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# **Breaking Barricades, Making Peace:**

## **Women in Ethiopian Peacekeeping Missions**

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## Acronyms and Abbreviations

<b>AMIB</b>	Africa Union Mission in Burundi
<b>DPKO</b>	Department of Peacekeeping Operation
<b>PKO</b>	Peacekeeping Operation
<b>AMISOM</b>	African Union Mission in Somalia
<b>AU</b>	African Union
<b>AUPSC</b>	African Union Peace and Security Council
<b>CRSV</b>	Conflict Related sexual Violence
<b>ECOWAS</b>	Economic Community of West Africa States
<b>GBV</b>	Gender Based Violence
<b>IGAD</b>	Inter-Governmental Authority for Development
<b>n.d.</b>	No date
<b>NAPs</b>	National Action Plans
<b>NATO</b>	North Atlantic Treaty Organization
<b>NGOs</b>	Non-Governmental Organizations
<b>NGOWG</b>	NGO Working Group on Women, Peace and Security
<b>ONUC</b>	United Nations Operation In Congo
<b>RAPs</b>	Regional Action Plans
<b>SPLM</b>	Sudan People's Liberation Movement
<b>UN</b>	United Nations
<b>UNAMID</b>	African Union-United Nations Hybrid Operation in Darfur

<b>UNAMIR</b>	United Nations Assistance Mission for Rwanda
<b>UNIFEM</b>	United Nations development Fund for Women
<b>UNISFA</b>	United Nations Interim Security Force for Abyei
<b>UNMIS</b>	United Nations Mission in the Sudan
<b>UNMISS</b>	United Nations Mission in the Republic of South Sudan
<b>UNSC</b>	United Nations Security Council
<b>UNSCR</b>	United Nations Security Council Resolution
<b>UNU-GEST</b>	United Nation University Gender Equality Studies and Training Program
<b>WPAs</b>	Women’s Protection Advisers
<b>WPS</b>	Women, Peace and Security

## **Abstract**

The research project examines the Ethiopian government's implementation of UNSCR 1325 on Women, Peace and Security. Specifically, the focus is on three things: first, on government efforts to integrate women into peacekeeping forces and on how the gender gap in peace operations has been addressed; second, on the experiences, challenges, and contributions of women peacekeepers; and third, on the interactions between national and global actors with respect to the implementation of gender mainstreaming policies in peace operations. Methodologically, the project is a field-based qualitative research informed by multidisciplinary theoretical and empirical perspectives.

**Key words:** UNSCR 1325, Gender, Peacekeeping, Ethiopia



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# CHAPTER ONE: INTRODUCTION

## 1.1 Background of the Research

Seventeen years ago, the UN began to mainstream gender in peace processes and conflict management structures with the adoption of Security Council Resolution 1325/2000 on Women, Peace and Security (WPS) (UNSC Resolution 1325; Alwis et al., 2013). It represented the first attempt by the world body to place the issue of gender and security within the framework of international norms. Since 2000, the UN has adopted a number of resolution on WPS, such as UNSCR 1820 (2008), 1888 (2009), 1889 (2009), 1960 (2010), 2106 (2013), 2122 (2013), 2242 (2015) and 2272 (2016). These resolutions not only deal with the gendered impact of violent conflicts and women's role in peace governance. They also seek to institutionalize structures within the UN system to monitor and report violence against women in armed conflicts and post-conflict and peacekeeping operations (George and Shepherd, 2016; George, 2016).

Yet, the question of how these resolutions have been implemented is hotly debated. The introduction of new norms and principles in the highly masculinized realm of security-military structures at the international and national level has met resistance. It has turned out to be a demanding and time-consuming task to translate the principles and provisions of the resolutions into daily activities and prod male military personnel to adapt to new gender norms. As a case study, this research project focuses on two things: first, it analyzes how the Ethiopian government has responded to the call for the adoption of gender mainstreaming norms and practices in peacekeeping operations; second, it explores the experiences of Ethiopian female peacekeepers and their integration into peacekeeping forces, whose organizational culture and practices are deeply gendered.

The Ethiopian government's rationale for participating in peacekeeping missions can be seen from two, if highly interconnected, perspectives: political-economic motivations and security considerations. The politico-security of the Horn of Africa is a key analytical variable. This is not only due to the scholarly and media framing of the sub-region as one of the most



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insecure areas in the world, but it is also due to the countries 'interdependence'.<sup>1</sup> Population settlement and economic activities around the border areas are highly responsive to the political and security environment. Despite its economic resources, like agricultural land, foreign investment in Ethiopia is considered only possible if the region is peaceful enough to attract investors. Politics, economics and security, thus, intersect with each other and help explain why the Ethiopian government contributes heavily to military peacekeeping in the region.

What also needs to be taken into account is that political instability and conflicts in other countries, whether in Somalia, Eritrea or South Sudan, have had serious consequences for Ethiopia (Solomon, 2013; Berouk, 2011). The conflict in South Sudan and the mass influx of Nuer refugees to the Gambella region of Ethiopia have, for example, further complicated the inter-ethnic historical conflict between the Nuer and Anywaa and their competition for natural resources and political power in the regional administration. The dysfunctional state system in Somalia has caused illicit arms crossing Ethiopia's border; Ethiopia has also faced attacks from Al-Shabaab, a terrorist group operating in Somalia. Thus, to counter security threats and to establish stability in the sub-region as a way of establishing peace at home is clearly a one of the main justification for the deployment of Ethiopian peacekeepers to Somalia, South Sudan, Darfur and the Abyei areas. Certainly, the traditional discourse of state-security and the current rhetoric about "war on terror" have conjoined in Ethiopia's policy on peacekeeping involvement in the Horn of Africa. Yet, Ethiopia's peacekeeping operations has also be seen as being motivated by expansive considerations or the desire to achieve regional hegemony.

Since its first participation in UN peacekeeping during the Korean War, Ethiopia has joined many peacekeeping missions around the world, even if most of them have been in Africa. Its peacekeepers were deployed in the Congo (ONUC) from 1960 to 1964; in Rwanda in 1994–1995 under the UN Assistance Mission for Rwanda (UNAMIR 2); and in Burundi in 2003 as part of African Mission in Burundi (AMIB). Ethiopian peacekeepers are currently involved in the Sudan (UNMIS), South Sudan (UNMISS), Darfur (UNAMID) and Abyei

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<sup>1</sup> The Ethiopian Foreign Affairs Policy is aimed at resisting external threats to the country's security. It also states that development, peace and security are interlinked with the stability and progress of the neighboring countries and those in Africa.

(UNISFA) (UN, 2017). Ethiopia has deployed around 4, 000 military peacekeepers in Abyie. In addition, more than 4,000 Ethiopian troops are deployed in Somalia as part of the AU peace support operation (AMISOM) (Solomon, 2013). Indeed, Ethiopia has become the world's top troop contributor to UN peacekeeping operations (UN, 2017). More than 8,000 Ethiopian troops, including 100 military experts, are currently deployed in UN missions (UN, 2017).

Yet, women make up only 16% of the Ethiopian peacekeeping force. Their situation remains under-investigated, as is the case with peacekeeping forces in most other countries. Very few gender disaggregated analyses of the situation of peacekeepers, their role and contribution have been made (Karim and Beardsley, 2013; Stiehm, 2001; Sion, 2009; Mazurana, 2003). Therefore, it is important to engage in a systematic academic inquiry into the status and experiences of women peacekeepers from a gender perspective. The research will add to the literature on peacekeeping by focusing specifically on Ethiopian women peacekeepers.

## **1.2 Statement of the Problem**

The mainstream peace and conflict scholarly approach depicting women simply as victims of war has tended to marginalize their role in, and experience of, violent conflict. Thus, women are mostly underrepresented both in academic discussions and actual practices (Mathers, 2013; Sørensen, 1998; Noville, 2011). Studies, including feminist works, have stereotyped “women as naturally more peaceful”, portrayed “peace as women's issue” (Alonso, 1993) and “women's bodies as a battlefield” (Thistlethwaite, 2015; Zedenius, 2014; Hynes, 2004). This “essentialist” idea puts women in a universalized category; it is based on the idea that women need “protection”, rather than being protectors.

These stereotypes are entrenched in the practice of conflict resolution and peace processes. They have positioned women in a private, mostly invisible, space, denying their right to participation in a dialogue for peace and stability. UN peacekeeping operations, in particular, have proven to be a male-dominated field (Karim and Beardsley, 2013) based on the logic of masculinist protection and on portraying men as warriors, fighters and protectors. This ideological connection between masculinity and military operations has traditionally been very strong (Enloe, 2007; Caso, n.d; Mathers, 2013; Cohn and Jacobson, 2013; Pankhurst, 2004). This culture of masculine hegemony and

patriarchal norms, which is deeply embedded in the overall societal structures, have proved to be a major barrier to the recruitment of women in national militaries and peacekeeping operations.

Despite the adoption of UNSC 1325, its implementation is, as noted, highly contested. Evaluations range from seeing it as being unproductive, mixed or “modest” (UN, 2010). To be sure, the application of the resolution by UN, regional institutions and national governments has enhanced women’s inclusion in governance and peacemaking. They have also increasingly been positioned in administrative structures through election and quota systems (Nduwimana, n.d). For example, Israel, Palestine and Colombia have used the mandate to include women in national police forces, legislations and peace processes (Anderlini, 2007). In addition, gender balancing and women empowerment norms introduced in peacekeeping missions have resulted in a relatively increase in the percentage and visibility of female military and civilian peacekeepers in UN peace operations.

Yet, many scholars argue that WPS as a normative framework has a mere paper value and is, thus, ineffective (Kirby and Shepherd, 2016; George and Shepherd, 2016; Anderlini, 2007). China and Russia, which have a veto power in the UN Security Council, have not yet developed National Action Plans (NAPs) to implement Resolution 1325. Countries like India, Bangladesh and Jordan, which have contributed to a number of UN peacekeeping missions, are either unwilling to abide by the resolution or have decided to ignore it (Kirby and Shepherd, 2016). In Africa, only 19 States have adopted NAPs (Abdulmelik, 2016). Ethiopia, like the majority of African states, has not adopted NAPs to implement WPS agenda.

Thus, despite the international recognition of the multiple roles women play in peace and security, the UN and its member states have been criticized for their inadequate effort to put UNSCR 1325 on the ground (Barrow, 2016; Cooper, 2016; Abdulmelik, 2016) and the lack of a real commitment to the promotion of gender equality in peacekeeping missions (Dharmapuri, 2013). Using the Ethiopian peacekeeping force as an example, this research seeks to address this problem by focusing on whether formal adherence to gender equality norms has actually enhanced women’s empowerment in peacekeeping operations on the ground.

## 1.3 Research Questions

### 1.3.1 Main Research Questions

- How has UNSC 1325 resolution been implemented by the Ethiopian government?  
How did women in Ethiopia become part of peacekeeping missions?
- How do women peacekeepers experience gender and masculine culture in peacekeeping missions?

### 1.3.2 Sub-questions

- What policies and programs relating to WPS resolutions have been adopted? What kind of policy discussions and interactions have taken place between the UN and the Ethiopian government with respect to UNSCR 1325 implementation? What policy challenges have been encountered? How has the Ethiopian state military, with its highly masculine culture, intersected with efforts to promote gender equality in peacekeeping missions?
- How have women peacekeepers been recruited? What kind of functional mission roles have they assumed? How has their contribution to peacekeeping operations been viewed by male peacekeepers, the state and the UN? What challenges have women faced as a minority within peacekeeping forces? How are gender relations constructed and performed in peacekeeping missions?

## 1.4 Research objectives

### 1.4.1. General Objective

The research explores the experience of women peacekeepers in light of the Ethiopian government effort's to implement UNSC 1325.

### 1.4.2. Specific Objectives

- To explore how the Ethiopian government's policies aimed at integrating women into the military address the gender gap in peacekeeping operation;
- To analyze the experiences, challenges and contributions of women peacekeepers;



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- To analyze how national and global actors interact with respect to the implementation of gender mainstreaming policies in Ethiopian peacekeeping operations.

## 1.5 Hypotheses

Two working hypotheses will be tested in the research. First, the Ethiopian government has been more motivated by fulfilling formal international obligations in peacekeeping operations than by a genuine commitment to gender equality norms and principles of UNSC resolutions. This is suggested by its application of UNSC Resolution 1325. Second, ethnic background and previous military experience have been central factors when it comes to the recruitment of female Ethiopian peacekeepers. This could reinforce the perception that political loyalty counts for more than gender equality considerations.

## 1.6 Methodology and Methods of Data Collection

### 1.6.1 Research Design

The project involves both theoretical and empirical approaches. To put the gender dimension of Ethiopian peacekeeping in a broader scholarly framework, the literature on UNSC 1325 will be critically evaluated. Moreover, to test the hypotheses about the motivations behind Ethiopia's peacekeeping involvement, field-based research will be conducted. It is informed by interpretative research (examining people's perceptions and experiences) and participatory peace action research (Onwuegbuzie and Tashakkori, 2015). As Luc Reyhler (2006) has pointed out, peace action research recognizes that research outputs affect people's life, and, hence, they have the right to participate in knowledge production on an equal basis. They should, in other words, be seen as active agents of the research. Their issues and concerns should be used in the justification of knowledge production (Smith et al., 1997). In this research, the focus will not only be on institutional and personal decision-making factors relating to Ethiopian peacekeeping. The local and individual level experiences of women in security-military structure will be given much attention to underscore the gender sensitive focus of the project. The perspectives of women peacekeepers is a crucial factor in devising and formulating strategies to address the

gender gap in peacekeeping and to provide conducive conditions for both women and men peacekeepers.

### **1.6.2 Research Sites**

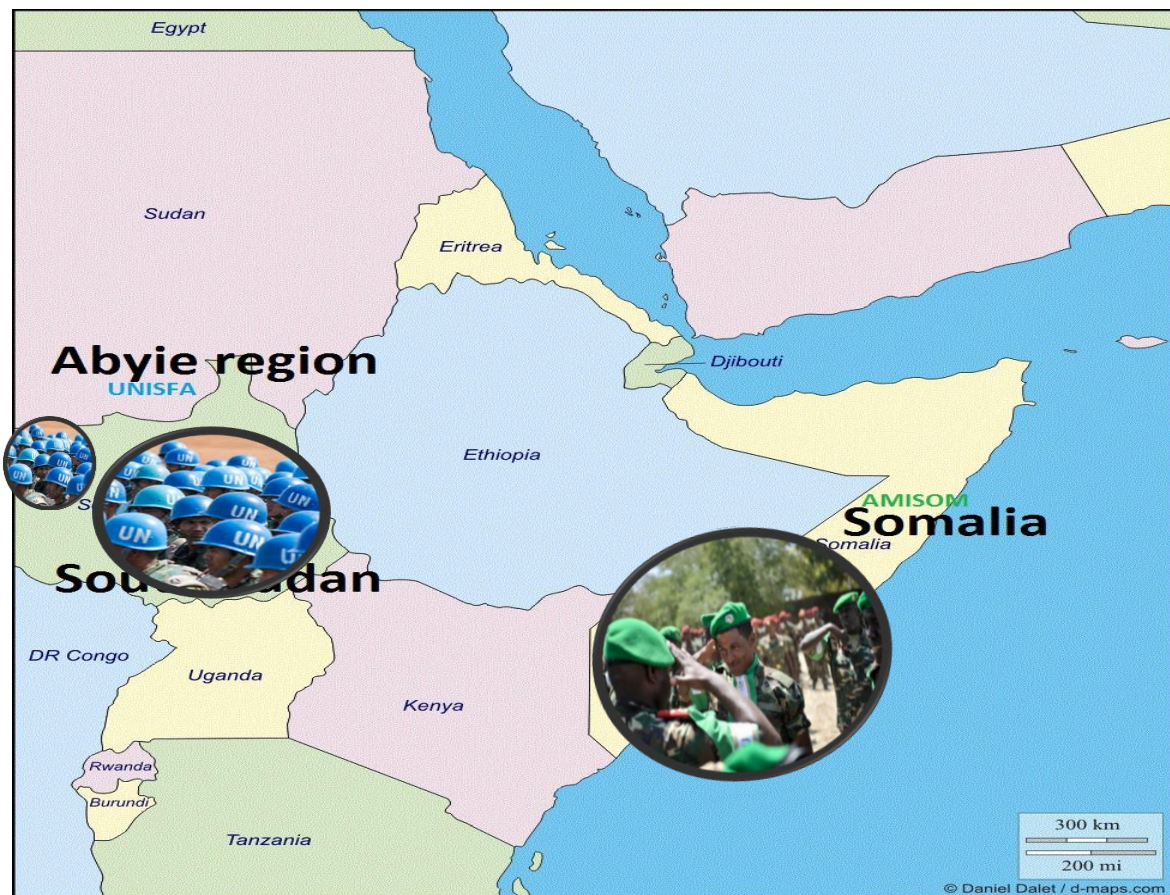
In addition to the data collection in Ethiopia, the research will mainly be conducted in Abiye, South Sudan and Somalia for one year. These research sites are geographically appropriate for the researcher. They offer possibilities not only to investigate the motivations of male decision-makers but also the actual reality and experience of female peacekeepers and their interaction with their male counterparts in the field.

#### **Abyei Region**

Abyei, the most contentious area between the Sudan and South Sudan, has been claimed by both parties due to its natural resources and strategic location. The 2004 Ayei Protocol provided the region with a special administrative status under Northern Bahr el Ghazal and Southern Kurdufan states (Salman, 2013). The protocol, which is part of the Comprehensive Peace Agreement, states that Abyei residents are citizens of both states. When the preparation for a formal declaration of the new state of Republic of South Sudan was ongoing, another episode of violence erupted and escalated in Abyei in June 2011. In response, the UN Security Council authorized, on an urgent basis, the deployment of peacekeepers following the adoption of resolution 1990/2011. The United Nations Interim Security Force for Abyei (UNISFA), the Sudan People's Liberation Movement (SPLM) and the Sudanese Government agreed at a meeting in Ethiopia's capital Addis Ababa to allow a third party to monitor the Abyei area. Taking the leading role in UNSIFA, Ethiopian peacekeepers of around 4,000 are currently monitoring the region, facilitating the delivery of humanitarian aid and protecting civilians and humanitarian workers in the region. UNISFA consists a total of 4,769 peacekeeping forces, including troops, police and military experts.



Diagram 1: Research sites



\* This map shows the sites where some of the Ethiopian peacekeeping forces are deployed and where the field work for this research will be conducted.

## South Sudan

Established under the UNSCR 1996/2011, the United Nations Mission in South Sudan (UNMISS) started operating for one year from 2011 to 2012. Under terms of UNSCR 2132/2013, the peacekeeping force was increased to 13,823 in 2013 due to the political instability and violence around the capital city, Juba. The mandate of UNMISS was expanded after the UNSC adopted resolution 2155/2014. The mandate includes protection of the civilian population, the observation of human rights and humanitarian assistance. The Intergovernmental Authority on Development (IGAD) task force was authorized to support the protection of civilians and the monitor cessation of hostilities. As of April 2017, UNMISS has consisted of 15,777 peacekeeping forces, of which 1,306 are Ethiopian peacekeepers.



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## Somalia

In 2007, the Peace and Security Council of the African Union (AU) authorized a continental peacekeeping mission to Somalia to support the government by providing training for security forces, to counter threats from Al-Shabaab and to facilitate the delivery of humanitarian aid. AMISOM, a multidimensional Peace Support Operation, has 22,000 military peacekeepers from five African countries: Ethiopian, Uganda, Burundi, Djibouti and Kenya. The Ethiopian peacekeeping force, which consists of around 4,000 personnel, is deployed in the central and southern part of the country. Due to a lack of funding, some of the Ethiopian peacekeepers have recently been withdrawn from the country, a development that could jeopardize efforts to establish political stability in Somalia (Barnett, 2016).

### 1.6.3 Method of Data Collection

Both primary and secondary data collection instruments will be employed in the research. In-depth interviews with relevant government officials as well as male and female peacekeepers will be conducted to analyze their attitudes toward, and experiences of, women's participation in Ethiopian peacekeeping. For this purpose, a combination of purposive and snow ball techniques will be adopted. Government officials will be chosen on the basis of their influence on peacekeeping policy and involvement in decision-making; the selection criteria for peacekeepers will be established with reference to gender, ethnic background and years of service. The experiences of each and every research respondent will be taken into consideration in the data collection (Rubin and Rubin, 2005). This will be supplemented by focus group discussions (FGD) with female and male peacekeepers. Survey questionnaire will be distributed to cross-check and triangulate the data. Data will also be collected from newspapers as well as from UN, national government and NGO reports.

This research project is politically sensitive. Hence, contacting "gatekeepers" in government offices and peacekeeping missions will be the first step during the field work. Identifying and contacting them is quite important for grounding the research and to build trust (Bouneus, 2011). As I have observed in my previous research experience, letters of support from academic institution play a vital role in opening doors and gaining access.

## **1.7 Method of Data Analysis**

The data will be thematically analyzed through a gender lens. Themes and categories will be established to conceptualize and process the data. For this purpose, content analysis will be used for data analysis gathered through interviews and survey and focus group discussions. Additional ways of analysis will be formulated in consultation with research supervisors.

## **1.8 Contribution/Relevance of the Research**

The research will yield detailed information about Ethiopian government policies and the experiences, contributions and challenges faced by Ethiopia women peacekeepers. In the absence of a scholarly treatment of the topic, the research project seeks to break new ground in this area, both with respect to the implementation of UNSC 1325 by Ethiopia and to the position of Ethiopian women in peacekeeping. The approach is also informed by the need to broaden the scholarly literature on peacekeeping, which is largely dominated by the experience of men. The goal is to illuminate basic issues and concerns of women peacekeepers from their perspective to enable policymakers to make improvements and changes to promote gender equality. Hence, both the Ethiopian state and international organization, such as the UN, could benefit from the study.

## **1.9 Ethical and Security Considerations**

Research in conflict and post-conflict environment is highly difficult; thus, research ethics considerations may be more important in such settings than in non-conflict ones. The political and security situation of Abyei, South Sudan and Somalia are far from being stable for the research participants and the researcher. Despite this fact, some researchers have been granted access to these areas and have been able to conduct their field work.

This research project takes seriously the ethical and security imperatives in developing data collection methods and in conducting the field work. But, as Elisabeth Jean Wood (2006), who has explored how violent conflicts can be resolved by democratization, has pointed out adopting abstract procedures and principles might not be always sufficient

and successful. Rather, ethical research depends on the researcher being prepared to engage in critical assessment and evaluation. Using my previous research experience, I will carefully observe the field work.

The data collected from research respondents in peacekeeping missions, government and UN/AU offices will be kept confidential. This is due to the fact that this research area is politically sensitive. Attaining their trust and obtaining their consent to participate in this research will be the first priority of the researcher. Particularly, it might be difficult as a man to collect data and study about women's experiences. To deal with this issue, I will describe myself as a student doing research for my PhD program and my position as an advocate for women's equality and empowerment in all sectors. The research objectives will be clearly explained to the female peacekeepers as well as its potential importance to their work.

As far as personal security is concerned, it may be hard to find a magic formula to ensure the safety of the researcher in such a research environment. But, necessary and available security procedures will be assessed and taken into consideration in conducting the field work. The situation and context of peacekeeping missions will be examined. The researcher, in addition to the application of self-care principle, will stay under the protection of the peacekeeping forces. Most of the field research will be conducted in the camps of the peacekeeping forces.

The following principles of research in less secured environment, originally developed by Jonathan Goodhand (2000), will be taken into consideration: assessing how the researcher and the research will be affected by, or affect, the environment; constantly monitoring the security situation; and listening and following the directions and recommendations of commanders and peacekeeping personnel. In addition, the researcher's profile and his visibility will be kept low; power, ethnicity and gender relationships between researcher and research participants will be taken into consideration to avoid mistrust; and research methods and approaches will be flexible in response to the security situation. In this way, the methodological, ethical and security challenges will be addressed.

## **1. 10 Structure of the Research**

The research project is planned to have six chapters. Chapter one offers a background description and a problem statement and puts forward the research objectives and questions as well as the methods and methodology used in the study. Chapter two reviews the relevant literature and discusses the theoretical debates about the UN WPS agenda. It describes the genesis of WPS norms, analyzes feminist interpretations of UNSCR 1325, the domestication of the resolution and the controversies surrounding it. Chapter three focuses on female peacekeepers in UN peacekeeping mission. It looks at the experiences of selected countries and examines the different approaches that have been adopted to empower women in peacekeeping forces. Chapter four discusses the implementation of UNSCR 1325 by the Ethiopian government and women's participation in peacekeeping missions. In addition, it analyzes how the UN and the Ethiopian government have interacted and collaborated with respect to the goal of achieving gender balance in peacekeeping missions. Chapter five explores the experience of Ethiopia women peacekeepers, their roles and challenges they have faced in the field. The last chapter provides concluding remarks and policy recommendations and highlights problems for further research.



## CHAPTER TWO: CONCEPTUAL AND THEORETICAL FRAMWORK

This chapter tries to illustrate how gender can be used as a framework of research analysis in approaching UN peace operations. Specifically, it discusses how theories on gender mainstreaming, gender balance and women's empowerment will be used in this research and highlights the interrelationship between masculinity, patriarchy and militarism

### 2.1 Gender, Gender Mainstreaming and Gender Balance

#### 2.1.1 Gender

Gender is often seen as a social norm and structure, which shapes how people, men and women, see themselves, and are seen by others. It also captures the roles they are supposed to assume in a society. Social construction understanding of gender assumes men and women are not passive agents, but are actively involved in structuring gender identities. Thus, the selection, adoption and performance of gender roles is influenced by individual decisions (Allard, et al, 1995).

Gendered identity construction varies across time and space; like other identities, such as ethnicity, gender is malleable with respect to time and geography. This understanding of gender both at the individual and group levels makes it different from essentialist assumptions. This conceptualization provides a tool to understand the social construction of human identities, roles and activities and how they vary among societies.

Carol Cohn (2013) looks at gender in terms of structural power relations and points out how people's entitlement of power is shaped by gender. By making a sets of beliefs of men as stronger, more rational, tougher better to make decisions and more aggressive than women,

#### Box: What is Gender?

*Gender is a term used in contrast to sex, to draw attention to the social roles and interactions between women and men, rather than to their biological differences. Gender relations are social relations, which include the ways in which men and women relate to each other beyond that of personal interaction.*

*They include the ways in which the social categories of male and female interact in every sphere of social activity, such as those which determine access to resources, power, and participation in political, cultural, and religious activities.*

*Gender also denotes the social meanings of male and female, and what different societies regard as normal and appropriate behaviour, attitudes, and attributes for women and men. Although the details vary from society to society, and change over time, gender relations always include a strong element of inequality between women and men and are influenced strongly by ideology.*

*There are some 'grey' areas about what is and is not biologically determined which are still subject to debate, not least among feminists. Some people have argued that women tend to be less predisposed to aggressive and violent behaviour because of certain biological characteristics. These include lower testosterone levels, and the differences in women's brain structure and development. Such characteristics are believed by some to make most women less likely to behave in challenging and competitive ways than most men. However, no scientific study argues that all forms of different behaviour patterns and roles in society can be explained by biological factors alone. (Pankhurst, 2004)*



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men have rationalized their access to and control of power. (Cohn, 2013). Michael Kaufman (1999) has stressed that it is an unconscious entitlement of power by virtue of being male. So, gender has a great effect on how institutions are structured and roles are allocated.

Thus, according to Cohn and Ruddick (2004) gender is “a set of ways of thinking, images, categories and beliefs which not only shape how we experience, understand and represented ourselves as men and women, but which also provides a familiar set of metaphor, dichotomies and values which structure ways of thinking about other aspects of the world, including war and security (cited in Cohn, 2013). While gender inequalities vary among societies, women are, generally, entitled less status and marginalized from exercising rights of different kind. Access to resources and means of production including labor itself is predominantly controlled and regulated by men; and in the security/military sphere, women are far less visible than men.

### **2.1.2 Gender Mainstreaming**

Gender mainstreaming is not a new concept and a policy approach. Years before its discussion at 1995 Women’s Conference in Beijing, feminist scholars and activists tried to bring a gender perspective into public policy making. The Beijing Platform for Action stressed that policies and programs both at the international and local levels should reflect a gender perceptive (UN, 2002).

As conceptualized by the Economic and Social Council (ECOSOC) 1997/2 gender mainstreaming is:

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

There are two key issues that should be stressed his definition. First, from a feminist point of view, the interests and perspectives of women who have been excluded from policy formulations should prioritized, whether in the socio-economic realm, the politics of



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development or security matters. Second, inequality between women and men are seen as an obstacle to development in all spheres. Third, there is a need to achieve organizational change in terms of structure, principles and culture to work towards creating an environment where gender equality prevails. It should include increased inclusion of women in instructional/organizational spaces and recognize their capability and agency in decision making is crucial. As an approach, gender mainstreaming can be taken both at sectoral level and systemic level.

### **2.1.3 Gender Balance**

Gender balancing is often understood in terms of an increased number of women's inclusion in different sectors. The UN Department of Peacekeeping Operations (2000) defines balance as the degree to which men and women hold the full range of positions in a society or organization. The need to achieve gender parity is based on equality between men and women. It also sees gender balance as different, but related to gender mainstreaming; gender balance increases gender mainstreaming.

But, feminist scholars have argued that equating gender balance with gender equality will endanger the goals of feminist activism. Basically, they advocate that the presence of women in different sectors does not necessary mean that gender equality is achieved; rather, it masks the basic issues that puts women in a disadvantageous position. For instance, gender quotas in state legislations may not be translated in terms of substantive representation of women and the enjoyment of their human agency in making decisions. In short, the “adding women and stir” principle does not necessary change the gender stereotypes and hierarchies embedded in societies and institutions. Hence, most feminist writings have argued that gender balance per se cannot bring about over all gender equality. Yet, while it is important to look critically at gender balance, it is relevant in peacekeeping operations; it is not only important with respect to the implementation of UNSCR 1325 as an international norm or the impact of gender equality policies in the military and society at large. It is also relevant as a way of measuring the successes or failures of peace operations as they relate to women's lives and experiences. Hence, gender balance will be used in as a conceptual basis for this research.



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## 2.2 Masculinity, Feminism and Patriarchy

Masculinity, femininity and patriarchy are important concepts in this research. As social constructs (Stets and Buke, 2000), masculinity and femininity reflect how members of a community define themselves and assume roles and responsibilities appropriate to them. The qualities associated with masculinity are often, as seen by feminist activists and writes, as geared toward subordinating other group of society, particularly women. As grounding concept, patriarchy is system of legitimizing men's power over women whether in private or public spaces. Dylan Hallagan (2012) sees patriarchy as a social ordering of roles to men and women and defining of "masculinity" traits as aggressive, strong and superior, while femininity traits as passive, weak and inferior. Patriarchy also makes these traits as natural qualities of women and men.

Allan Johnson (1997) sees patriarchy in terms of "control and domination", and "male power" as showing men's control over women but also among men themselves. By encouraging men's drive to power and security, it informs itself as the only defense mechanism against loss and to get access to needs. In this regard, patriarchy seems like a culture of competition among men, although women's oppression is the key aspect of it. Connell and Messerschmid (2005) have further emphasized that in patriarchal society masculinity is not a simple one category. There are hierarchies of masculinities, with hegemonic masculinity being the most important one. In short, it is a question of how men's power over women as well as over other men is legitimized (subordinated masculinities).

Mary Becker (1999) agrees that women's oppression is not the point of patriarchy, but a controlled society which reifies masculinity/masculine qualities over femininity/feminine qualities. Thus, feminine qualities are assumed to be suitable to the oppressor group. In such society, women are fragmented (even some women favor male-dominance) and hence contribute to the maintenance of the status quo.

Further, demonstrating the using the term patriarchy in feminist writing as a way of asking power dynamics between men and women, Cynthia Enloe has stated that "patriarchy allows you to talk about the relationship of constructed masculinities and constructed femininities, over time and in relation to each other and as they relate to structure of



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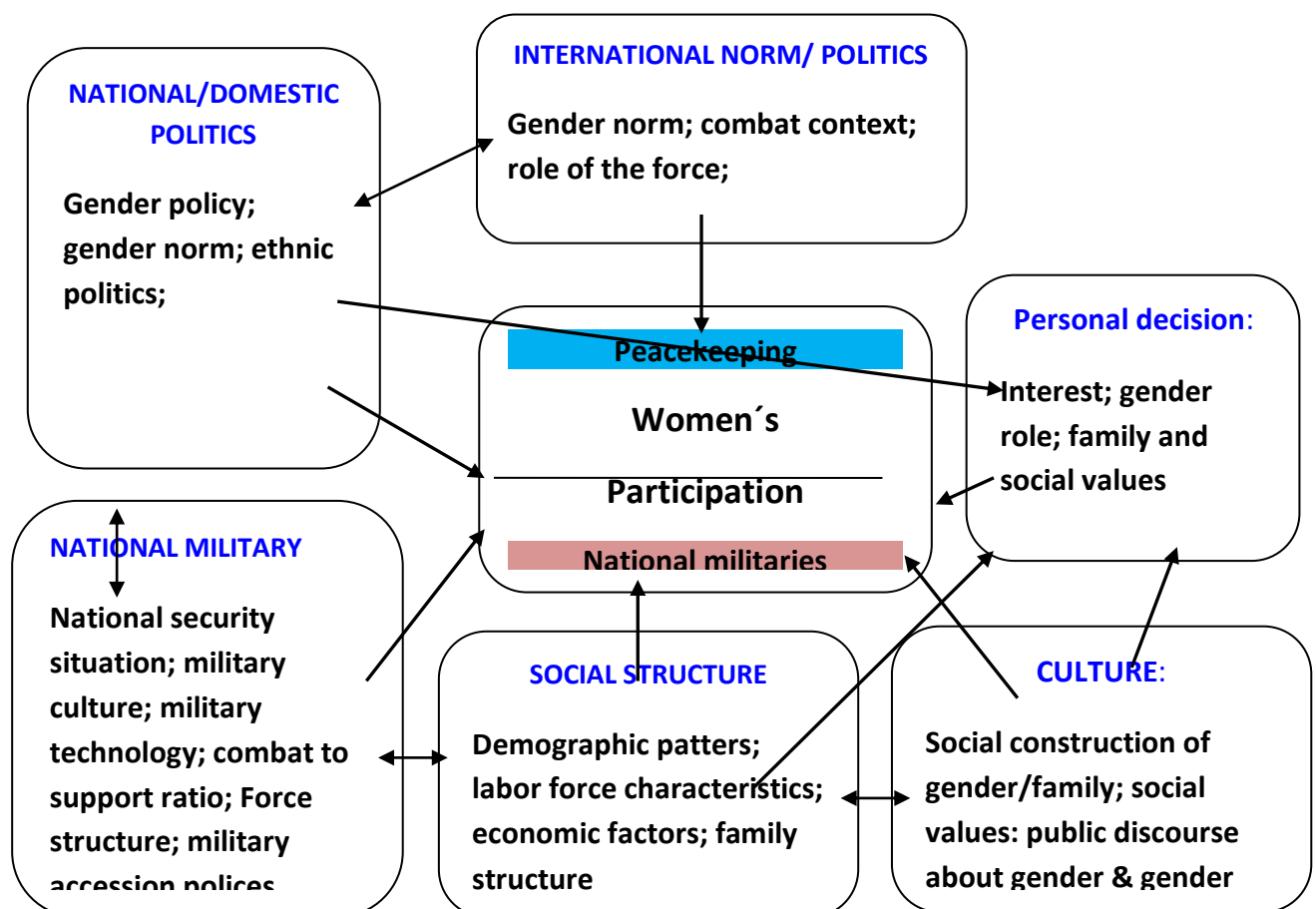
power” (Cohn, 2013). She added that gender might not be enough to question and see the complexity of about power relationship.

These terms, masculinity, femininity and patriarchy, are only descriptive terms, explaining identity construction and male dominance legitimization. But these terms are analytical categories used in gender studies which help to critically examine the power dynamics within peacekeeping operations.

## 2.3 Gender, Women and Military/Peacekeeping: Theoretical construct

This research will employ a theoretical framework to account for women’s participation in national peacekeeping operation, which includes, personal, cultural, social, national, and political factors (diagram 2). They do not only assume the participation of women in peacekeeping and analyze their roles and contribution. They also reinforce each other both at the national level and between the national and international levels.

Diagram 2: Determinants of women’s participation in military/peacekeeping



**Source:** originally forwarded by Mady Wechesler Segal (1995) and further developed  
and modified by the researcher

This diagram, which was originally devised by Mady Wechesler Segal (1995) and then further developed and modified by the researcher shows the interaction between the above-mentioned factors. Segal argues that a „national security situation“, military polices combined with socio-cultural factors regarding gender values and roles, condition women's military participation and roles. While his analysis provides an interesting theoretical insight, it underemphasizes human agency and how national or domestic politics affects women's participation in national militaries. This is perhaps due to two reasons: first, at the individual level of rational choice by women is seen as being minimal or irrelevant; and second, national politics has been taken for granted when it comes to women's participation in the military. The other important gap in his theoretical framework is its exclusive focus on national militaries. Women have already become part of international peacekeeping missions. Hence international norms and principles towards gender balance and gender equality have had an increasing influence on how women become part of national armies and peacekeeping missions. This research, therefore, combines personal, national and international level factors that have a key role in women's participation in UN peacekeeping operations.

## CHAPTER THREE: DISCUSSION ON WOMEN, PEACE AND SECURITY

This chapter analyzes the debate over the United Nations Women, Peace and Security (WPS) agenda by looking at its origins, development, and implementation. Specifically, it focuses on UNSCR 1325, which has introduced a new normative framework for engendering peace and security at international and national levels. It also discusses the different views among feminists about UNSCR 1325 and its implication for global efforts to advance gender equality.

### 3.1 The Genesis of the Women, Peace and Security Agenda

Before the UN adopted Resolution 1325, the intrinsic roles women had played in peacemaking and conflict management had been marginalized for decades (Chowdhury, 2010)<sup>2</sup>. What prompted the UN to act on the disproportional consequence of violent conflicts on women was the publicity surrounding the scale of the sexual violence perpetrated in the Bosnia War from 1992 to 1995 and the Rwanda genocide in 1994 (Väyrynen, 2004). The 1995 World Conference on Women in Beijing took the initial step towards developing the global WPS agenda by explicitly singling out women in armed conflict as one of the key strategic objectives. It was pursued further during The Hague Women's meeting in the same year (Karl, 1995). The meeting linked the achievement of sustainable peace with equal rights and gender equality. Last but not least, activists and scholars and the United Nations Development Fund for Women (UNIFEM) played a major role in spelling out ways to translate the Beijing Platform for Action into practice on the ground (George and Shepherd, 2016), which underpinned UNSCR 1325.

The actual adoption of Resolution 1325 can be traced to a collaborative effort among different actors at the UN, such as governments, transnational feminist organizations and other civil society organizations. Key political figures from the Global South, such as Netumbo Nandi-Ndaitwah of Namibia and Anwarul Chowdhury of Bangladesh used the UNSC presidency of their respective countries to promote an agenda that advocated a gender equality norm when approaching international security matters. The NGO Working Group on WPS (NGOWG) lobbied the UNSC member states. UNIFEM actively supported the effort to place Resolution 1325 on the table. Few states (which later became Friends of

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<sup>2</sup> Speech by Ambassador Anwarul K. Chowdhury on October 31, 2010, UN.



Women, Peace and Security), advocates and NGOs working on women rights proved effective in pushing the agenda further (Tryggestad, 2009; Cohn, 2008). To be sure, it did not prove easy to get the UNSC to adopt Resolution 1325. On the contrary, wide-ranging “disinterest, and even indifference” was expressed until it was finally passed (Chowdhury, 2010). But gender perspectives in peace, security and war gained more leverage by the adoption of additional UNSC resolutions:

**Table 1:** Security Council resolutions on WPS

UNSCR	Year	Some of the key points of the resolution
<b>1325</b>	<b>2000</b>	<i>Importance of women’s participation; the need to provide protection; gender mainstreaming in humanitarian efforts</i>
<b>1820</b>	<b>2008</b>	<i>women and girls protection from war time sexualized violence; robust commitment and zero tolerance to sexual abuse against women and girls by UN Peacekeepers</i>
<b>1888</b>	<b>2009</b>	<i>Creation of the UN Secretary General Office Special Representative on Conflict- Related Sexual Violence (CRSV); Experts on GBV; Women’s Protection Advisers (WPAs) to peace operations</i>
<b>1889</b>	<b>2009</b>	<i>women’s inclusion in governance and policy making; identify indicators to assess UNSCR 1325 application at global and local levels</i>
<b>1960</b>	<b>2010</b>	<i>Develop mechanism to monitor, analyze and report sexual violence and abuses; collaborative work between WPAs and Gender Advisers in peacekeeping</i>
<b>2106</b>	<b>2013</b>	<i>The need to fight impunity; women’s crucial role to prevent GBV</i>
<b>2122</b>	<b>2013</b>	<i>Identification of UN Women as key information provider; recognition of women’s role in security matters; the need to review the implementation of UNSCR 1325 at top UN level.</i>

**Source:** adopted from Laura J. Shepherd (2014)

<b>2242</b>	<b>2015</b>	<i>Emphasize the integration of WPS agenda in countries situation analysis; creation of informal group of experts on WPS; focuses on the link between WPS and countering terrorism and/or extremism.</i>
<b>2272</b>	<b>2016</b>	<i>Focuses on strategic responses and preventive measure to sexual exploitation and abuse; urges peacekeeping forces to prevent and combat impunity.</i>

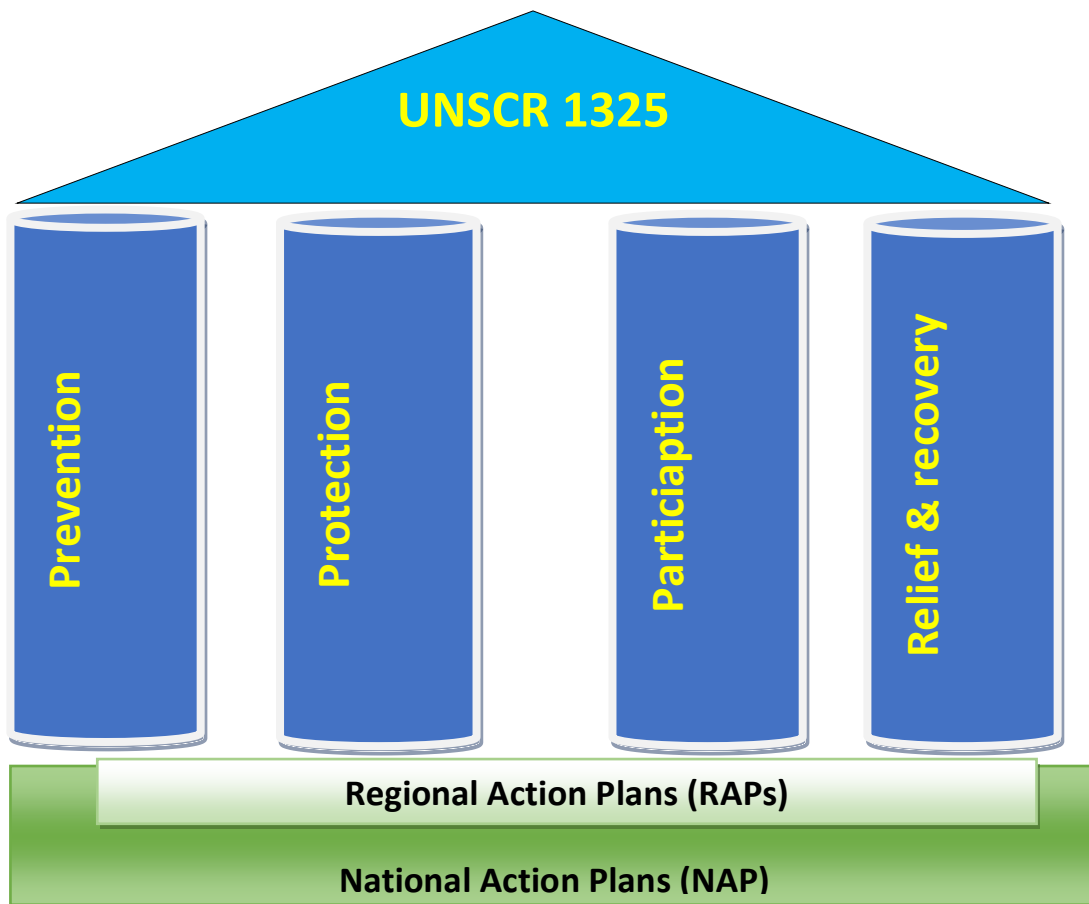
For the purpose of my discussion, these resolutions are organized into three categories. The mandate of UNSCR 1325, UNSSCR 1889, UNSCR 2242 and UNSCR 2122 is to look at women's particular needs during violent conflict and in the immediate post-conflict environment well as gender parity in conflict management and peacebuilding processes. These resolutions served the purpose of advancing gender mainstreaming, gender balance and women's empowerment principles. UNSCR 1960, UNSCR 1820, UNSCR 2106 and UNSCR 1888 deal with the need to address sexual violence. These resolutions are also concerned with ways to prevent children and men from being sexually abused. UNSCR 1988, UNSCR 1960 and UNSCR 2242 center on the institutionalization of such protection and prevention mechanisms and emphasize the importance of gender experts and advisors in addressing the problem.

### 3.2 UNSCR 1325: Pillars, Assumptions and Achievements

UNSCR 1325 has four "pillars" as shown in diagram below: Participation, prevention, Protection, and Relief and Recovery. Within each of these pillars, states can identify and prioritize specific issues, activities and set-up assessment mechanisms.

- **Prevention:** This pillar focuses on the need to engage in a more proactive effort to prevent GBV by UN peacekeeping forces, state or non-state actors. The UNSCR 1325 calls for improved strategies and practical move to prosecute those responsible for such act. Strengthening the rights of women and supporting grassroots women and peace initiatives are seen as a key approach in preventing GBV.
- **Protection:** Placing women and girls at the center, this pillar addresses the need to establish strategic measures to protect their safety and security.

Diagram 3: The 4 Pillars of UNSCR 1325



**Source:** Developed by the researcher

- Participation: This pillar engages the empowerment of women in peacemaking and conflict resolution. It also involves increased participation of women in peace operations and national militaries.
- Relief and recovery: gender perspective is assumed to help in looking at specific needs of those most affected and displaced people.

By recognizing women's experience of peace and war, these pillars prioritize gender in peace and war approaches, both theoretically and practically (Rehn and Sirleaf, 2002; Olonisakin, Barnes and Ikpe, 2011). Despite the variety of women's roles in violent conflicts, the overwhelming focus has been on their role as non-visible victims. Yet, in conflict settings, rape and other sexual abuses have frequently been used as warfare strategy. Due to rape,



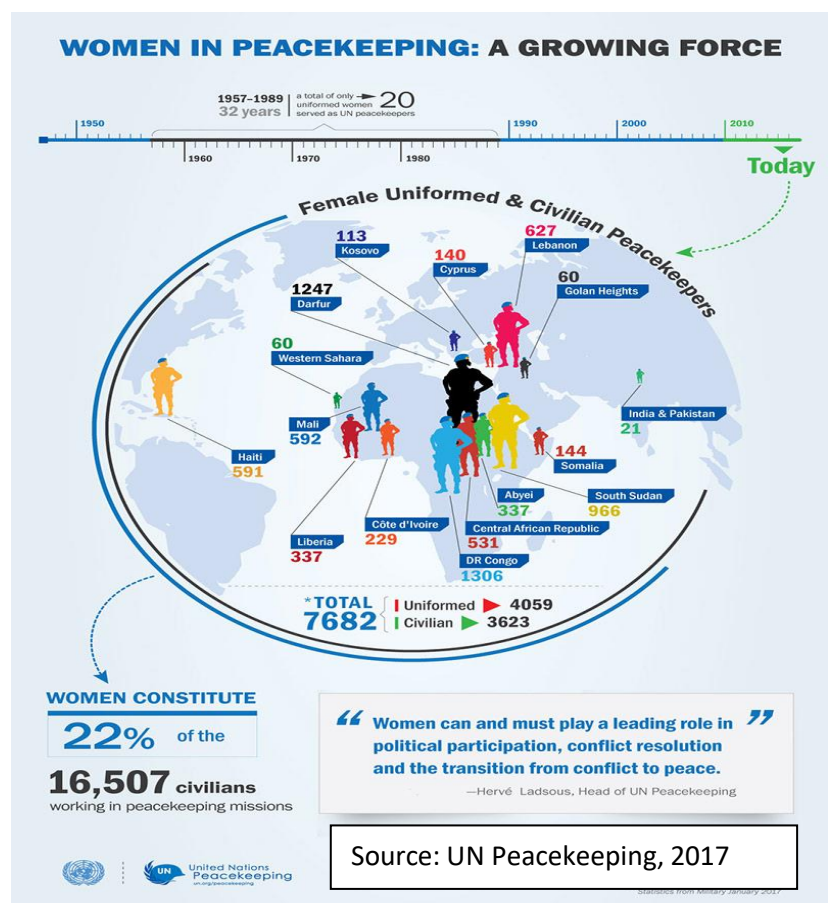
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many women give birth in a place where health services are not available. Women also face physical, sexual and psychological violence on their way to refugee camps and they remain in vulnerable situations. These issues have often been either absent or marginalized from male-dominated peace and conflict discussions and negotiations.

By highlighting the gendered impact of violent conflicts, the UN prevention and protection pillars focus on addressing problems women face, such as conflict-related sexual and gender-based violence (Cohn 2008; Cockburn 2007; Otto 2004), and call for the protection of their rights (Cohn, 2004). Their safety and security has to date received far more attention. In contrast to state/national- security thinking, a human-security approach of protecting people, particularly women and girls, from violence or risks of violence has been frequently discussed in the UN Security Council and mainstreamed in the UNSCR 1325. In addition, many countries provide gender training to police officers and military peacekeepers and have set up gender offices (Barnes and Olonisakin, 2011; Mazurana, 2003; Stiehm, 2001). This does not mean, however, that there has been a radical shift in the overall security thinking, where traditional military discourses still dominate.

The participation pillar is often described in numerical terms, although it recognizes women's agency and role in decision-making when it comes to security matters. Recently, some troop-contributing countries have introduced gender balancing; India, Uruguay and South Africa have, for example, increased the percentage of women in peacekeeping forces (Henry, 2012). Countries like Canada, Sweden and the Netherlands have appointed women to more senior positions.



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Yet, women peacekeepers constitute an extremely low percentage of UN-deployed forces. In 1993, women comprised only 1% of UN peacekeepers; in 2017, they accounted for 10% of police forces and 3% of military peacekeepers. As advocates of Resolution 1325 such as Sion (2009), Bahdi, (2003), Olson and Tryggstad (2001) argue, if more women were involved in UN peace operations, it would strengthen dialogue and collaboration with local communities. The presumption is that women as naturally more empathic and better than men in peace negotiation and collaboration. Yet, such an approach can only be misleading due to its feminization of peace which eventually reinforces the masculinity of war. There is a broader consensus on the view that female involvement in peacekeeping forces would reduce sexual violence and contribute to the overall operation of peacekeeping missions through their diverse experiences and skills.

It is true that an increased percentage of women in peacekeeping and peacemaking would eventually alter the gendered and masculine landscape of peace processes. It can also offer a venue within which gender power relations can be reconstructed. Thus, the general premise is that enhanced women's involvement in peace processes is not merely an advantage but also a necessity for ensuring women's equality. In reality, however, these goals have not been reached. The percentage of women peace mediators and negotiators remains low. According to a UN Women (2012) study of 31 peace agreements since 1992, only 9% involved women in peace negotiations and 4% included women as signatories (UNIFEM, 2012)<sup>3</sup>. During recent peace agreements in countries like Côte d'Ivoire, Somalia and Central African Republic in Africa, and Philippines, Indonesia and Nepal in East Asia, women did not participate as key negotiators, mediators, signatories or even as witnesses (Steinberg, 2009; Arradon, 2016). This only underscores the fact that women are still barely represented in the political arena and that a key premise of UNSCR 1325 remains unfulfilled.

A holistic implementation of UNSCR 1325 could address the complex array of gendered inequality, women's marginalization and gender-based violence problems, which have been identified in feminist scholarship and by activists for decades. Better grounding of the pillars could help change women's situation and enable them to use their potential to prevent or resolve conflicts (Cohn, 2004). From this perspective, women could act as

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<sup>3</sup> This research has faced with current data on the numbers of women peace negotiators and mediators.





protectors and decision-makers and their perspectives could be seen as an advantage in conflict resolution and peacebuilding efforts. Thus, UNSCR 1325 pillars could either offer a framework for restructuring gender relations or soften, if not mask, women's political action and activism against patriarchal system.

### 3.3 The Domestication of UNSCR 1325

The full implementation of UNSCR 1325 is an ongoing process, requiring resource and a genuine political commitment by UN member states, which in many cases is still lacking. It is a multifaceted process, which includes the training and coordination of domestic stakeholders and adoption of principles consistent with the resolution. Since 2005, the domestication of UNSCR 1325 principles and related Security Council resolutions in national and regional policy frameworks has been conducted through the adoption of National Actions Plans (NAPs) and Regional Action Plans (RAPs). As of April 2017, 64 UNs member states have NAPs. Very few had revised their original NAPs. Regional/sub regional blocks such as the European Union (2008), NATO (2010), the Economic Community of West Africa (ECOWAS) (2010), the Pacific states (2012) and the Intergovernmental Development Agency (IGAD) (2014) have shown their commitment by developing RAPs.

**Diagram 4:** Adoption of National Action Plans by UN member states



Source: PeaceWomen. [www.peacewomen.org/member-states](http://www.peacewomen.org/member-states)

As specific plans developed by states, NAPs vary in their focus and emphasis. They also provide the opportunity to identify key issues and develop specific activities, allocate resources, assign responsibilities to different stakeholders and indicate assessment criteria. In this regard, the domestication of UNSCR 1325 through NAPs is beyond a simple top-down localization of international principles. It takes into consideration various local issues and peculiarities and each country and society. As George and Shepherd (2016) have shown, politico-economic, historical, socio-cultural and ideological variables guide how states develop NAPs, while they may rely on the fundamental pillars of UNSCR 1325.

NAPs are generally adopted based on domestic and foreign policy priorities of states. States from the Global North, like the Netherlands, adopted a NAP to support the role of women in the Global South. The Icelandic NAP is tied to foreign, and it aims to support UNSCR 1325 application in specific countries. The Australian NAP includes both an inward- and outward-looking plan and seeks to demonstrate Australia's contribution to international peace and security operations. Cote D'Ivoire's NAP (2008–2012) aims at addressing women's political, legal, socio-economic and professional conditions. The Afghanistan NAP (2015–2022) focuses on the protection of women's rights. It recognizes women's role in state-building processes and participation in executive offices and leadership in security institutions. It also aims to address all types of GBV and to get rid of impunity.

NAPs are not necessarily similar in their content or assessment mechanisms. There are no established criteria or templates to adopt and monitor the NAPs. This means that states do not have to meet any minimum requirements when implementing Resolution 1325 (Swaine, 2009). Hence, it should not have come as a surprise that the international commitment to the adoption of UNSCR 1325 has not been widely implemented in the domestic arena. States have been very slow in adopting NAPs where the lack of political commitment and resource might also be additional factors.

The current academic and policy thinking about NAPs is unsettled. For many advocates, NAPs are a principle means of strengthening the implementation of UNSCR 1325 (Barrow, 2016). They are seen as context specific plans to change discourses and practices about women, peace and security. Political pressure has been put on UN member states to adopt NAPs. German Chancellor Angela Merkel has, however, stated that the fundamental

issues of the resolution have already been integrated into different action plans and government policies. To her, the NAPs are an unnecessary duplication that could jeopardize the better chance of achieving gender equality objectives (cited in Bucurescu, 2011). Her argument is not about total rejection of the necessity of action plans; rather, it seeks a recognition of what the state has already done to implement feminist goal. Yet, it also reflects a reluctance to develop additional plans to this goal. And it may be argued that she underemphasized how much UNSCR 1325 pillars are gender sensitive unlike the other action plans adopted by states.

A more skeptical understanding of NAPs has been expressed by Swaine (2009). She believes that the NAPs are actually an obstacle to the realization of UNSC 1325 goals. The reason is they risk that women's issues will be incorporated superficially into security structures instead of mainstreaming them in all relevant policy areas. Thus, by enacting minimum reform, rather legitimizes the existing structures that women have long been struggling to reform and get access to. In a male-dominated system, the question of who formulates and who implements NAPs and how far NAPs bring about a radical systemic change remains the pitfall of UNSCR 1325 and NAPs. It is not easy to adopt and implement NAPs in sectors, like security/military, which have traditionally been unkind to gender mainstreaming. NAPs could easily be seen as cosmetic decorations of the state without addressing the fundamental system-wide claims of feminist activism such as the struggle against patriarchy.

### **3.4 UNSCR 1325: Tensions and Contradictions**

The reaction to Resolution 1325 was generally positive. It was branded by some scholars and activists as a "historic milestone" (Cohn 2008; Pratt and Richter-Devroe, 2011), as a watershed political framework and as a "landmark" for women's equality (Santos, et al, 2010). The celebratory tone was not least due to the fact that women's empowerment and participation had been rare, if not absent, from the UNSC agenda for more than half a century (Cohn, Kinsella and Gibbings, 2004). As noted above, UNSCR 1325 has redefined women from being mere recipients of security protection to key decision-makers. It has made highly masculinized spheres accessible to women, at least theoretically, and

broadened the roles that women may play in international peace efforts and conflict resolution.

However, the conceptual underpinnings of UNSCR 1325 and its implementation remain hotly debated within feminist scholarship and activism. While there are feminists who support women's involvement in national armies and international peacekeeping operations, many feminist scholars see the participation pillar of UNSCR 1325 as a cost, which has softened their opposition to war and violent conflicts. This argument can be traced back to feminist debates of the 1970s between those who supported the "right to fight" as a way of achieving women's equality (Peach, 1994; Stiehm, 1996) and those who advocated the "right to peace" and "anti-militarism" (Enloe, 2007; D'Amico and Weinstein, 1999) on the grounds that women's military participation legitimizes military institutions and reinforces the militarization of the world.

From a liberal feminist point of view, Duncanson and Woodward (2016) have underlined the need to develop a feminist (re) theorization about women and military/security institutions. This can be done from three perspectives: first, the link between women and military is not a new discussion point; it has long been part of feminist international politics debate where some argued that women actually played a role in state militaries (Ferris, 1993), but key positions of national defense, the military, and foreign relations are usually assigned to men due to patriarchal thinking. Second, historically women have been part of armed conflicts and armed struggle movements in different countries, for example in Ethiopia and Eritrea. Elizabeth Ferris (1993) found that women had also a leadership role in the revolutionary movement in Angola and Namibia in Africa as well as in Nicaragua and El Salvador in Latin America. A number of feminist scholars, particularly those writing in the field of international relations, have provided many examples of women's support for violence and wars (Ferris, 1993; Stovel, 2003). Thirdly, there has been a relative increase in the number of women in national armies and peacekeeping missions. Scholars like Sion (2009) advocate for more involvement of women in military peacekeeping by emphasizing that their participation could challenge the hyper-masculine depiction of women as mere "victims" "protected" by men. Hence, for these scholars UNSCR 1325 is a mechanism to enhance women's empowerment in modern militaries at different levels.



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Therefore, contemporary feminist thinking should take into consideration women's agency and interest to participate in military forces and re-examine their place in military/security institutions and its implication on gender equality.

Others argue, on the other hand, that UNSCR 1325 has shifted the focus of feminist peace advocates. Dianne Otto (2016), a critical feminist scholar and activist, argues that the fundamental feminist goal of promoting international laws and norms to make armed conflict illegal has now shifted to the question of how to "humanize laws that govern armed conflict"; the question now is to make wars less violent for women. She adds that the just war principle embedded in the resolution might include women's right protection, while the long-term target of feminist peace advocacy is eroding. It can certainly be argued that as part of a masculinized institution of realpolitik, UNSCR 1325 softens women's political action and activism "towards a more peaceful, less violent world". Or as Cynthia Enloe (2007) has pointed out, it militarizes women and forces them to fit into a masculine military culture.

Thus, women's militarization leads to increased military expenditures, which contradicts what was agreed at the 1995 World Conference on Women in Beijing. It can also move resources from health, education and other sectors that could improve women's conditions to national and international militarization. This shows that many feminists and women's organizations feel that UNSCR 1325, particularly its participation pillar in peacekeeping operations, can have counterproductive effects.

UNSCR 1325 is not only debated from feminist perspectives. It is also highly controversial from a legal point of view. Uncovering this controversy has affected the grounding of the resolution. As for the implementation of the UNSCR 1325, there is no consensus on whether UNSCR 1325 is legally binding or not. To Marko Divac Öberg (2005), decisions at UNSC are legally binding on UN member states, which are obliged to show their commitment through practical application. Similarly, Appiagyei-Atua (2011) has stated that UNSCR 1325 is binding due to its intent and basis in the charter UN, human rights instruments and laws including humanitarian laws. To take into account these various legal groundings, the resolution has, thus, combined a weak soft law language such as "recommend" with a stronger hard law wording such as "call upon" and "call on." The implication is that the resolution both provides recommendation to states to entertain WPS



agenda and, at the same time, urges the adoption of more concrete, authoritative measures. This view is rooted in the fact that UNSCR 1325 is based on the UN Charter. Appiagyei-Atua (2011) argues that a clear rule that makes the UNSC resolution adopted under chapter VI non-binding and resolutions adopted under chapter VII necessarily binding is absent.

In contrast, Jeanette Boehme has stressed what she sees as the non-binding nature of UNSCR 1325 due to the fact that it is not adopted under chapter VII. So, its implementation cannot be enforced (cited in Miller, Pournik, and Swaine, 2014). Dianne Otto (2009) adds that UNSCR 1325 falls under a soft law instrument rather than hard law. The languages used in the resolution such as “requests,” “urges,” “calls upon”, “encourages,” and are, thus, “propositional” (Swaine 2009) and the resolution is an indicative rather than a legally binding one (Barrow, 2016). Therefore, member states, regional and sub-regional organizations may or might not observe and implement the resolution. There is no legal mechanism exists to enforce and put sanctions on those who fail in implementing the resolution.

The UNSCR 1325 is theoretically a huge move in the direction to gender equality and women’s empowerment. But, its legitimacy depends up on the practical gains obtained by women in breaking the barriers that make them invisible in both theory and practice of peace (keeping) operations. The implementation of the resolution by relevant actors should proceed the decorative effect of national and international gender mainstreaming policies and bring about a concrete impact on women’s lives both in the field and out of the field.

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## Appendix

### Work Plan and activites

Activities	1 <sup>st</sup> year				2 <sup>nd</sup> Year				3 <sup>rd</sup> Year				4 <sup>th</sup> Year			
	Q1	Q2	Q3	Q4	Q1	Q2	Q3	Q4	Q1	Q2	Q3	Q4	Q1	Q2	Q3	Q4
Proposal improvement																
Literature review and improvement																
Methodology Improvements																
Data collection																
Data entry																
Data analysis and interpretation																
Preparation of the first draft																
Preparations of the revised and edited draft																
Final submission																
Preparation and conduct defense																

