting to quell. Furthermore, if peacekeeping is going to remain the international community’s establishment of peace and security in this age of new war and anarchic violence, then it is important to analyze not only why peacekeepers are engaging in such behavior, but also to look at what needs to be done moving forward reduce and stop, the exploitation of women and children by UN peacekeepers.

⁷ Report of the Secretary-General to the Security Council on women, peace, and security (S/2002/1154), 16 October 2002, <http://www.un.org/>

⁸ Sandra Whitworth, *Men, Militarism, and UN Peacekeeping*, (London: Lynne Rienner Publisher's, Inc. 2004), 12.

NEW WAR:

The fall and break-up of the Soviet Union began in 1989 with the fall of the Berlin Wall. It is widely agreed by scholars that between 1989 and 1991 was the historical turning point that ended the Cold War. New War scholars generally agree that it is with the end of the Cold War and the fall of the Soviet Union, opened the door for a new type of warfare to enter the stage of developing countries throughout Africa, Asia, Latin America, and Eastern Europe, noted by Martin van Creveld as the “rimlands”.⁹ “Old warfare” as laid out by Carl von Clausewitz in his book On War, began to erode after the end of World War II, particularly throughout the Cold War. The superpowers used developing states to carry out “proxy wars” in which they both armed and financed state and sub-state groups as a tactic to indirectly challenge each other ideologically, militarily, and geo-politically, while avoiding the use of nuclear weapons. For instance, Caroline Kennedy-Pipe states that, “It has been estimated that the superpowers intervened in approximately half of all civil wars that took place during the period of the Cold War.”¹⁰ After this bi-polar system became obsolete and the super-powers largely withdrew their support and involvement from these regions, a huge financial, ideological, military, and political vacuum emerged. In this vacuum, regimes, which had largely been propped up by one or the other superpowers’ suddenly had very little left to maintain control and legitimacy of the centralized state status. There was a further consequence in that these state economies, which had also been receiving support from one of the major powers, largely began to disintegrate because they were not sustainable on their own. This further reduced the state’s capability to maintain either financial or political control over the states militarized units and army. Furthermore, with the breakdown of the Soviet Union and the end of the Cold War, a surplus or

⁹ Van Creveld, Martin, *The Transformation of War*, (New York: The Free Press, 1991): 11.

¹⁰ Kennedy-Pipe, Caroline. “From Cold Wars to New Wars.” in *International Security in a Global Age*, ed. Clive Jones and Caroline Kennedy-Pipe, (Portland, OR: Frank Cass Publishers, 2000): 13.

light and accessible arms became available to essentially anyone who desired them. These two factors combined meant that the state as a mechanism had lost its monopoly over the legitimate means of coercion and violence resulting in a breakdown and fragmentation of militarization throughout the state and among sub-state actors. As Mary Kaldor states, “A downward spiral of loss of revenue and legitimacy, growing disorder, and military fragmentation creates the context in which the new wars take place.”¹¹

With the state’s nearly complete lack of autonomy and legitimacy in these societies, the social order began to breakdown. Criminality, impunity, corruption, and violence begin to run rampant. It is in this context that warlords, criminals, gangs, terrorists, mercenary groups, breakaway factions from the military, not to mention police forces and the regular army emerge with little regard for law and order. Thus rather than the state having control over the means of violence, coercion becomes privatized by these various groups. This is referred to by Herfried Munkler as the “de-statization or privatization of military force.”¹² War has become a force of private and informal funding, which any individual or group that can obtain funds has the ability to perpetuate conflict and war. These groups get the funds from a variety of sources including plunder, hostage-taking, robbery, the black market, private external backing from individuals, states, or diaspora communities, drug or human trafficking, extortion, and sometimes humanitarian aid intended for the afflicted civilian population. These ad-hoc armed groups rather than attempting to engage actors politically or through battles seen in Clausewitz’s “old war,” use the civilian population to gain control and power. The tactics used by these groups are cheap, brutal, violent, yet seemingly very effective. These groups use tactics of fear, hatred, violence, and displacement to maintain control over the population and mobilize people through

¹¹ Mary Kaldor, *New & Old War: Organized Violence in a Global Era* (California: Stanford University Press, 2007), 96.

¹² Munkler, Herfried, *The New Wars*, (Cambridge: Polity Press, 2005) 3.

overt force to gain political, financial, or territorial control. As Munkler states, “The new wars always exhibit a distinctive management of fear, which the armed side constructs and organizes against the unarmed.”¹³ Thus new wars are completely “asymmetrical”¹⁴ in the way they are fought with the civilian population taking the brunt of the conflict. Though “new wars” tend to be intra-state conflicts, they often can involve neighboring states either directly or indirectly in their conflict. One example be when Charles Taylor of Liberia, purposely went into Sierra Leone to support and help finance the RUF against the state of Sierra Leone. This rampant violence can tragically often easily pass through borders, which makes addressing such conflicts extremely important.

PEACEKEEPING AND ITS RESPONSE

The UN Charter does not explicitly mention UN peacekeeping as a specific mechanism of its duties and functions. It is generally under the UN Charter’s VI or Chapter VII that it is invoked. The role of UN Charter’s Chapter VI “Pacific Settlement of Disputes” peacekeeping missions were to “freeze a conflict situation and keep the parties apart.”¹⁵ Furthermore, Chapter VI can only be instituted if both parties consent to the presence or a peacekeeping force. Thus peacekeepers on Chapter VI missions were entering situations often after cease-fires had been declared, and their duties were to primarily monitor truces, troop withdrawals, or “provide a buffer zone between belligerent forces.”¹⁶ Chapter VII of the UN Charter “Action with Respect to Threats to the Peace, Breaches of the Peace and Acts of Aggression” expands the

¹³ Munkler, Herfried, *The New Wars*, (Cambridge: Polity Press, 2005) 14.

¹⁴ *Ibid*, 3.

¹⁵ Roper, John, Masashi Nishihara, Olara A. Otunnu, Enid C.B. Schoettle, *Keeping the Peace in the Post-Cold War Era: Strengthening Multilateral Peacekeeping*, (New York: The Trilateral Commission, 1993): 3.

¹⁶ Mingst, Karen A. and Margaret P. Karns, “The United Nations and Conflict Management,” In *Leashing the Dogs of War*, ed. Chester A. Crocker, Fen Osler Hampson and Pamela Aall, (Washington, DC: United States Institute of Peace Press, 2007): 503.

responsibilities of the UN Security Council as well as the duties of peacekeeping missions. The Security Council is charged with identifying the aggressors, is enabled to decide what enforcement measures should be followed and “call on members to make military forces available, subject to special agreements.”¹⁷

It was under the UN Charter’s Chapter VI, which the first armed military units were sent out to monitor the 1956 Suez Crisis conflict between Egypt and the forces of Britain, France and Israel. Though the UN had used unarmed observers in Kashmir and Palestine in the 1940s, it was not until the UN’s response to the Suez crisis, the institution of peacekeeping truly became a mechanism of the UN. After this initial mission had demonstrated such success and effectiveness, the international community held much optimism for peacekeeping as a means for maintaining international peace and security. One of the ways that this hopeful international attitude towards peacekeeping manifested itself was witnessed was when foreign minister of Canada, Lester Pearson was awarded the Nobel Peace Prize in 1957 for his role and involvement in the first UN Peacekeeping Mission. Furthermore, the 1988 Nobel Peace Prize was awarded to the UN Peacekeeping forces. The Nobel Foundation states in its 1988 press release that “the UN forces represent the manifest will of the community of nations to achieve peace through negotiations, and the forces have, by their presence, made a decisive contribution towards the initiation of actual peace negotiations.”¹⁸ Despite the hope that had been placed in UN peacekeeping missions to maintain peace and security, it remained significantly limited as a mechanism throughout much of the Cold War due to the polarization in the Security Council between the two superpowers. After the fall of the Soviet Union, however, the Security Council had “been set free” to act without the constraints of internationally polarized politics that existed under the

¹⁷ *Ibid*, 497.

¹⁸ Nobel Foundation. "Nobel Peace Prize 1988 - Press Release." *Nobelprize.org*. http://nobelprize.org/nobel_prizes/peace/laureates/1988/press.html (accessed April 28, 2010).

Cold War. With the end of the Cold War, there was an increase of international concern regarding issues such as human rights, humanitarian assistance, and democracy.¹⁹ This increased concern about international issues, began to emerge at the same time that the world saw an increase in the devastating forms of new war and horrific acts of violence. Thus out of the Cold War emerged a new more complex and expanded manifestation of peacekeeping, which held a much larger variety of responsibilities and duties than peacekeeping had historically had in the past. First generation or “traditional” peacekeeping missions became largely replaced with second generation or “complex peacekeeping missions.”²⁰²¹

Complex peace keeping missions are usually deployed under Chapter VII of the the UN Charter and had only been implemented three times before Iraq’s invasion of Kuwait 1990. However, this war marked a turn in the age of peacekeeping. Since 1990 peacekeeping experienced a rapid expansion in regards to the number of missions, the number of peacekeeping troops, organizational capacity, as well as responsibilities and duties. Former UN Secretary General outlined the new expectations peacekeeping was meant to uphold and address in his 1992 speech an “Agenda for Peace.” There were four concepts he mentioned that would change the face of peacekeeping forever. First, Ghali put forth the concept of *preventative peace*: the idea that action should be taken preemptively during disputes to prevent them from turning into violent conflict. Second, is the concept *peacemaking*, which is “to bring hostile parties to agreement, essentially through such peaceful means” using Chapter VI as a guidelines to carry it out.²² Third, was Ghali’s effort to more clearly outline the duties and implications of the term

¹⁹ Roper, John, Masashi Nishihara, Olara A. Otunnu, Enid C.B. Schoettle. *Keeping the Peace in the Post-Cold War Era: Strengthening Multilateral Peacekeeping*. (New York: The Trilateral Commission, 1993).

²⁰ Whitworth, Sandra, *Men, Militarism, and UN Peacekeeping*, (London: Lynne Rienner Publisher’s, Inc., 2004): 12.

²¹ Mingst , Karen A. and Margaret P. Karns, “The United Nations and Conflict Management,” In *Leashing the Dogs of War*, ed. Chester A. Crocker, Fen Osler Hampson and Pamela Aall, (Washington, DC: United States Institute of Peace Press, 2007): 502-503.

²² Boutros-Ghali, Boutros. "An Agenda for Peace (June 17, 1992)." *Global Policy Forum*.
<http://www.globalpolicy.org/component/content/article/226/32282.html>. (accessed February 20, 2010).

peacekeeping. Ghali defines peace-keeping as the “deployment of a United Nations presence in the field, hitherto with the consent of all the parties concerned, normally involving United Nations military and/or police personnel and frequently civilians as well.”²³ Fourth was Ghali’s introduction of the concept of post-conflict peace-building. This would be the effort of the United Nations to create stability, security, and infrastructure to regions in the aftermath of conflict. These four ideas have continued to guide the implementation and establishment of peacekeeping in regard to its responsibilities throughout time.

The widening scope of peacekeeping also expanded the authority and duties of peacekeepers in missions. New peacekeeping missions authorized peacekeepers to use greater force and involvement, particularly to protect civilians, refugees and displaced persons from violence, including cases of genocide, ethnic cleansing, and general attack. Some of the other duties, which peacekeepers often observe on missions include, “military and police functions, the monitoring of human rights, the conduct of elections, the delivery of humanitarian aid, the repatriation of refugees, the creation and conduct of state administrative structures.”²⁴ The scope of these duties, in turn require both military and civilian participation to effectively carry out the tasks involved in the “new” missions.

Besides and expansion of duties, personnel, and institutional organization involved in new peacekeeping, there have been a number of additional implications for the new ambitious duties and goals that had been laid out for peacekeepers. For instance, there is a significant lack of financial, staffing, and organizational resources which are allocated to peacekeeping missions that are necessary to effectively carry out these operations. This was largely pointed out in a 1993 report recognizes that “public opinion and governments have been calling for additional

²³ *Ibid.*

²⁴ Whitworth, Sandra, *Men, Militarism, and UN Peacekeeping*, (London: Lynne Rienner Publisher's, Inc., 2004): 12.

multilateral operations – notably in the framework of the UN – without providing the resources and nurturing the structures that can sustain these operations over time.”²⁵ This is often a result of a lack of political mobilization and will by UN member states to commit resources or assist, with such missions. Furthermore, under the mandate of these new missions peacekeepers are often deployed before all of the parties had reached agreement or a ceasefire or before parties have consented to UN intervention. This means that peacekeeping missions have become much more hazardous, because the regions they are entering are often still warzones. Additionally, in these situations peacekeepers become viewed not as impartial monitors, but targets and enemies of the respective warring parties. Thus, in recent years peacekeepers have suffered a higher rate of casualties. There has also been issues with UN Peacekeeping mandates being vague and ambiguously worded so that peacekeeping troops and commanders on the ground are uncertain about whether their duties fall under Chapter VI or Chapter VII. This huge disparity in intelligence has huge implications. Some might even say that it is because of these unclear stipulations that peacekeeping missions have suffered and been unable to carry out their duties effectively, and in some cases leading to the failure of the peacekeeping missions as a whole. The traditional example of a failed peacekeeping mission would be UNOSOM that peacekeeping mission in Somalia which led to the killing and desecrating of a number of US Soldiers. Furthermore, another case which is often pointed to as a matter of failure is the failure of UN peacekeepers to act to prevent the 1994 Rwandan genocide. Under the shadow the failure in Somalia member states shied away from getting involved in another conflict. In addition, this mission was considered a Chapter VI mission and thus did not allow peacekeepers use force,

²⁵ Roper, John, Masashi Nishihara, Olara A. Otunnu, Enid C.B. Schoettle, *Keeping the Peace in the Post-Cold War Era: Strengthening Multilateral Peacekeeping*, (New York: The Trilateral Commission, 1993): 1.

even to protect civilians in the face of death. These two instances demonstrate just a few of peacekeeping's darkest hours.

In addition to some of the most discussed issues regarding peacekeeping, there are a number of other gaps have emerged regarding the effectiveness of peacekeeping. Besides a lack of peacekeeping troops on the ground, there is a lack of upper-level administration in order to capably carry and organize peacekeeping missions in an effective and successful way. Furthermore, both military and civil peacekeepers do not receive adequate or comprehensive enough training before they enter conflicts. According to Mats Berdal, "[i]t is estimated 90% of the training for peacekeeping is training for a general combat capability."²⁶ Though a percentage of training should probably be maintained for combat, peacekeeping is a function that infinitely more complex than, what one would find a military setting. Ultimately, I think this points out that there may be an emphasis on the wrong aspects of a peacekeeping mission than might make missions more successful. Furthermore, though civilians have become a much more necessary part of peacekeeping especially, there is a lack of policy that addresses the various aspects of civilian peacekeeping into both UN missions and training. Considering that "New larger peacekeeping operations have resulted in many new tasks, which often are qualitatively different from the tasks traditionally carried out by the military," civilian operations should be mainstreamed into peacekeeping missions.²⁷ In addition, very little attention has been paid to the way the UN peacekeepers interact with the local civilian populations. However, this is an exceedingly important issue because civilians are vital to the both peace processes and the maintenance of peace in the aftermath of conflict. Therefore, as Marianne Hieberg writes "It can be convincingly argued that the nature of the relationship a peacekeeping force achieves with the

²⁶ Heje, Claus. "United Nations Peacekeeping – An Introduction." In *A Future for Peacekeeping?*, ed. Edward Moxon-Browne. (New York, NY: St. Martin's Press, Inc., 1998): 19.

²⁷ *Ibid.*, 15-16.

local population within its area of control is a decisive element determining the operation's success or failure.”²⁸

WOMEN IN WARTIME:

Throughout the history of war, women have remained exceptionally vulnerable to the conditions perpetuated by armed conflict. Whereas men in conflict are primarily viewed as the enemies that must be killed or eliminated, women and children (particularly girls) have been viewed as spoils of war for the victors. This idea suggests that war has traditionally and in a very fundamental way impacted men and women differently, and implies that women are passive objects rather than active subjects in these situations of conflict. Based on this assumption women are inherently viewed by the actors of the conflict as “things” to be bought, sold, abused, and exploited. Thus they are essentially viewed as commodities rather than human beings with worth and value. With the emergence of new war, women, just as men, are forced to face the larger impacts of conflict such as violence, poverty, lack of services, and famine. However, these phenomena so prevalent in war result in very different consequences for women in terms of health, childbearing and rearing, maintaining households and communities, displacement, and violence in general. Furthermore, it should be recognized that in new war, tactics used by combatants have increasingly targeted women and to some degree children in brutal and violent ways. This deliberate targeting of women aims at creating environments of fear and destabilizing communities. Munkler purports that “in wars whose aim is to expel large sections of the population - women are no longer just booty, trophies or sex objects; they have become the conqueror's main target of attack.”²⁹ Thus, it is becoming increasingly dangerous to be a woman in situations of armed conflict. As Major General Patrick Cammaert, former Deputy

²⁸ *Ibid*, 18.

²⁹ Munkler, Herfried, *The New Wars*, (Cambridge: Polity Press, 2005) 82.

Force Commander states, “It is more dangerous to be a woman than to be a soldier right now in Eastern DRC.”³⁰

A variety of scholars note the distinct dangers women are faced with in situations of armed conflict. Radhika Coomaraswamy identifies five ways in which women suffer in conflict both directly and indirectly. First women are faced with direct forms of violence in which they are killed, maimed or sexually violated. Second women and particularly young girls are recruited as combatants, sex slaves, or servants to do daily tasks such as cooking or other household chores. Third women and girls suffer more heavily under the burden of displacement as refugees or IDPs and often, basic health or reproductive services are withheld from them. Fourth, women are often trafficked and exploited as a way to capitalize on their vulnerability. Fifth and finally, Coomaraswamy identifies that in the cases where children become orphaned, girls (being considered the caretakers) are frequently left to manage the head of the household and care for any siblings or other family members who remain. The differential impact women suffer in conflict often reflects the attitudes held during peacetime. As scholars Rehn and Sirleaf point out during peacetime, “Women rarely have the same resources, political rights, authority, or control over their environment and needs that men do.”³¹ These fundamental inequities and attitudes are then carried-over into conflicts further marginalizing women as well as reducing their resources to cope with the violence, fulfilling their duties as caretakers and the breakdown law and order. Many women’s day-to-day responsibilities such as gathering firewood, searching for food and water, caring for children, the sick, the elderly, and extended family becomes an ever-more arduous task in situations of conflict because resources are scarce and the conditions

³⁰ UNIFEM. “WOMEN TARGETED OR AFFECTED BY ARMED CONFLICT: WHAT ROLE FOR MILITARY PEACEKEEPERS?” Conference Summary of Wilton Park Conference, Wilton Park Sussex, UK, May 27-29, 2008.

³¹ Rehn, Elisabeth and Ellen Johnson Sirleaf. *Women War Peace: The Independent Experts' Assessment on the Impact of Armed Conflict on Women and Women's Role in Peace building*. (New York : United Nations Development Fund for Women (UNIFEM), 2002): 2.

under which they must leave the household to provide for the family are increasingly dangerous. Some women are forced to cross minefields, face shelling, bombing or threat of rape in search of the bare necessities. Additionally, Rehn and Sirleaf also identify that the resources themselves may be compromised indicating that, “Wells may have been poisoned, trees for firewood destroyed, fields burnt, and clinics vandalized.”³² Furthermore, besides basic needs such as food, water, and shelter, women have a very specific sub-set of needs outside that of men such as protection from exploitation, abuse, and sexual violence, the need for reproductive health services, and basic livelihood activities (which are often denied women). Women must face a number of health issues that are unique to men, however these largely go unmet in war torn countries. It is often pointed out that women need methods to cope with their menstrual cycle during periods of conflict, yet this concern until recently had been completely ignored by service providers. For instance, it has been only in “the past few years that humanitarian agencies have begun to include sanitary supplies in the package of relief items provided in emergencies.”³³ Furthermore, pregnancy and delivery also mean that women are at increased risk and rarely are skilled birth attendants or other medical services able to be provided in situations of armed conflict. It fact it is recorded that maternal mortality rates are 40 times higher in developing countries that in industrialized ones, and this number increases in during times of conflict because often the healthcare system is decimated, hospitals are shelled or bombed, and clinics are often severely short-staffed with a minimum of necessary life-saving supplies or drugs. However, “even though war-affected women have greater needs they often end up with few, if any, services.”³⁴ Additionally, women bear a significant amount of the burden regarding

³² *Ibid.*

³³ Rehn, Elisabeth and Ellen Johnson Sirleaf. *Women War Peace: The Independent Experts' Assessment on the Impact of Armed Conflict on Women and Women's Role in Peace building*. (New York : United Nations Development Fund for Women (UNIFEM), 2002): 39.

³⁴ *Ibid.*, 43.

displacement. Women and children make up 80% of the world's displaced, and thus, women are the ones that most commonly are forced to confront the challenges and issues that come with being displaced. Displaced women often end up in camps, in which they often feel "unsafe" and their security is compromised and have limited if any access to services or supplies. Camps are often poorly organized so that women and children remain vulnerable to external risks such as marauders, combatants, or criminals and at times are even assaulted or raped by camp officials or other refugees within the camps.

Besides these acute yet largely indirect impacts of armed conflict in new war, women are also faced with direct brutality and violence perpetrated by a number of actors throughout armed conflict. There are a number of crimes, particularly sexual that are carried out against women. Some of these include forced pregnancy, forced abortion, sexual humiliation, forced prostitution, forced sterilization, abduction and sexual abuse and slavery, sex and labor trafficking, rape or gang rape, torture, and sexual mutilation. To many observers sexual violence against women is just an externality of war and conflict. However, there are a number of deliberate aims and ends, which this sexual violence against women seeks to achieve. In fact, Munkler points out that, "one cannot help but think that sexual violence has become an especially effective instrument of the new wars."³⁵ Thus, the nature of new war has not only become more brutal, it has also become increasingly sexualized.

There are a number of reasons that rape and sexual violence has become the tactic of new warfare. As Cynthia Enloe states, "rape in war has been part of a deliberate *policy*, not just ethnicity-run-wild."³⁶ First of all rape is cheap. As mentioned before, new warfare does not

³⁵ Munkler, Herfried, *The New Wars*, (Cambridge: Polity Press, 2005) 82.

³⁶ Enloe, Cynthia. *Maneuvers: The International Politics of Militarizing Women's Lives*. (Berkeley, CA : University of California Press, 2000): 143-144.

function on high-cost arms or tactics. It is run as cheaply as possible in attempts to make it as profitable as possible. Second, rape is effective. Given that the aim of new warfare is dislocate populations to gain control over territory, resources, or simply to exert power, mass and systematic rape is an effective way of doing this.

Women play a central role to both families and communities, and are a powerful force in upholding the orderly function of society. Thus, an effective way to breakdown communities, families, and social order generally is by violating and/or killing women, particularly in front of their families and communities. Thus, the whole community is forced to experience the violation perpetrated against the woman or women, resulting in mass fear, disgust (sometimes aimed towards the woman or women themselves), and the ultimate degradation of families, communities, and society itself. As Ruth Seifert states, “women . . . Because of their cultural position and their important role within the family structure they are a principal target if one intends to destroy a culture.”³⁷ Furthermore, rape is used as a systematic tactic to carry out ethnic cleansing. Munkler proposes that instead of incurring the wrath of the international community and neighboring states using ‘openly violent’ ethnic cleansing, the use of sexual violence “may be thought of as a policy of ‘ethnic cleansing in the grand style, without the genocide.’”³⁸ Sexual violence is a tactic which aims at terrorizing entire populations as well as to humiliate and shame communities, families (in particular husbands and sons), and most of all the women themselves. This sense of humiliation is particularly pertinent in that it “emasculates” not just men, but entire communities, and it represents “the ultimate symbolic humiliation of the male enemy,” which often explains why husbands and children are usually forced to watch the

³⁷ Seifert, Ruth. "War and Rape. Analytical Approaches1 ." *Women's International League for Peace and Freedom (WILPF)*. <http://scholar.google.com/scholar?hl=en&resnum=0&q=Seifert%20rape&um=1&ie=U> F-8&sa=N&tab=ws (Accessed April 29, 2010).

³⁸ Munkler, Herfried, *The New Wars*, (Cambridge: Polity Press, 2005) 83.

act.³⁹ It should be noted that forced pregnancy has also been used as a form of ethnic cleansing and has occurred in conflicts such as those seen in Bosnia and Herzegovina, Rwanda, Bangladesh, Liberia, and Uganda.⁴⁰ Furthermore, combatants who have STIs or HIV/AIDS will purposely have forced intercourse with women to them infect as “punishment.” This was the case in Rwanda “when Hutu men knew they were infected with HIV purposely attempted to infect Tutsi women as a strategy of war.”⁴¹ Rape is also used by combatant commanders as a way to “reward and pay” their troops, because in new wars, rape and exerting power over women is one of the “perks” of combat. Looting, plunder, extortion, and rape, are some of the only ways that combatants are able to make warfare profitable and thus rape also becomes “a prize for the victors and conquerors.”⁴²

Because of the utter breakdown in law and order and society as a whole, these acts go on largely unpunished. Thus, such acts become the accepted norm, which impacts societies not only during conflict, but in the aftermath of conflict, which is evidenced by the rise in domestic violence during post-conflict periods. UNICEF identified that in “[s]tudies in Cambodia in the mid-1990s indicated that many women – as many as 75 per cent in one study – were victims of domestic violence, often at the hands of men who have kept the small arms and light weapons they used during the war.”⁴³ Cynthia Enloe states that, “The myth of the dichotomy between ‘home front’ and ‘battle-front,’ a dichotomy that has been a pillar of military thinking about

³⁹ Seifert, Ruth. "War and Rape. Analytical Approaches 1 ." *Women's International League for Peace and Freedom (WILPF)*. <http://scholar.google.com/scholar?hl=en&resnum=0&q=Seifert%20rape&um=1&ie=U> F-8&sa=N&tab=ws (Accessed April 29, 2010).

⁴⁰ Rehn, Elisabeth and Ellen Johnson Sirleaf. *Women War Peace: The Independent Experts' Assessment on the Impact of Armed Conflict on Women and Women's Role in Peace building*. (New York : United Nations Development Fund for Women (UNIFEM), 2002): 15.

⁴¹ *Ibid.* 54

⁴² Munkler, Herfried, *The New Wars*, (Cambridge: Polity Press, 2005) 86.

⁴³ “Chapter 1: Violence Against Women.” *UNIFEM*. <http://www.google.com/cse?cx=005712347050754780965%3A9t9nbaaknm4&ie=UTF8&q=Chapter+1+violence+against+women&sa.x=0&sa.y=0&sa=Search> (accessed February 27, 2010): 15.

women and men, crumbles in the midst of an LIC military sweep.”⁴⁴ Meaning that the separation between combatants and civilians has broken down in the face of new war, which has inadvertently affected the way violence manifests itself. In new wars, violence is not just something that happens on the battlefield, but it is something that is increasingly occurring behind the doors of people’s homes. Thus in new warfare violence is not just something women experience as a part of the conflict, but becomes a very way of life and existence. Therefore, men having seen the violent atrocities and existing in an environment of violence will often turn to methods of force as a way of “communicating,” and as a means of interaction with the women in their lives. Furthermore, women are often forced to go through additional disgrace by being shunned and ostracized by their husbands, families and communities because after they have been sexually violated they are tainted and represent the humiliation of the acts themselves. Ultimately, as is stated by Rehn and Sirleaf the “harm, silence and shame women experience is pervasive; their redress, almost nonexistent. The situation of women in armed conflict has been systematically neglected.”⁴⁵ Impunity and violence against women continues, and yet, little has been done to respond to bring these women justice for the acts that have been committed against them, their children, their husbands and their communities.

EXPLOITATION BY UN PEACEKEEPERS: A FRAMEWORK

Peacekeeping, as an invention of the UN, was and is intended to be a mechanism that is supposed to create and maintain international peace and security. Peacekeepers are supposed to bring the hope of peace and security to the most vulnerable and heavily burdened section of

⁴⁴ Enloe, Cynthia. *Maneuvers: The International Politics of Militarizing Women's Lives*. (Berkeley, CA : University of California Press, 2000): 126.

⁴⁵ Rehn, Elisabeth and Ellen Johnson Sirleaf. *Women War Peace: The Independent Experts' Assessment on the Impact of Armed Conflict on Women and Women's Role in Peace building*. (New York : United Nations Development Fund for Women (UNIFEM), 2002): 2.

society in new war conflicts, civilians. In addition, peacekeepers are meant to protect civilians, help facilitate peace agreements and cease-fires, as well as assist with development and rebuilding of infrastructure in the aftermath of conflict. Therefore, it is all the more disturbing to discover that in the last twenty years UN peacekeepers have increasingly become involved in the exploitation, particularly sexual exploitation, of women and girls. The exploitation of women and girls should be condemned in any situation. Unfortunately, with the emergence of new war, exploitation of women and girls has become particularly prevalent in societies involved in armed conflict, particularly because women are rendered vulnerable economically, socially, politically and sexually. Thus, as bringers of peace, peacekeepers should be increasingly sensitive to the issues, risks, and hardships women face in situations of armed conflict. They should provide protection, assistance, and security to these women who have seen nothing but devastation, death and war. Though not all peacekeepers are implicated in the cases of sexual exploitation that have emerged over the years, these heinous acts cast a very dark shadow over UN peacekeeping missions and what they are trying to achieve. Peacekeepers have the opportunity to reduce the state of women's vulnerability in these states of conflict, yet instead of providing security and hope they are instead exploiting the vulnerable situations women and girls find themselves in during conflict. For instance in the peacekeeping mission in Guinea "international aid worker [. . .] admitted that some women were required to have sex with humanitarian workers to obtain what was theirs by right" such as cooking oil, wheat, medicine, transport, loans, educational or vocational training courses.⁴⁶ The emergence of new complex peacekeeping missions have required more of peacekeepers and a wider range of duties that involve civilian assistance and participation more extensively than they have in the past. Thus sexual exploitation significantly undermines the effectiveness of peacekeeping missions and peacekeepers who are not involved

⁴⁶ *Ibid.*, 26.

with acts of sexual exploitation. Thus, even though sexual exploitation is being perpetrated by a minority of peacekeepers, it compromises the entire mechanism of peacekeeping.

The first cases of sexual exploitation by UN Peacekeepers began to emerge in Cambodia in 1992 during the UNTAC mission. Upon the arrival of UN peacekeepers Cambodia's sex industry (including brothels, prostitution, and "private escorts") soared. Between 1991 and 1992, the number of prostitutes rose from 6,000 to 20,000.^{47 48} Furthermore, there was an increase in the number of child prostitutes, that were often preferred by peacekeepers because they were less likely to have contracted HIV/AIDS. In addition, civilian women were often sexually harassed by peacekeepers in their day-to-day lives. This could have in part been attributed to the fact that most peacekeepers had the limited interaction with the local women outside the bedroom. Thus, they began to associate all women through a sexualized light, whether they were sex workers or not. When this was brought up to Yasushi Akashi, head of the UN mission in Cambodia, he responded saying "18 year-old, hot-blooded soldiers" had the right to drink a few beers and chase after "young beautiful beings of the opposite sex."⁴⁹ Akashi, in making this statement perpetuated the military ideology that "boys will be boys" for the institution of peacekeeping, setting a poor precedent, which still lingers throughout the UN today. The concept that boys will be boys is the argument used again and again by various UN administrators and military personnel at all-levels. As is pointed out by a Refugee International report this "masculine culture of UN peacekeeping missions has produced a tolerance for extreme behaviors such as

⁴⁷ Whitworth, Sandra. *Men, Militarism, and UN Peacekeeping*. (London: Lynne Rienner Publisher's, Inc., 2004): 67.

⁴⁸ Fetherston, A. Betts. "Voices from Warzones: Implications for Training." In *A Future for Peacekeeping?*, ed. Edward Moxon-Browne. (New York, NY: St. Martin's Press, Inc., 1998): 167.

⁴⁹ Qtd. in *Ibid*, 168.

sexual exploitation and abuse . . . [and] Solicitation of prostitutes by men in post-conflict countries is treated as common-place and not deemed worthy of comment.”⁵⁰

Another argument that is often used to justify or at least excuse such behavior by peacekeepers is the idea that, instances of sexual exploitation are the result of “a few bad apples.” It should be recognized that sexual exploitation is not perpetrated by all peacekeepers nor are peacekeeper the only ones who have been guilty of such exploitation. However, there should be no tolerance for such acts, particularly by peacekeepers, because they simply feed into the cultures of violence, particularly violence against women, in many of these conflict and post-conflict regions. Munkler states: “Since the local political-military leadership does not prevent or punish sexual violence against women, but actually orders and organizes it, armed intervention by an outside forces become the only way of enforcing international law.”⁵¹ Though UN Peacekeepers are not the only “outside forces” that can be deployed during times of international conflict, they are the most widely used and relied on. Furthermore, in many ways, they are the last line of defense for the civilian population, in societies where impunity, looting, violence, and rape run rampant and without repercussions. Furthermore, this statement proves to be blatantly wrong as one begins to look at how wide-spread the phenomenon has been throughout different peacekeeping missions across all different regions and is perpetrated by peacekeepers from a broad range of states. As, Muna Ndulo states, “The problem of sexual abuse and sexual exploitation by peacekeepers is not confined only to peacekeepers from certain states. It has occurred among the military and civilian personnel of a wide range of countries from all

⁵⁰ Martin, Sarah. "Must Boys Be Boys?: Ending Sexual Exploitation & Abuse in UN Peacekeeping Missions." *Refugees International*. <http://www.refugeesinternational.org/search/node/UN%20Peacekeeping%20exploitation>. (accessed March 1, 2010).

⁵¹ Munkler, Herfried, *The New Wars*, (Cambridge: Polity Press, 2005) 83.

parts of the world.”⁵² Furthermore, incidences of sexual exploitation by peacekeepers has been reported in Kosovo, Democratic Republic of Congo, Cambodia, Mozambique, Eritrea, Somalia, Bosnia, Sudan, Haiti, Guinea, Liberia, Sierra Leone, among other peacekeeping missions as well. There have also been a wide range of actions, which either exploited the vulnerable position of women and children or resulted in outright coercion. Some of the acts have included sexual harassment, exploitation, physical and sexual assault, prostitution with minors, trafficking of women and girls, and rape. Thus, as previously stated, not all peacekeepers have engaged in the sexual exploitation of women in girls, and a significant number of peacekeepers have contributed providing security and protection to women and children safe in the face of conflict. However, given the wide-spread nature, it would be inaccurate to say cases of sexual exploitation perpetrated by peacekeepers represents only a “few bad apples.” In turn, because of the wide-spread nature of sexual exploitation by UN peacekeepers, there are broader and more fundamental issues regarding the issue and peacekeeping in general that need to be analyzed and addressed. This may also signify a need question the overall effectiveness of peacekeeping as the appropriate mechanism to establish peace in war-torn societies.

There have a wide number of consequences which women and children in particular are forced to bear in the face of exploitation by UN peacekeepers. Women and girls who have either been raped or exploited by peacekeepers are often stigmatized by their communities or by society at large. In cases of rape, assault, and other sexual violence, it needs to be recognized that violence is violence. It does not matter who is carrying it out, whether it is an armed combatant or a peacekeeper, the atrocity of the violation remains the same. Additionally, when UN peacekeepers perpetrate sexual violence, there is an additional sense of violation because

⁵² Ndulo, Muna. "The United Nations Responses to the Sexual Abuse and Exploitation of Women and Girls By Peacekeepers During Peacekeeping Missions," (*Berkeley Journal of International Law* 127 2009): 130.

these men are supposed to represent safety and security, yet as “protectors of the vulnerable” they are abusing women and children. This further undermines other peacekeepers who are trying to assist these populations because they will automatically be associated with these atrocious acts, thus undermining the peacekeeping missions as a whole.

Second, a wide-range of peacekeepers engage in sexual relations with women in locations where they are stationed, which has resulted in a significant number of children who have been fathered by peacekeepers. In Liberia, between 1990-1998 approximately 6,000 children had been fathered by peacekeepers.⁵³ In these cases, peacekeepers rarely stay to take care of mother or child and often fail to support in any way the woman or the child once he has left. Impregnation creates an additional burden for the woman, because she first must choose whether to keep the baby or abort it. Given that these women are in environments that usually lack any kind of basic care for a safe abortion or child birth, this can make the decision difficult and both can be equally dangerous for a woman. In addition, if the woman does end up following through with the birth, she is often so destitute economically that she may not have the means to take care of the baby, therefore increasing the likelihood of the child’s death or of the women being forced to abandon the child. This has been largely seen throughout Liberia where many children were orphaned and left to the streets to fend for themselves.⁵⁴ In addition, as Ndulo states, these children are often “ostracized because, often being of mixed race, they stand out and look different from the general population into which they are born. They are also usually born into societies that are conservative and typically look down on children born out of

⁵³ *Ibid.*

⁵⁴ Rehn, Elisabeth and Ellen Johnson Sirleaf. *Women War Peace: The Independent Experts' Assessment on the Impact of Armed Conflict on Women and Women's Role in Peace building*. (New York : United Nations Development Fund for Women (UNIFEM), 2002): 18.

wedlock.”⁵⁵ Furthermore, children who are fathered by peacekeepers are often not seen as legitimate by communities and remain ostracized, without any kind of support network or resources. Additionally, few countries recognize these children as official citizens.

Because of peacekeepers high amounts of sexual activity with a variety of women HIV/AIDS has also been a concern for the UN staff as well as the detrimental impact this can have on women and their lives if they contract it. High contraction of HIV/AIDS was a problem both among the civilian population and among the peacekeepers themselves, most notably on the UN mission to Cambodia. Close to the end of the UNTAC’s duration, approximately 75% of people giving blood in Phnom Penh were infected with HIV and AIDS. In addition, “UNTAC’s chief medical officer predicted that as many as seven times more UN personnel would eventually die of AIDS contracted in Cambodia than had died as a result of hostile action.”⁵⁶

A specific issue around addressing sexual exploitation by UN peacekeepers is the environment of silence that exists around both peacekeepers, as well as the women themselves. Among peacekeepers there is a traditional “wall of silence,” which most men are unwilling to break. There is often a fear of being seen as a whistle-blower or a rat, thus resulting in being ostracized by fellow peacekeepers and UN personnel. For instance, an internal UN report states, “The general attitude of the military contingents in Bunia [in the DRC] has been one of trying to protect their [UN peacekeepers] national honor from any accusation of sexual misconduct.”⁵⁷ Furthermore, there is often unwillingness by women to come forward regarding this sexual exploitation. Many are afraid of retribution, especially because they have lived in an environment of impunity for so long. And often, even when victims do come forward, there is

⁵⁵ Ndulo, Muna. "The United Nations Responses to the Sexual Abuse and Exploitation of Women and Girls By Peacekeepers During Peacekeeping Missions," (*Berkeley Journal of International Law* 127 2009): 130.

⁵⁶ Whitworth, Sandra. *Men, Militarism, and UN Peacekeeping*. (London: Lynne Rienner Publisher's, Inc., 2004): 68.

⁵⁷ Martin, Sarah. "Must Boys Be Boys?: Ending Sexual Exploitation & Abuse in UN Peacekeeping Missions." *Refugees International*. <http://www.refugeesinternational.org/search/node/UN%20Peacekeeping%20exploitation>. (accessed March 1, 2010).

very little done by UN officials to redress or follow-up with these cases. Other women refuse to come forward because selling their bodies is the only way in which they are able to get the money and resources they need to survive. All of these factors have resulted in a massive under-reporting of sexual exploitation and abuse by UN peacekeepers. Thus these factors have “hampered the UN’s ability to investigate the allegations and fully understand the extent of the problem.”⁵⁸ Considering it is hard to estimate the true number of incidents which have taken place between women and UN peacekeepers without official reports, sexual exploitation and abuse by UN peacekeepers may be even more prevalent than official data has currently indicated. However, it should be understood that sexual exploitation should be unacceptable no matter how many or few cases have taken place. Nevertheless, seeing its wide-spread nature, it is ever-more important to investigate its causes and discovering ways to stamp out this rampant problem if the peacekeeping is to remain the mechanism of choice to bring collective peace and security to the world.

THE WIDER PROBLEM OF MILITARIZATION:

A Refugees International report states that “While recent press reports focus on charges of sexual exploitation and abuse within UN peacekeeping missions, it is important to recognize that most national militaries around the world have had to address the problem of sexual exploitation and abuse.”⁵⁹ This statement echoes quite resonantly with a number of feminist scholars who largely question the militarized nature of peacekeeping and whether militarized troops are the best way to bring peace to a region in conflict and so enmeshed with militarized violence already. Sandra Whitworth largely argues that the international community turns to

⁵⁸ *Ibid.*

⁵⁹ Martin, Sarah. “Must Boys Be Boys?: Ending Sexual Exploitation & Abuse in UN Peacekeeping Missions.” *Refugees International*. <http://www.refugeesinternational.org/search/node/UN%20Peacekeeping%20exploitation>. (accessed March 1, 2010).

peacekeeping because it has no alternative. In turn, she seeks to use these cases of exploitation by peacekeepers against women to look critically at the mechanism of peacekeeping and whether it is really appropriate as a militarized institution to bring international peace and security.

Whitworth purports that “peacekeeping forces has served to *increase* some local people’s insecurity rather than alleviate it.”⁶⁰ Furthermore, she states that her aim is to “disrupt the easy and often automatic association of peacekeeping with actual and substantive alternatives to military violence” through her various scholarly works.⁶¹ Another scholar who seeks to critically look at the militarized aspects of peacekeeping is A. Betts Fetherston. She, like Whitworth, believes in the need for critical analysis in the way peacekeeping “does business.” Pointing out that the broad majority of peacekeepers are military personnel, she states that the training that national military men receive supports a certain type of thinking that may be detrimental to the peacekeeping process. She states:

Learning how to fight, kill, and win establishes particular ways of seeing the world in terms of us/them, friend/enemy, human/non-human. Underlying all military training is the connection between the use of force and gaining power and control over the ‘enemy’ i.e. winning. This is illustrated most clearly in the ‘anything goes’ frontier behavior of some soldiers act like conquering armies their training has taught them to be.⁶²

Thus with these trained responses and without investing in the proper “*re-training*” of UN peacekeepers, they will fall back on their wartime habits and ways of interacting the community around them. This can be particularly dangerous for women, in that they are viewed not as

⁶⁰ Whitworth, Sandra. *Men, Militarism, and UN Peacekeeping*. (London: Lynne Rienner Publisher’s, Inc., 2004): 12.

⁶¹ Ibid.

⁶² Fetherston, A. Betts. “Voices from Warzones: Implications for Training.” In *A Future for Peacekeeping?*, ed. Edward Moxon-Browne. (New York, NY: St. Martin’s Press, Inc., 1998): 170.

active individuals and human beings, but as a passive ‘other.’ Seeing women in this context makes it easier for peacekeepers to slip from a “peacekeeper” to a military man looking at the enemy. Furthermore, Fetherston and Whitworth make us question whether we are blurring the lines between war and peace. And thus making us face the consequences if this is actually what peacekeeping has become.

Some scholars also view the act of militarization as gendered (primarily masculinized) as well as a cause of women’s inequity. Furthermore, militarization is also perceived as imposing and/or reinforcing typical concepts, particularly western concepts, of femininity and masculinity despite actual cultural realities. Cynthia Enloe is one of the foremost authors to study the force of militarization and its effects on women in societies. Enloe defines militarization as:

“a step by step process by which a person or a thing gradually comes to be controlled by the military *or* comes to depend on its well-being on militaristic ideas. The more militarization transforms an individual or society, the more that individual or society comes to imagine military needs and militaristic presumptions to be not only valuable but also normal.”⁶³

UN peacekeeping, despite its aspiration to be an mechanism of peace, is an institution which relies on military support more than perhaps any other type of support. It functions in a highly militaristic way, and its existence in countries often reflects that of any foreign military with bases in a country. Is this a bad thing, one might ask? It does not have to be, however militaries are highly gendered institutions favoring the male identity of masculinity. In turn, “femininity” is not as highly valued and is often times seen as a liability to military operations. Furthermore, the process, existence, and interactions militarization partakes in are significantly sexualized in

⁶³ Enloe, Cynthia. *Maneuvers: The International Politics of Militarizing Women's Lives*. (Berkeley, CA : University of California Press, 2000): 3

nature, especially when soldiers are stationed at foreign bases away from their wives and girlfriends, takes on a sexualized nature, which women largely bear the consequence of ; as Enloe states, “wartime mobilization, postwar demobilization, and peacetime maneuvers, sexuality and militarism have been intertwined.”⁶⁴ Thus, it is no surprise that since UN peacekeeping missions primarily consist of male military personnel the larger UN mechanism of UN peacekeeping reflects many of these militarized and masculinized attitudes. This is often compounded by the fact that peacekeepers do not receive adequate training going into their missions. This often results in particular militarized attitudes, which Fetherston points out, but it also results in peacekeeping remaining gendered and sexualized in much the same way militaries are, and often excluding and devaluing the perspectives of women. This, in turn, is what makes the fact that the UN peacekeeping so militarized, such a volatile notion. This becomes further detrimental to the situation of women because peacekeepers both military and civilian come in with a significant degree of power, position and money in comparison to the civilian population, particularly women since their status and power is marginalized by society and again by the conflict. Therefore, if not explicitly addressed through training or other means of education, individuals in “both military and civilian corridors of power, women [are viewed as] passive creatures whose sexuality is merely designed to service individual men and male-defined institutions.”⁶⁵ This attitude dismisses that there is anything wrong with women who are selling their bodies, even if forced to do so as a matter of survival. In addition, this attitude misses the bigger and more structural problem that women are facing in these conditions, and peacekeepers are capitalizing on that desperation and vulnerability. In fact, peacekeepers may view themselves as doing the women a favor, by simply paying them or treating them more kindly

⁶⁴ *Ibid*, 51.

⁶⁵ *Ibid*, 63.

than the combatants who most often forcibly had sex with a significant degree of the women that turn to sex work as a means of survival. Furthermore, these cases of sexual exploitation of women by UN peacekeepers, ignores their diminished and desperate measures women are being forced to take simply to survive. Peacekeeping and peacebuilding measures should instead be creating programs, projects, and environments where women have opportunities to better themselves without having to resort to sex work. However, given the nature of militarization and masculinization of peacekeeping, this facts are not often considered. Furthermore, authors Susan McKay and Dyan Mazurna suggest that militarism actually increases instances of domestic violence, violence against women, and sex trafficking, which UN peacekeeping is not immune to. Regarding the issue of sex trafficking Madeleine Rees points out, “Where there is militarization, including peacekeeping operations, there is an even chance that those who seek to exploit the sex market will start trafficking women into the area.”⁶⁶ Other authors have also pointed out the linkage between militarization, particularly in regards to UN peacekeeping, and the increase in the ‘sex market,’ which specifically creates a demand and increase in trafficked women to a region. For instance Anna M. Agathangelou and L.H.M Ling point the to links between the increase of the neo-liberal market demand that UN peacekeepers create for trafficked women and continually fuel the sexual exploitation of women and girls through visiting brothels which have women who have been trafficked into the region for the UN peacekeepers demand for sex. Cynthia Cockburn and Meliha Hubic also point out that the

⁶⁶ Rees, Madeleine. “International intervention in Bosnia-Herzegovina: the cost of ignoring gender.” In *The Post War Moment: Militaries, Masculinities and International Peacekeeping Bosnia and the Netherlands*, eds. Cynthia Cockburn and Dubravka Zarkov, (London, UK: Lawrence and Wishart Limited, 2002) 65.

increase in the sex industry, particularly in regards to the increase of women trafficked into Bosnia, was a major concern for Bosnian women's organizations.⁶⁷

There are other schools of thought that try and explain the emergence of sexual exploitation and abuse by peacekeepers by stating that men are inherently more violent and aggressive than women. This can be tied back to the often deep-seated idea that “ ‘Boys will be boys’ and cannot be trained otherwise; rape and combat – however regrettable – are part of the unchanging order of nature.”⁶⁸ Though there is often a hegemonic concept of masculine identity, this does not mean that it is the only one. In fact, different men construct their masculine identities differently, neither is there just one masculine identity nor is masculine identities homogenous. Furthermore, it is often stated in the same breath that women are inherently more peaceful than men. However, authors such as Hillary Charlesworth and Sari Kouvo and Corey Levine largely dispute this concept. They largely believe as many of today's feminists that “it fixes sex with gender and presents a deterministic account of human nature.”⁶⁹ Furthermore, arguing that women are inherently peaceful reduces their agency in situations and it creates a two-dimensional view of women, which is unchangeable. In the same way the masculine identities are not singular or homogenous, neither are “feminine” identities.

Another school of thought that is often perpetuated, when attempting to describe sexual exploitation by UN Peacekeepers is the fact that Peacekeeping and often peacekeepers are a part of the larger construction of the West and its ties to colonialism. As Sandra Whitworth purports, that “Post-Cold War peacekeeping missions, though they may differ in many respects, have

⁶⁷ Cockburn, Cynthia and Meliha Hubic. “Gender and the peacekeeping military: a view from Bosnian women's organizations.” In *The Post War Moment: Militaries, Masculinities and International Peacekeeping Bosnia and the Netherlands*, eds. Cynthia Cockburn and Dubravka Zarkov, (London, UK: Lawrence and Wishart Limited, 2002): 110-111.

⁶⁸ Connell, RW. “Masculinities, the reduction of violence and the pursuit of peace.” In *The Post War Moment: Militaries, Masculinities and International Peacekeeping Bosnia and the Netherlands*, eds. Cynthia Cockburn and Dubravka Zarkov, (London, UK: Lawrence and Wishart Limited, 2002) 34.

⁶⁹ Charlesworth, Hilary. “Are Women Peaceful? Reflections on the Role of Women in Peace-Building.” *Feminist Legal Studies* 16, no. 3 (October 2008): 349.

sought to fill in the blank spaces of conflict-prone third world countries”⁷⁰ Thus, peacekeepers primarily from the Global North view the breakdown of social order as a sign that the people and natural societies are backwards, vulnerable and helpless and simply need to be re-directed towards the proper type of civilized society. Thus, true civilization includes having market-based economies, centralized governments and democratic institutions, which many of these developing worlds lack. Furthermore, Western actors, which are the primary driving forces behind the UN and the mechanism of peacekeeping enter these zones of conflicts as the colonial powers did to help these uncivilized and backward peoples. As Agathangelou and Ling state, “the fantasy of a Western, hyper-masculinized Self rescuing the Native (frequently a feminized Other, has long preoccupied colonial imagery.”⁷¹ This colonialist ideology, some argue, has is based in the mechanism of UN peacekeeping and believed by the UN peacekeepers themselves. This affects the indigenous populations, particularly women, in highly specific ways. Not only do the peacekeepers view themselves as benevolent rescuers, but they also bring with them their own perceptions of race, class, culture and gender. If they don’t try and fill in the “blank spaces” with these preconceptions, they highly impact the ways in which they interact with the population, particularly in regards to women. Cockburn and Hubic reflect this idea by stating that peacekeepers often, “bring their own unreformed gender relations with them, fail to support women’s struggle for change and, at worst, may even add to the oppression and exploitation of women.”⁷² Furthermore, these conflicts are viewed as “irrational” because they are seen as

⁷⁰ Whitworth, Sandra. *Men, Militarism, and UN Peacekeeping*. (London: Lynne Rienner Publisher's, Inc., 2004): 39.

⁷¹ Agathangelou, Anna M., and L.H.M. Ling. "Desire Industries: Sex Trafficking, UN Peacekeeping, and the Neo-Liberal World Order." *Brown Journal of World Affairs* 10, no. 1 (Fall2003 2003): 141.

⁷² Cockburn, Cynthia and Meliha Hubic. “Gender and the peacekeeping military: a view from Bosnian women’s organizations.” In *The Post War Moment: Militarities, Masculinities and International Peacekeeping Bosnia and the Netherlands*, eds. Cynthia Cockburn and Dubravka Zarkov, (London, UK: Lawrence and Wishart Limited, 2002): 103.

outside the way wars are supposed to be fought.⁷³ Therefore because the type of tactics and violence fall outside the way most of the Western world conceptualizes war, meaning the experiences which people have are viewed as illegitimate, because they are “set outside the bounds of the discourse,” which was established by Western Actors. Enloe and Kaldor asl recognize that there is a breakdown in this traditionally understood discourse of war. Enloe recognizes that the boundaries between the battlefield and structural violence is becoming increasingly less. Furthermore, Kaldor states that because the Western community tends to interpret new wars “in traditional terms, [it has] been the main reason why humanitarian intervention has often failed to prevent the wars and may actually have helped sustain them in various ways.”⁷⁴ Thus because these wars are viewed as irrational and illegitimate, this in turn fails to recognize the very real atrocities women are forced to face. This in turn often carries over as societies begin to work towards peace. Because women’s experiences are not viewed as being a part of ‘real’ war, they do not deserve a place at the peace table. Thus women are horribly scarred by armed conflict, yet are ignored regarding benefits of peace.

A.B. Fetherston states that “conflict resolution forecloses discussion of its own participation in discourses of violence and tends to normalize particular ways of thinking about violent conflict and exclude others.”⁷⁵ Thus what would have been women’s contributions to peace are left out of the “understood” way of doing ‘conflict resolution.’

UN MOVING TO FILL THE GAPS:

On August 12, 1949 in Geneva Convention IV: relative to the Protection of Civilian Persons in

Times of War Protocol I, the United Nations outlines that “[w]omen shall be the object of special

⁷³ Fetherston, A.B. “Peacekeeping, Conflict Resolution and Peacebuilding: A Reconsideration of Theoretical Frameworks.” In *Peacekeeping and Conflict Resolution*, eds. Tom Woodhouse and Oliver Ramsbotham, (Portland, OR: Frank Cass Publishers, 2000): 197.

⁷⁴ Kaldor, Mary. *New & Old War: Organized Violence in a Global Era*. (California: Stanford University Press, 2007): 11.

⁷⁵ Fetherston, A.B. “Peacekeeping, Conflict Resolution and Peacebuilding: A Reconsideration of Theoretical Frameworks.” In *Peacekeeping and Conflict Resolution*, eds. Tom Woodhouse and Oliver Ramsbotham, (Portland, OR: Frank Cass Publishers, 2000): 198.

respect and shall be protected in particular against rape, forced prostitution and any other form of indecent assault.” Thus, the protection of women in war time goes back nearly 60 years in International Law. However, it wasn’t until the 1990’s that the UN began to recognize the differential impact that armed conflict was having on women. This became particularly evident during the 1992 Bosnia-Herzegovina conflict and later in the 1994 Rwandan genocide. In 1993, the UN World Conference on Human Rights, recognized for the first time, violence against women as a human rights issue.⁷⁶ Furthermore, the Vienna Declaration and Programme of Action, specifically recognizes women’s vulnerability to sexual violence during armed conflict. This was followed in 1994 by the first Special Rapporteur on Violence against Women. Additionally the issue of women in armed conflict was placed on the international stage at the UN’s 1995 Beijing Conference. The 1995 Beijing Platform for Action specifically recognized that the vulnerability women face in armed conflict has to largely do with the marginalization and discrimination of women in societies during peacetime.⁷⁷ Perhaps the most notable advancement regarding the UN’s recognition regarding the status and conditions that face women in conflict was the 2000 Security Council Resolution 1325. This landmark resolution included a large number of measures, however four of the most notable include (1) armed conflict has a differential impact regarding men and women; (2) women and children represent the majority of the population that is forced to bear the burden of conflict; (3) women play an important role in preventing and resolving conflicts and re-building in the aftermath of conflict; (4) women should be fully integrated at all levels and into the mainstream of peacekeeping operations.⁷⁸ Furthermore, another landmark resolution was the 2008 Security Council

⁷⁶ Gardam, Judith G. and Michelle J. Jarvis. *Women, Armed Conflict and International Law*. (The Hague, Netherlands: Kluwer Law International, 2001): 147.

⁷⁷ *Ibid*, 137.

⁷⁸ Security Council Resolution 1325(2000). (S/RES/1325 (2000)), 31 October 2000, <http://www.un.org/>

Resolution 1820. This resolution recognizes sexual violence as a security issue, and thus needs to be addressed in order for the maintenance of international peace and security.⁷⁹

However, despite the UN's increasingly progressive policies regarding women and girls in conflict, peacekeeping operations have been struggling to deal with cases of sexual exploitation. In 2002, a UNHCR and Save the Children-UK report detailing sexual violence and exploitation being perpetrated by UN peacekeepers' was one of the first UN documents explicitly addressing this issue. However, it should be recognized that sexual exploitation perpetrated by UN peacekeepers was recognized as problem before the emergence of this 2002 report. For instance, in the 1996 Graça Machel outlining the vulnerabilities children face in conflict, mentions the problems with UN peacekeepers exploiting the vulnerable situations of women and girls in conflict zones. One particular case the report points out is the 1992 Mozambique peacekeeping force which "after the signing of the peace treaty in 1992, soldiers of the United Nations Operation in Mozambique (ONUMOZ) recruited girls aged 12 to 18 years into prostitution."⁸⁰ The report also states that out of the 12 countries which studies on sexual exploitation of children in conflict, 6 countries saw a rise in child prostitution with the arrival of peacekeepers in the country. The 2002 report performed by the consultants from UNHCR and Save the Children-UK, was immediately followed by an investigation by the UN's Office of Oversight Services (OIOS) which substantiated a number of facts implicating not only the vulnerability of women and children in conflict, but also the role the UN peacekeepers play in exacerbating these already vulnerable individuals. Furthermore, the report outlines a number of personal cases of young boys, girls and women who experienced sexual exploitation if not sexual violence at the hands of peacekeepers. For instance, the report outlines in case 1:

⁷⁹ Security Council Resolution 1820 (2008). (S/RES/1820 (2008)), 19 June 2008, <http://www.un.org/>

⁸⁰ Machel, Graça. "PROMOTION AND PROTECTION OF THE RIGHTS OF CHILDREN: Impact of armed conflict on children." *United Nations Report*. (A/51/306), 26 August 1996, http://www.unicef.org/graca/a51-306_en.pdf. (accessed May 2, 2010)

“A 17-year-old female refugee from Sierra Leone alleged that she was involved in a sexual relationship with a United Nations Volunteer. She stated that she had met him in 1999 when she was approximately 15 years old while he, a man then aged 44 years, was a United Nations Volunteer working with UNHCR in Gueckedou, Guinea. . . . The victim told the investigators that, as result of her sexual relationship with the United Nations Volunteer, she became pregnant. The man then abandoned her, refused to accept paternity or provide any form of support or maintenance for the child.”⁸¹

In response to this report the General Assembly in resolution 57/306 condemns the acts discovered in West Africa and recommends that the UN Secretary General take preventative measures through creating a code of conduct by which all aid works and peacekeepers must follow. This resolution also calls for the Secretary General to issue a bulletin on sexual exploitation and abuse. Additional exploitation and abuses by UN peacekeepers were widely reported in 2004 regarding the peacekeeping mission in the Democratic Republic of the Congo (MONUC.) An additional investigation is launched by OIOS in 2004 and thus, identifies 74 allegations of sexual exploitation by UN peacekeepers both military and civilian. The truly ground-breaking UN report was the one done by Prince Zeid Ra’ad Zeid Al-Hussein, he Permanent Representative of Jordan to the UN, in regards to the overarching problem of sexual exploitation by UN peacekeepers in conflict and post-conflict zones.⁸² In March of 2005 Security Council Resolution 1590 explicitly establishes and affirms the zero-tolerance policy for all UN peacekeeping missions. Furthermore there have been a number of mechanisms created

⁸¹ Report of the Secretary-General on the activities of the Office of Internal Oversight Services. “Investigation into sexual exploitation of refugees by aid workers in West Africa.” (A/57/465) 11 October 2002, <http://www.un.org/>

⁸² General Assembly Resolution. “A comprehensive strategy to eliminate future sexual exploitation and abuse in United Nations peacekeeping operations.” (A/59/710), 24 March 2005, <http://www.un.org/>

by the UN both regarding the dissemination of information, education, and practical oversight on the ground, such as the UN Conduct and Discipline Unit created in November of 2005.⁸³

However, despite all these measures of policy, discussion, and recommendations sexual violence and exploitation by UN peacekeepers remains prevalent in UN peacekeeping missions. For instance, as recently as 2008 peacekeepers in regards to the UN peacekeeping mission to Cote d'Ivoire have been perpetrating sexual exploitation and violence. A BBC article reports one case where a 13 year-old girl was gang-raped by 10 UN peacekeepers.⁸⁴ Furthermore, there have been recent cases in Haiti and Sudan as well. However, much policy the UN had there is an obvious gap between paper and the implementation of these procedures intended to maintain the security women and children in armed conflict. (Bunia Report 2007?)

MOVING FORWARD - MAINSTREAMING GENDER:

Preventative measures:

One of the problems that has continuously been pointed out by critiques is the failure of UN to follow through with resolution 1325 and mainstream women into the peacekeeping process.

1325 emphasizes that there needs to be a 'gender component' in its field operations; thus, expanding the role women play as military observers, civilian police, human rights and humanitarian personnel.⁸⁵ Furthermore, it is purported missions, which have emphasized more of the civilian aspect of peacekeeping, have tended to have more women (35-37%) and have

⁸³ United Nations. "update report no. 3 sexual exploitation and abuse by UN peacekeeping personnel 20 february 2006." *Security Council Report*. http://www.securitycouncilreport.org/site/c.gIKWLeMTIsG/b.1429245/k.E83E/update_report_no_3BRsexual_exploitation_and_abuse_by_UN_peacekeeping_personnelBR20_february_06.htm#docs. (accessed April 20, 2010).

⁸⁴ "Peacekeepers 'abusing children.'" BBC News. 27 May 2008. <http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/hi/7420798.stm> (accessed May 4, 2010).

⁸⁵ Security Council Resolution 1325(2000). (S/RES/1325 (2000)), 31 October 2000, <http://www.un.org/>

often been more successful at fulfilling their mandates.⁸⁶ These missions have also tended to be more successful at facilitating peace for external disputes, backing human rights and human rights education, enabling and empowering the healthy development of civil society, and these missions were also marked by primarily positive relations between the peacekeepers and the communities, where community members were not “subject to abuses by peacekeepers.”⁸⁷ Furthermore, women who have gone through the atrocities of war often feel more comfortable coming to female peacekeepers, and because in missions which have a higher percentage of women, there is a general sense that local women’s concerns are taken and responded to more seriously.⁸⁸ Though there has been advancement of women into the mainstream of peacekeeping, the journey has and continues to be long and arduous. According to a 2005 Fact Sheet published by UNIFEM, of the civilian personnel serving in UN peacekeeping missions approximately 25% are women. However, women only consist of 4.4% of the UN peacekeeping military personnel.⁸⁹ Furthermore, according to the 2009 Report of the Secretary General to the Security Council on women, peace and security “In 60 years of United Nations peacekeeping — from 1948 to 2008 — only seven women have ever held the post of Special Representative of the Secretary-General.”⁹⁰ Therefore, significant gaps remain at both the field operations level as well as upper administrative regarding more comprehensively incorporating women into the UN peacekeeping process.

⁸⁶ Mazurana, Dyan. “International peacekeeping operations: to neglect gender is to risk peacekeeping failure.” In *The Post War Moment: Militarities, Masculinities and International Peacekeeping Bosnia and the Netherlands*, eds. Cynthia Cockburn and Dubravka Zarkov, (London, UK: Lawrence and Wishart Limited, 2002) 43.

⁸⁷ *Ibid.*

⁸⁸ Whitworth, Sandra. *Men, Militarism, and UN Peacekeeping*. (London: Lynne Rienner Publisher’s, Inc., 2004) 126.

⁸⁹ “Facts and figures on women, peace and security.” UNIFEM. (October 2005)
http://www.unifem.org/news_events/currents/documents/currents200510_WPS_Facts.pdf (accessed February 27, 2010).

⁹⁰ Report of the Secretary-General to the Security Council on women, peace, and security (S/2009/465), 16 September 2009, <http://www.un.org>

Another more recent invention has been the establishment of Gender Affairs offices which reside in the field to give support to the UN peacekeeping missions and inform them on aspects of gender. These offices are currently a part of the East Timor, Afghanistan, and DRC peacekeeping missions. However, as with many of the mainstreaming attempts these offices have largely suffered from a lack of capacity as well as isolation from the larger peacekeeping body. For instance, in 2002 the Gender Affairs office in the DRC had only the capacity for a senior adviser, one gender affairs officer, two UN volunteers and one local administrative assistant had a senior adviser who reports to MONUCS's deputy special representative of the Secretary-General, one gender affairs officer, two UN volunteers, and one local administrative assistant and essentially exists without a budget.⁹¹ 10 of 18 peacekeeping missions have a full time gender advisor as of September of 2005, however with little support, financial resources or back up staff these advisor's are stretched thin. For the missions that do not have access to a full time gender advisor, a gender focal point is supposed to be appointed. However, Focal Points are often stretched thin between different tasks and duties and thus unable to commit full attention to gender issues, especially such time intensive ones as addressing sexual exploitation and abuse. Even for full-time advisors the UN is inefficient at getting the positions filled with competent professionals in a timely manner. As a Refugees International Report states, "Many gender advisors are not hired until well after many of the other positions in UN peacekeeping missions have been filled and key activities are underway."⁹²

Another fundamental change which needs to occur and still has yet to be followed-through with in a comprehensive and holistic way, is the training of UN peacekeepers. As mentioned above, the primary type of training peacekeepers come into situations with is military

⁹¹ Whitworth, Sandra. *Men, Militarism, and UN Peacekeeping*. (London: Lynne Rienner Publisher's, Inc., 2004) 131.

⁹² Martin, Sarah. "Must Boys Be Boys?: Ending Sexual Exploitation & Abuse in UN Peacekeeping Missions." *Refugees International*. <http://www.refugeesinternational.org/search/node/UN%20Peacekeeping%20exploitation>. (accessed March 1, 2010).

training. This type of training does not take into issues culture or gender under international humanitarian and human rights law. Without training this type of training it is much easier for peacekeepers to fall into their pattern of seeing the local people as “other” thus dehumanizing the local population as human beings and de-legitimizing the suffering, vulnerability, and hardships these people have had to face due to armed conflict. Some international organizations and women’s groups are trying to correct this gap in peacekeepers’ training. For instance, Canada’s Department of Foreign Affairs and International Trade (DFAIT) and the UK’s Department for International Development (DFID) have come together to create a training course called “Gender and Peace Support Operations” for UN peacekeepers about to be deployed. Furthermore, another training strategy that has seen significant if isolated success was opening in-field training sessions to both peacekeepers and local civilians. The interaction between the peacekeepers and local population allowed both sides to better understand each other and thus work better to create and follow-through on peacebuilding strategies.⁹³ Furthermore, training should be seen, not as a onetime thing, but as an ongoing process. This is particularly true regarding training around sexual exploitation and abuse regulations, because depending on the region the situations can change and peacekeepers should be aware and prepared to effectively address issues which may come up.

Women and girls often sell their bodies in order to gain the basic necessities such as food, medicine, cooking oil, the chance to take classes or send their children to classes and any other variety of things. In these moments vulnerability is when the issue of sexual exploitation arises very distinctly by peacekeepers because the women are often, or it appears they, are doing it of their own free will making the acts acceptable. However, as mentioned before, the fact that

⁹³ Mazurana, Dyan. “International peacekeeping operations: to neglect gender is to risk peacekeeping failure.” In *The Post War Moment: Militarities, Masculinities and International Peacekeeping Bosnia and the Netherlands*, eds. Cynthia Cockburn and Dubravka Zarkov, (London, UK: Lawrence and Wishart Limited, 2002) 48.

women must turn to such means for survival indicates a much larger issue at hand. Therefore, it is extremely important that the UN peacekeeping and donors support programs and opportunities for women to find other ways to support themselves. Though this will not solve the problem alone, it could help reduce one of the contributing factors that make women so vulnerable so that they must turn to men (often peacekeepers) to survive. In addition, establishing livelihood opportunities allows women to regain control over at least a part of her life. Though it may not be the most important part, it provides the opportunity for her to raise herself out of the situation she has been placed in due to the conflict and its decimation and move forward, thus establishing that the armed conflict and vulnerability are these women's only means of existence.

In addition, women in these areas of conflict remain significantly marginalized in terms of being involved with various UN peacekeeping and making dialogues. Often times, peacekeepers and other agents of peace negotiate with the political or community leaders who were in place when the conflict began, largely leaving women out of the dialogue and the eventual peace process. Furthermore, these leaders are often part of the mechanisms of violence, which have caused such awful conditions in these states. Therefore, in falling back on "narrowly defined notion of politics and alliances" peacekeepers are legitimating the bringers of violence while de-legitimizing other parts of the civilian population, particularly women.⁹⁴ Peace cannot be successful without the incorporation of women into the dialogue as well as into the political arena as well. This is important to create a precedent where women are not purely victims, but agents of the community. Yet women remain excluded; for instance, "Women were marginally present in the negotiations leading up to the signing of the 2005 Comprehensive Peace Agree and

⁹⁴ Fetherston, A.B. "Peacekeeping, Conflict Resolution and Peacebuilding: A Reconsideration of Theoretical Frameworks." In *Peacekeeping and Conflict Resolution*, eds. Tom Woodhouse and Oliver Ramsbotham, (Portland, OR: Frank Cass Publishers, 2000): 202.

were excluded from the Darfur Negotiations that took place in Abuja, Nigeria.”⁹⁵ Furthermore UNIFEM discovered that since 1992, women represented only 2.4 per cent of signatories to peace agreements.⁹⁶ In making women a part of the peacebuilding, they become engaged actors of the community with purpose and control over their lives and situations, thus it is less likely they will turn to sex to simply survive.

Addressing the Problem:

Though there are severe issues regarding the under-reporting of incidences of sexual exploitation, it is important for the UN to establish practices and procedures as well as employ highly competent professionals so, when these incidences do happen there is a systemized process through which do assist the victim and collect evidence. As the Zeid Report recognizes, a “peacekeeping operation usually has neither the resources nor the mandate to provide comprehensive assistance to victims of sexual exploitation and abuse.”⁹⁷ However, UN peacekeeping has a duty to assist the victim as much as possible, which should at least include basic medical care a system of references with humanitarian organizations that can offer the victim the necessary comprehensive care. Thus, it is highly important for UN peacekeeping to establish strong coordination with agencies, thus when these incidents happen there can be regularized system with which to transfer the patient over to other care. As a way to create a small type of compensation for the victims, the Zeid Report suggests creating a trust fund for the victims, backed by the UN, but it should primarily be financed imposed on the perpetrator.⁹⁸ This type of fund could be especially helpful to create compensation for women who have had

⁹⁵ “Facts and figures on women, peace and security.” *UNIFEM*. (October 2005)
http://www.unifem.org/news_events/currents/documents/currents200510_WPS_Facts.pdf (accessed February 27, 2010).

⁹⁶ Report of the Secretary-General to the Security Council on women, peace, and security (S/2009/465), 16 September 2009,
<http://www.un.org>

⁹⁷ General Assembly Resolution. “A comprehensive strategy to eliminate future sexual exploitation and abuse in United Nations peacekeeping operations.” (A/59/710), 24 March 2005, <http://www.un.org/>

⁹⁸ *Ibid.*

children because of their sexual encounters with peacekeepers. Currently, the women nor the children receive anything, thus this trust fund may ease the financial burden if just slightly on mother and child for a time.

However a perhaps even more elusive problem is how to establish a system and environment in which the victims feel they can seek help and redress. First of all, it is important to create awareness and education campaigns, which inform women of their rights and options in the case that this should happen to them. It is especially important to bring across the understanding that women will not be punished or harmed for coming forward, because this is often a fear in areas of armed conflict where such practices might be common place. Furthermore, as Refugees International points out, it is important to ensure that all people in the “reaction chain – the person who gets the initial call, the police, the investigators, the officers – must understand and practice gender sensitivity.”⁹⁹ In addition, under-reporting remains a problem also because many peacekeepers are afraid or simply refuse out of loyalty to this comrades. However, again it is important that the UN establishes protection for “whistle-blowers,” thus the wall of silence has the chance to be broken.¹⁰⁰

“The Zeid Report addresses this problem specifically, urging the UNto “have access to professionals who have experience in investigating sex crimes.” It warns that “complex and sensitive investigations into allegations not be undertaken by ‘enthusiastic amateurs.’” “ (Must Boys be boys? 13)

Following Through on Justice:

UN peacekeepers that engage in sexual exploitation and abuse of women and girls are breaking international law, and often simultaneously the hosting countries’ laws as well. Furthermore, since these acts are being perpetrated in a societies where there has been a

⁹⁹ Martin, Sarah. "Must Boys Be Boys?: Ending Sexual Exploitation & Abuse in UN Peacekeeping Missions." *Refugees International*. <http://www.refugeesinternational.org/search/node/UN%20Peacekeeping%20exploitation>. (accessed March 1, 2010).

¹⁰⁰ *Ibid.*

breakdown of order, it is important for these women who have suffered at the hands of their “saviors” to have justice. Furthermore, these acts feed into the environments of impunity that exist in these societies which can undermine and actively harm peacekeeping and its mission in these areas. Scholar Estelle Zinsstag establishes that the best way at eliminating sexual exploitation and abuse is by establishing accountability, eliminating the impunity, and establishing modes of deterrence through which to stop these incidents.¹⁰¹ Furthermore it is important that upper-level administrators and managers of the peacekeeping missions, ensure that their verbal commitment to eliminating sexual exploitation and violence are consistent with the actions they take. They in many ways set the precedent regarding whether exploitation and abuse will be tolerated. Furthermore, there should be financial punishment if not complete dismissal for peacekeepers who commit such acts. The Zeid Report states that, “that suspension of pay be used as a punishment to ensure individual disciplinary accountability.”¹⁰² It has been suggested by a number of sources that an independent watchdog organization should be used in order to investigate and take measures of punishment, such as removing the guilty party from their post.

Though justice is obviously something that is highly sought after in these cases, it too can often be elusive. Very few direct actions can be taken against guilty peacekeepers, by the UN or be done in the hosting state because they are national soldiers of a different state. There are benefitst noted both in the Zeid Report and by Ndulo regarding an on-site court martial regarding these incidences, because it brings about an immediate punishment to the guilty party, would serve as a deterrent to others, and the women or girls could visibly see some sort of justice being

¹⁰¹ Ndulo, Muna. "The United Nations Responses to the Sexual Abuse and Exploitation of Women and Girls By Peacekeepers During Peacekeeping Missions," (*Berkeley Journal of International Law* 127 2009): 144-145.

¹⁰² General Assembly Resolution. "A comprehensive strategy to eliminate future sexual exploitation and abuse in United Nations peacekeeping operations." (A/59/710), 24 March 2005, <http://www.un.org/>

done.¹⁰³¹⁰⁴ However, given the conditions that states offer up their troops to peacekeeping missions, they are not likely to permit this type of redress to their citizen, outside their territory. However, that ultimately means that it is up to the troop-contributing state, to follow through and create the system of justice. Thus strengthening the ability to establish peace and security throughout the world by ensuring those who are guilty are punished and thus better legitimating the mechanism of UN peacekeeping. In the cases, that the troop-contributing state fails to punish the perpetrators, it is up to the international community to put pressure on this state to see that justice is done.

CONCLUSION:

UN peacekeeping is the mechanism which the international community can rely on to create, establish, and maintain international peace and security. Since the end of the Cold War peacekeeping missions have become increasingly large and complex, attempting to handle a multitude of both military and civilian tasks. Therefore, the emergence of UN peacekeepers being implicated in cases of sexual exploitation and abuse are considerably disturbing. It makes one question the integrity and effectiveness of peacekeeping. Recognizing the severe and deep flaws which plague peacekeeping, some scholars believe that peacekeeping should as an institution be scrapped. These scholars view peacekeeping as a militarized force that cannot in the end bring peace because as a militarized institution perpetuates conflict to the core of its establishment. I, however, do not agree. Though there are deep flaws to the institution of peacekeeping, as a force, it is unmatched and has great potential. Peacekeeping does have the

¹⁰³ *Ibid.*

¹⁰⁴ Ndulo, Muna. "The United Nations Responses to the Sexual Abuse and Exploitation of Women and Girls By Peacekeepers During Peacekeeping Missions," (*Berkeley Journal of International Law* 127 2009): 153.

potential to be a great force of peace, but there are some deep changes in ideology about how peace is done that need to change. The sexual exploitation and abuse of women and children is inexcusable. However, before peacekeeping can be a force of peace it must stop capitalizing on the vulnerabilities of those in conflict. If this is not first and foremost addressed, then peacekeeping no longer deserves to peace in its name.