

Resolution 1325: Evolution of Gender Perspective in UN Peacekeeping Operations¹

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The year 2010 commemorated ten years of the adoption of Resolution 1325 by the UNSC but the commemoration is without celebration. The apparent dissonance between the policy and the practice of the Resolution 1325 renders it inappropriate. This paper reviews the evolution of gender perspective in UN peacekeeping operations and assesses the gains and failures of the Resolution 1325 in gender balancing, recruitment and retention of women in the security sector. This assessment would indicate why the celebration is missing, primarily because through the decade, the progress in gender mainstreaming in the scope and breadth of peacekeeping missions, as reflected by statistical data, has been dismal.

On October 13, 2000, the United Nations Security Council (UNSC) adopted Resolution 1325, on “Women, Peace and Security”, a resolution envisioning a possible transition of women from the ‘victim’ paradigm to the ‘security provider’ paradigm by being “actors of change”. The Resolution 1325 was a landmark legal document from the UNSC that specifically addressed the impact of war on women. It required parties in a conflict to respect women’s rights, take into account their special needs in armed conflict and to protect them from gender-based violence. Other considerations of the Resolution were to increase women’s representation at decision making levels in conflict resolution and peace process, to expand their role in peacekeeping operations, especially as military observers, police, human rights and humanitarian personnel and to appoint more women as special representatives and envoys. It also noted the need to consolidate data on the impact of armed conflict on women and girls, and requested the secretary-

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general to include in his reporting to the Security Council, progress on gender mainstreaming² in peacekeeping missions and all other aspects relating to women and girls. In order to implement the Resolution 1325, the member states were urged to ensure its implementation through the development of National Action Plans (NAPs)³ or other national level strategies. An action plan was essential because it would promulgate its application by identifying priorities and resources and would determine time-frames for its execution at the national level. As of October 5, 2010 twenty countries have approved NAPs and numerous others are currently in the drafting stage. Apart from these countries, the European Union (EU) has also devised its own “EU Comprehensive Approach on women, peace and security”, adopted by EU foreign ministers in December 2008.

Resolution 1325 reaffirmed the value of the role of women in the prevention and resolution of conflicts by stressing the need for their equal participation in the peace negotiations to make certain that concerns regarding women’s interests are sufficiently addressed. This would ensure ‘inclusive social justice’ so that women’s protection, welfare and rights are not side lined in a political compromise between the warring parties. This is, for example, particularly relevant to Afghan women

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since the threats against their participation in public life and their systemic exclusion from it have not only increased but there is also a fear that the withdrawal of US troops by July 2011, the deadline set by the US President Obama, would mean the return of Taliban rule and Islamic fundamentalism which would severely restrict women’s rights and that their issues will be totally eclipsed. According to Jessica Neuwirth, the “unfolding international effort to restore and maintain peace and security in Afghanistan will be an important litmus test of UN and member states’ resolve to integrate the talent and resources of women into peace-building efforts” hold true even today.⁴ The United Nations deputy secretary-general Asha-Rose Migirom has said that: “A cessation of conflict should not result in the marginalisation of women and girls, nor their relegation to stereotypical roles”.⁵

The year 2010 commemorated ten years of the adoption of the Resolution 1325 by the UNSC but the commemoration is without celebration. The apparent dissonance between the policy and the practice of the Resolution 1325 renders it inappropriate. The general theme of the current volume of the *Journal of Defence Studies* is on the “defence diplomacy and confidence building measures” offers an opportunity to review the evolution of gender⁶ perspective in UN peacekeeping operations and to briefly reassess the gains and failures of the Resolution 1325 regarding the gender balancing, recruitment and retention of women in the security sector. This

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The Resolution 1325 was adopted amid the dramatically changed strategic context at the end of the Cold War that drew the attention of the various affiliate institutions of the UN organisation, prompting it to undertake measures to ensure sustainable peace in post-conflict environment. The new reality called upon the skills of women to be incorporated in the growing complex “multidimensional” enterprises of the peacekeepers ranging from helping to build sustainable institutions of governance, human rights monitoring, security sector reform, the disarmament, demobilisation and reintegration of former combatants. This paper will commence with

a brief description of the security situation at the end of the Cold War followed by an examination of the fault lines in the implementation of the Resolution 1325.

Predicaments in the Post-Cold War World

The end of the Cold War had ended the predictability of the superficial ‘long peace’ operationalised by the logic of mutually assured destruction. The retrenchment of the overlay of the ideological divide had created expectations of real peace but this hope was rudely interposed by the onset of intra-state conflicts. While the threat of inter-state security dilemmas of global scale had substantially declined, the internal conflicts in the Balkans, East Timor and the several war zones in Africa - Sierra Leone, Angola, Liberia, Democratic Republic of Congo (DRC), Rwanda and Sudan (Darfur) preyed on ethnic and religious differences. They violated, not so much the borders, as people, flouted humanitarian conventions, forced children to become killers and made civilians and especially women strategic targets.⁷ These internal conflicts were sustained by external economic interests and “fed by a hyperactive and in large part illicit global arms market”. The brutality of the intra-state warfare,

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ethnic conflict, concomitant genocide and crimes against women questioned the very foundations of the precepts of security and forced its recapitulation at two levels. First, by asking the question: security for whom; and second, how could it be achieved? The United Nations, made irrelevant during the Cold War, underwent an almost cathartic resurgence in attempting to conscientiously deal with these two challenges, both conceptually and structurally in its peacekeeping operations to bring some semblance of normalcy to war-ravaged societies. This self-reflection and self-correction was initiated by the realisation of its own incapacities when the blue helmets found themselves as standing in “impotent horror” during the atrocities of 1994 in Rwanda where the minority ethnic Tutsis (800,000) were massacred by the Hutu ethnic group who did not spare the moderate Hutus either;⁸ and when the Muslims in Bosnian town of Srebrenica were mercilessly killed in 1995 accompanied by mass scale violence against women.

The sexual violence in Congo has been judged to be among the “worst on the planet”. The UN estimates that hundreds of thousands of women have been gang-raped tortured and held as sexual slaves since the conflict began in 1998. This unacceptable brutalisation of women is related to the use of sexual violence as a weapon. The rapes occur in villages near the transit routes for the lucrative trade in illegally extracted minerals, and in order to control and dominate territory; militias use rape as their weapon of choice. According to Lisa Shannon, in May 2010, the US Senate included a provision in its financial regulation bill requiring publicly traded companies to ensure that “conflict minerals” are not purchased from militia-controlled mines in Congo. Margot Wallström, the special representative of the United Nations secretary-general Ban Ki-moon on sexual violence in conflict, says: “There can be no security without women’s security and rape is not a lesser evil on a hierarchy of war time horrors.” She continues to say that, “Rape is not a side effect but is actually a new frontline. Widespread and systematic sexual violence is both a crime against the victim and a crime against humanity. And sexual violence is the only crime against humanity that is routinely dismissed as being random or inevitable”, or even “cultural”.

There is a “lingering assumption that sexual violence is a tradition, rather than a tactic of choice” or a “tool of war”. This “cultural relativism legitimises the violence and discredits the victims, because when you accept rape as cultural, you make rape inevitable,” explains Margot Wallström, and “it allows world leaders to shrug off sexual violence as an immutable – if regrettable – truth.” Though rape did occur in Congo before the war, as it does everywhere but the proliferation of sexual violence came with the war which, according to Margot Wallström, does not make it cultural but criminal and in war conditions easy to commit. Therefore, sexual violence against women is not a women’s issue, it is a human rights issue, says Wallström. The patterns of

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recruitment, killing and maiming of children and/or rape and other sexual violence against children committed during the armed conflicts surfaced, tearing away the notion of civilised behaviour associated with what constitutes a human being and what constitutes security.

Normative Changes in Peacekeeping Operations

The new reality confronting the human conscience was that both the state sovereignty and the UN failed to protect those who were supposed to be protected and consequently, increased the vulnerabilities of and atrocities against civilians,

women and children in armed conflict. On some occasions, the state authority itself and even the peacekeepers were the perpetrators of crimes. In 1999, the soldiers of the UN mission in the Democratic Republic of Congo (MONUC) were found to have exchanged food and money for sex. Similar purchasing practices by peacekeepers have come to public knowledge with respect to other UN missions since the late 1990s.⁹ These realities were translating into crisis of confidence in peacekeeping and even temporarily led to contractions in its activities. In order to effectively meet the challenges of this horrendous new reality, the UN peacekeeping operations underwent three important normative advancements but their institutionalisation still remains partial. The three-fold normative evolution of peacekeeping was brought about by first, the adoption of Resolution 1325 and its concomitant conventions and protocols, second, the recommendations of the Brahimi Report and third, the debate on the responsibility to protect.

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Resolution 1325

The passing of Resolution 1325 in 2000 called for security institutions to acknowledge and address the particular impact of conflict on women, and engage and include women in conflict resolution, peacekeeping and peace building. It was the first time that it was formally recognised that women require special protection from gender-based violence during armed conflict. According to Cynthia Enloe, “The source of UN Security Council 1325 was outrage”, outrage at the dehumanisation of women and girls in conflict zones. Enloe enumerates the organisations whose members “channelled their outrage... into strategically savvy lobbying of UN and state officials” to produce the Resolution 1325. These women and few men were associated with UNIFEM (UN Development Fund for Women), UNHCR (UN High Commissioner for Refugees), and non-governmental

advocacy groups such as Women's International League for Peace and Freedom, Human Rights Watch, Oxfam and Amnesty International.¹⁰ After the unanimous adoption of the resolution, subsequently, additional policy documents, tools, guidelines were released, and dialogues¹¹ with the troop contributing countries for increasing female deployment in peace operations and conferences on women empowerment were initiated. (e.g. the Monrovia Conference in March 2009). Other UN resolutions followed to give visibility, impart understanding and to create coherence for gender mainstreaming in peacekeeping operations. Gender training has been promoted as a key strategy to mainstream gender perspectives into the UN PKOs. Subsequently, dedicated gender advisors have attached to 11 DPKO missions.

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During the term of Jean-Marie Guéhenno, undersecretary-general for peacekeeping operations, the DPKO, created a gender resource package,¹² produced by Ms. Anna Shotton of the Peacekeeping Best Practices Unit of DPKO, in 2004 as a guide to identify the various gender issues in peacekeeping and how to integrate,

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or mainstream, gender into each of its functional aspects with the objective of improving the effective discharge of the mandate of the PKOs. On March 1, 2010, the Office of Military Affairs (OMA) of the DPKO issued guidelines for the first time to integrate a gender perspective into the military component of the PKOs.¹³ The guidelines, are first, aimed at enabling military personnel in recognising and addressing the security priorities of all sectors of the local population—women, men, boys and girls—in a peacekeeping context. Second, these guidelines correspond to the strategic, operational and tactical levels of military command and operations, in accordance with mandated tasks and working conditions. Third, these guidelines are expected to act as models in the training of military peacekeeping personnel and their pre-deployment

planning by the troop contributing countries (TCCs). Thus, these new set of guidelines are supposed to serve as a tool to translate into practice the existing Security Council mandates on women, peace and security at the level of military engagement of the UN PKOs.

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On June 19, 2008, the UN security council unanimously adopted Resolution 1820¹⁴ which acknowledged sexual violence as a tactic of war and an impediment to peace, thus, rendering sexual violence “politically relevant”. Sexual violence was now officially part of the security agenda by virtue of being a war tactic; it was distinguishable from violence in the domestic realm. It requested the troop contributing countries (TCC) to take measures that heighten awareness and the responsiveness of their personnel in order to increase their capacity to protect women and children in conflict and post-conflict situations; adopt policy of zero tolerance of sexual exploitation and abuse in the UN PKOs and to ensure full accountability in cases of such conduct involving their personnel; and pressed the TCCs for the deployment of a higher percentage of

women peacekeepers or police. Building on these two significant resolutions, on the UN Security Council unanimously adopted Resolution 1888¹⁵ on September 30, 2009 which was a step forward in promoting the rights of victims. Its main highlight was that it recommended the establishment of national, international and “mixed” criminal courts and tribunals and truth and reconciliation commissions to facilitate individual responsibility for serious crimes.

Subsequently, the Security Council resolution 1889 adopted on October 5, 2009 which welcomed the efforts of the Secretary-General to appoint more women to senior United Nations positions, particularly in field missions, as a tangible step towards providing United Nations leadership on implementation of its resolution 1325 (2000). But it also noted that women in situations of armed conflict and post-conflict situations continue to be often considered as victims and not as actors in the addressing and the resolving of situations of armed conflict and stressed the need to focus not only on protection of women but also on their empowerment in peace building. The resolution requested the Secretary-General to submit to the Council within six months a set of indicators for use at the global level to track implementation of 1325, which could serve as a common basis for reporting by relevant United Nations entities, other international and regional organisations, and member states in 2010 and beyond.¹⁶ It also urged all these to ensure that women’s protection and empowerment was taken into account during post-conflict needs assessment and planning, and factored into subsequent funding and programming.

Brahimi Report

A second change which contributed towards a shift in the normative understanding of conflict was also initiated by a study panel on UN Peace Operations instituted

on March 7, 2000, by the then UN secretary-general Kofi Annan to improve UN peacekeeping and related activities. It was chaired by Ambassador Lakhdar Brahimi and the final document of the study is more commonly known as the Brahimi Report which recommended structural reforms to be undertaken to enable the deployment of peace operations more quickly and effectively. The Brahimi Report called for gender balance in the appointment of special representatives and to require UN personnel in the field to respect local cultures ‘with particular sensitivity towards gender and cultural differences’. However, the report was criticised by Olivera Simić as a “gender-blind document, failing to address gender-related issues”.¹⁷ Though the UN secretariat had made progress in meeting the report’s recommendations much more needs to be done both by the UN secretariat and the states to re-align peace operations in accordance with key Brahimi principles.¹⁸

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The Notion of Responsibility to Protect (R2P)

The release of the Report of the International Commission on Intervention and State Sovereignty (ICISS) in December 2001 brought into focus the needs of people affected by humanitarian disasters which drew attention to the contentious normative debate on humanitarian intervention versus state sovereignty highlighted by Secretary General Kofi Annan’s problematic poser – “if humanitarian intervention is, indeed, an unacceptable assault on sovereignty, how should we respond to a Rwanda, to a Srebrenica - to gross and systematic violations of human rights that affect every precept of our common humanity?”¹⁹ According to the report, “Sovereign states have a responsibility to protect their own citizens from avoidable catastrophe — from mass murder and rape, from starvation — but when they are unwilling or unable to do so, that responsibility must be borne by the broader community of states.” The diplomatic debate at the UN about this report, more known by its candid title Responsibility to Protect (R2P), was wrought by the legacy of Iraq. According to the report “Our preferred terminology refocuses the international searchlight back where it should always be: on the duty to protect communities from mass killing, women from systematic rape and children from starvation.”

Instead of looking at Resolution 1325 in isolation, its value should also be judged within the context of the international community’s attempt to respond to a growing sense of the recognition of the new referent in security, and conceptualising security beyond its traditional focus on territory and ‘the threat, use and control of military

force'. In this sense, Resolution 1325 was indeed a normative breakthrough. Hence, both the concept and practice of the United Nation peacekeeping operations have undergone substantial changes from what they were during the Cold War. They are now missions consisting of military observers who are primarily focused on monitoring, reporting and confidence-building in support of ceasefires while dealing with inter-state conflicts.

The conceptual construction and field operations of peacekeeping have consequently expanded to grapple with intra-state conflicts and civil wars. Even though the military remains the mainstay of most peacekeeping operations and the traditional peacekeeping operations with more restricted military mandates are still deployed, the aspects of peacekeeping have multiplied to incorporate issues such as repatriation of refugees and training of local police forces. Its personnel include administrators

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and economists, police officers and legal experts, deminers and electoral observers, human rights monitors and specialists in civil affairs and governance, humanitarian workers and experts in communications and public information who work towards strengthening the rule of law, stabilising ground situation and achieving sustainable peace.²⁰ Within this gamut of new tasks, a new face was added to the peacekeepers – women.

Resolution 1325: Benefits and Problems in implementation

The former United Nations security council president Anwarul K. Chowdhury said that “Resolution 1325 is important because it will change the global concept of peace and security”. He also said that “Involving women brings in a more sustainable dimension of peace, not the so-called

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power-sharing dimension of peace promoted by men”.²¹ The implementation of the Resolution 1325 is the lynchpin for building a culture of peace which is both sustainable and equitable because integrating a gender perspective is underscored as “inherent to an inclusive and socially responsive approach to security”, sensitive to the specific security needs of diverse groups. Its implementation has seen both progress and setbacks but obstacles to strengthening women’s participation in conflict prevention, conflict resolution and peace building still remain overwhelming.

Understanding Benefits

Perceptible, albeit miniscule, progress has been made in six broad areas in the implementation of Resolution 1325: i) awareness of the importance of gender perspectives in peace support work; ii) development of gender action work plans in disarmament and humanitarian affairs; iii) training in gender sensitivity and deployment of gender advisers; iv) prevention and response to violence against women; v) work on codes of conduct, including sexual harassment; and vi) support for greater participation of women in post-conflict reconstruction, post-conflict elections and governance.²² In Philippines, in terms of women’s participation in governance, the number of women has doubled from 27 in 1999 to 57 in 2010 according to Jasmin Nario-Galace, associate director of the Centre for Peace Education at Miriam College in the Philippines - noting that this is a breakthrough in the Philippines. She further said that “Increasing their participation in the government would fulfil the commitment towards the implementation of 1325”.

Another effort worthy of admiration is the Mano River Women’s Peace Network (MARWOPNET) that brings together women from the West African nations of Guinea, Liberia and Sierra Leone which launched a sub-regional peace-building programme for the Mano river countries. MARWOPNET has helped bring leaders of the three governments back to the negotiating table in 2001 and was a signatory to Liberian peace accords in 2003.²³ In 2006, Ellen Johnson Sirleaf was sworn in as the new president of the war-battered Liberia making history as Africa’s first elected female head of state. Another first for Liberia was the United Nation’s first all-female peacekeeping force, made up of 105 Indian policewomen deployed in 2007. The success of their deployment was evident in the safer streets of Monrovia and in the boosting of the Liberian women’s interest in joining their own police service. Commenting on this the secretary-general’s special representative in Liberia, Ellen Margrethe Løj said that “The Indian policewomen’s presence in Liberia “demonstrated that women can play an increasingly crucial role in the establishment of the rule of law in post-conflict countries”.

Marc Perrin de Brichambaut, secretary general of Organisation for Security and Co-operation in Europe (OSCE), on September 16, 2010 presented the *Annual Evaluation Report* on the OSCE Gender Action Plan. The OSCE is the world’s largest regional security organisation with 56 participating countries from Europe,

Central Asia and America.²⁴ He announced that the recruitment of women to higher management positions reached a historic high of 30 per cent as on May 1, 2010 and that 46 per cent of all professional posts in OSCE were occupied by women. But he also acknowledged that when it comes to the appointment of female heads of mission, gender mainstreaming is still to be achieved.²⁵ Though Catherine Ashton is the EU high representative for foreign and security affairs, amongst the 27 foreign ministers in EU, Lene Esperson from Denmark is the only woman foreign minister. The NAP of EU reveals that representation of women in European Security and Defence Policy (ESDP) missions is only 6 per cent while only seven out of over 130 European Commission Delegations have a female head, and in peace processes women average less than 10 per cent of negotiators but the most glaring exclusion is that there was no woman amongst the eleven EU Special Representatives promoting EU interests in troubled areas of the world till 2009.²⁶ Only in August 2010, was Dame Rosalind Marsden appointed as the first female EU Special Representative to Sudan.

As of June 30, 2010, Rwanda had the world's highest representation of women in parliament with 56.3 per cent women in the lower or single house and 34.6 per cent in the upper house or senate. In Nepal's Constituent Assembly 33 per cent of the members are women. In the war-torn Afghanistan, twenty nine female second lieutenants were inducted into the 300,000 strong Afghan National Army (ANA) after their graduation ceremony on September 23, 2010 at Kabul Military Centre. Although trained to become finance or logistics officers, the newly commissioned officers present new potentialities of role play for Afghan women as the nation readies for the withdrawal of foreign troops. In 2010, five women²⁷ among about 30 field-based Special Representatives, were serving as mediators and heads of political and peacekeeping missions.

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These are the few success stories that indicate that change has already arrived but is not yet established. This change was identifying women as constructive agents of peace, security and post-conflict reconstruction with the hope that this would also augment human resource capacity building. Resolution 1325 had urged "the member states to ensure increased representation of women at all decision-making levels in national, regional and international institutions and mechanisms for the prevention, management, and resolution of conflict". Even in a developed country like the US, women make up an average of just 18 per cent of leaders across ten key sectors, including politics, business, law, the media, and the

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peacekeepers can help the UN to be more effective in its work with the local population in countries with cultural constraints. Other benefits of the inclusion of women in peacekeeping missions are that they “bring a more gender-specific value-add to broader security tasks”²⁹ which enhances the effectiveness of the mission.

These tasks and benefits accruing from women’s participation are listed as: improving access to services by women, reducing incidents of sexual misconduct, role-models for women in community policing inspiring them to join their national police force that is likely to contribute to the creation of gender-balanced host societies, encouraging more reporting by women on crimes of sexual violence, less use of force and better handling of potentially violent situations. Other fallouts are decrease in the cases of HIV/AIDS, a decline in prostitution and a reduction in the number of illegitimate children abandoned by peacekeepers after their mission comes to an end. Angela King, the UN secretary-general’s special adviser on gender issues

military.²⁸ The contained euphoria regarding the overall application, integration and the effective operationalisation of the Resolution 1325 demands introspection into its limited triumphs, since the disparity, discrimination, violence against women and their marginalisation still persists.

There is a widely held perception that women, in certain situations, are able to perform certain tasks that men cannot, not because they are incapable of doing but due to constraints of culture specific conditions. In some cultures as in Afghanistan where men cannot connect with women or are not allowed to talk to women, it is important to have women as peacekeepers, because they can engage society in ways that men cannot. In some traditional societies, it is more acceptable for women to work with women. Clare Hutchinson, the gender affairs officer at the DPKO, says the presence of women

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and advancement of women, in an interview to IRIN in 2001 said that while some of these assumptions are supported by evidence and research, others remain unsubstantiated.³⁰ On the other hand, in spite of working on these assumptions, imbalance continues in the representation, participation and integration of women at different levels of peacekeeping operations.

Understanding Problems

The undiminished violence against women in the strife-torn region of the Democratic Republic of Congo (DRC) is a blow to the very spirit of Resolution 1325. The world's largest UN peacekeeping force

Despite projecting the necessity of incorporating women in politics and making sexual violence indictable, the indigence of Resolution 1325 lies in the fact that in Congo the violence against women does not only remain unabated but has also gone unpunished.

– MONUSCO with 18,000 peacekeepers has been disparaged for failing to prevent the mass rapes, which took place just 20 miles from a UN base in August 2010. The accused are government troops and the victims are those who were previously brutalised by Rwandan Hutu rebels and Mai-Mai elements. According to the UN Population Fund, there were 17,507 sexual violence attacks throughout Congo in 2009. Despite projecting the necessity of incorporating women in politics and making sexual violence indictable, the indigence of Resolution 1325 lies in the fact that in Congo the violence against women does not only remain unabated but has also gone unpunished. The same holds true for perpetrators of genocide and violence against women in Rwanda, and by the combined Rwandan and Ugandan armies in north eastern DRC. The Rwandan president Paul Kagame himself has been implicated by the latest UN Mapping

Report on Human Rights Abuse in DRC, but he, unfortunately, continues to enjoy the military and diplomatic support of the US, Britain, Belgium and Israel. The economic interests of these nations in the mineral wealth and natural gas reserves of DRC drives them to provide institutional protection to Kagame and make a mockery of Resolution 1325.

The gaps in the integration of gender awareness training into pre-deployment as well as in-mission training programmes still remain and this could be related to the fact that the top 10 TCCs are all developing nations³¹ and make up more than 50 per cent of all UN military and police troops.³² In these countries, military institutions are generally the last branch of government to attain gender balance and integrate women's perspectives. The

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issue of sexual exploitation and abuse (SEA) by UN personnel also continues to be a major challenge in peacekeeping. The implementation of gender training varies considerably from one TCC or peacekeeping mission to another; hence the reach and impact of training is not well documented.

The gender mainstreaming is impaired largely because of a lack of will among member states who do not see women's participation as a priority. Moreover, patriarchal cultural mores remain major obstacles in translating the resolve of the document into practical reality.

Moreover, the inventory packages that provide precedents for practitioners are illustrative and not prescriptive and suffer from the absence of tested tactics and analytical tools. The cross mission learning and information sharing on actions to address gender sexual violence is yet to take place. Therefore, appropriate actions based on the most effective techniques are still to be identified for information sharing purposes. The dearth of this kind of knowledge explains the sketchy nature of mandates which have been reactive, short-term and ad hoc in protecting women from conflict-related violence. However, concerted efforts are emerging in "replacing improvisation with systematisation" of practices in peacekeeping to combat sexual violence.³³

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also demonstrated by the fact that the approved peacekeeping budget for the period July 1, 2009 to June 30, 2010 is approximately \$7.9 billion. This represents about 0.5 per cent of the global military spend (estimated at \$1.464 trillion). The participation of women in peacekeeping missions has only marginally increased; women are much fewer than men especially in military and civilian police forces. At the beginning of 2006, women constituted approximately one per cent of military personnel and 4 per cent of police personnel in UN peacekeeping missions. In addition, women account for 30 per cent of the international civilian staff and 28 per cent of the nationally recruited civilian staff.

The United Nations Development Fund for Women (UNIFEM) reports that of almost 17,000 projects for 23 post-conflict countries from 2006 to 2008, less than 3 per cent targeted gender issues. According to UNIFEM, women accounted for, on average, just 7 per cent of those on official negotiating delegations, and since 1992, only 2.4 per cent of signatories to peace agreements have been women.³⁴ Currently, women comprise only 8.2 per cent of the 13,221 UN Police (UNPOL) officers from over 84 countries serving in UN missions around the world, a figure that jumped from 6.5 per cent in April, as told by Lt. Col. Alejandro Alvarez of the

UN Department of Peacekeeping Operations.³⁵ On the other hand, only 2.3 per cent of the 88,661 military peacekeepers serving in 17 different missions are women, whereas in 2008 they made up 2.18 per cent of military contingents. UN Secretary-General Ban Ki-moon launched a campaign in August 2009 to raise the percentage of women peacekeepers to 20 per cent in police units by 2014, and to 10 per cent in military contingents.³⁶ He has also launched UNITE to End Violence against Women and to raise \$100 million by 2015 in view of the fact of limited resources of the UN Trust Fund.³⁷ Since 1996, the Trust Fund has supported 304 programmes in 121 countries and territories with more than \$50 million in grants, in the year 2009 it received more than 1,600 applications but could meet just less than 4 per cent of the demand. More importantly, there is the major lacuna of a single mechanism to hold member states accountable for their efforts to incorporate gender equality in their national plans.

One reason for this statistical gender imbalance in PKOs is that the justification for their women's participation in peacekeeping is incongruously based on stereotyping of gender, "essentialist assumptions" and enactment of "particular peacekeeping femininities and masculinities" in PKOs that undermines the very spirit of Resolution 1325 besides hindering the efficacy of missions. According to Susan Willett, "Gender discourse has been submerged by the dominant UN epistemology of hegemonic masculinity, militarism and war."³⁸ Olivera Simić concurs with this opinion and contends that, "the call for more representation

The result is that the feminine notions of police officers often became counter-productive in the sense that extra safety measures were imposed on them due to their gender, including restrictions on their movements or on their working alone with either their colleagues or local male counterparts.

of women in peacekeeping operations tends to be essentialist in nature, through the implication that women are more nurturing and peaceful."³⁹ Since UN peacekeepers are predominantly composed of male soldiers trained by their states in combat or 'the legitimate discharge of violence', this has led to highly masculinised PKOs. According to Olivera Simić, military peacekeeping masculinities create a complex and nuanced range of peacekeeper identities and form marginal/hegemonic intra-power relations. She puts forward the theory that "militarism relies on particular forms of dominant masculinity which cannot succeed without reducing women to feminine roles that are ascribed inferior in status and power", thereby marginalising women ideologically and institutionally. The women are often put to typical administrative tasks like serving as desk officers or as traffic police rather than front-line police despite being experienced operational police officers back in their home countries.

Vandra Harris and Andrew Goldsmith refer to the irony - pointed out by Gerard De Groot -that the

gender stereotypes that previously excluded women from a range of roles relating to conflict were now being used to justify women's inclusion in those same roles.⁴⁰ The result is that the feminine notions of police officers often became counter-productive in the sense that extra safety measures were imposed on them due to their gender, including restrictions on their movements or on their working alone with either their colleagues or local male counterparts. It produced 'chivalrous' support or monitoring by colleagues on the one hand and on the other, it also provoked exaggerated displays of masculinity reinforcing the perception of policing as being intrinsically masculine, action oriented, violent and uncertain. The women officers also face the problem of the aversion of local men to accept their authority as police officers.

A more pervasive problem is that by allowing culture specific norms to dictate the acceptance of the ways in which cultures keeps their females subjugated is inherently dangerous, and that in itself perpetuates violence. Adherence to these cultural norms in peacekeeping in the name of constraints, as in Afghanistan, takes away agency from women, reaffirming authoritative aspects of these cultures thereby undercutting the freedom of women. The logic that female peacekeepers are required to interact with females could be counter-productive to the desired outcome. The biased assumptions preserve the sexist attitudes, stridently confining the women in veil and obscurity. The identifying of such contradictions is de rigueur for investigating the resistance towards Resolution 1325. Therefore, resistance to changes in gender relations exist at various levels and gender-sensitising a police force is not just a question of establishing rules but also depends upon the wider cultural change in the broader community.⁴¹ There are cases when women themselves opt for gendered roles sometimes voluntarily and sometimes under family pressure. The language employed by the UN resolution has reinforced perceptions of conflicting opposites and continues with the narrative of separate subjectivities.

There are cases when women themselves opt for gendered roles sometimes voluntarily and sometimes under family pressure.

The most important fact is that no common identity has yet been produced around the Resolution 1325 which would generate a sense of linked fate among people that will create social and political accord on a global scale to adopt a norm with the potential to rewrite the way society is ordered and politics of conflict engineered. Till it attains ideological vigour, Resolution 1325 is likely to remain a bare bone legal instrument without a potent narrative which drives people to beget and adopt a change. The absence of such discourse prevents the fostering of loyalty to the cause of Resolution 1325.

Conclusion

The vision of Resolution 1325 is potentially revolutionary providing a legal-political framework designating women and a gender perspective relevant to all aspects of peace processes. Subsequent mandates have imparted considerable visibility to the predicaments of women borne out of armed conflicts. The acknowledgement of links between sexual violence in armed conflict and its aftermath has brought into focus the “appalling levels of brutality” in the sexual abuse of women and children previously brushed aside as one of the fallouts of war, but now recognised as punishable offence. Other measures incorporated in this legal framework by the UN secretary-general are the strengthening of monitoring and reporting on sexual violence; the retraining of peacekeepers, national forces and police by providing resource packages and guidelines for the appropriate gender sensitisation of the personnel; appointment of a special representative to synchronize the series of mandates, protocols and conventions and their implementation; and calls to boost the participation of women in peace building and other post-conflict processes through NAPs.

Resolution 1325 painstakingly built a momentum, step by step, to boost women’s role in peacekeeping and can rightly be said to be the fountainhead from which subsequent instruments flowed. On June 2, 2010 the UN General Assembly voted unanimously to create a new body known as “UN Women” and placed four⁴² existing United Nations bodies dealing with gender issues under a single umbrella for bolstering coherent governance in operational activities to accelerate gender equality and women’s empowerment. The United Nations secretary-general, on September 22, 2010 appointed Michelle Bachelet the former president of Chile as the under-secretary-general of the new entity and this new UN body will become operational by January 1, 2011.

The formation of UN Women marks the beginning of a new era and a definitive way forward in committing to values of gender equality. UN Women

UN Women will work with both developed and developing countries depending upon country-defined needs by providing programmatic, operational and technical support and expertise in a timely and demand-driven assistance to UN member states.

will work with both developed and developing countries depending upon country-defined needs by providing programmatic, operational and technical support and expertise in a timely and demand-driven assistance to UN member states. It envisages collaborative inter-governmental efforts to develop global norms and policies by sharing experiences between countries and promoting good practices. The onus now rests on individual countries to prioritise National Action Plans on Resolution 1325 and build upon legal framework provided by the UN. According to Rachel Mayanja, assistant secretary-general, special adviser on gender issues and advancement of women, progress on Resolution 1325 is achievable by instituting “a clear framework containing a set of achievable goals within specific timeframe, and with measurable indicators”, along with an “accountability framework to provide for regular monitoring and reporting”. The next step to make Resolution 1325 more robust would be to design such mechanism which makes it incumbent for member nations to show progress on gender equality. The accountability factor is one of the most vexing problems in implementing Resolution 1325 because a debate and consensus on this issue is still yet to emerge.

The next step to make Resolution 1325 more robust would be to design such mechanism which makes it incumbent for member nations to show progress on gender equality.

However, despite the momentum generated by the creation of the UN Women, constraints in terms of prioritising gender issues and allotment of resources continue to remain in view of preconceived notions, dominant patriarchal societies, bureaucratic structures and clash of identities, among other reasons related to developmental problems in poor and failed states. The knowledge gap at the grassroots and inadequate funding at this level have also kept a section of women outside this mainstreaming agenda. In the coming years, it is expected that such issues would be addressed by UN Women. More importantly, the traditional notions of security equate it with militarisation and with the contentious control of resources for economic advancement. This perception of security is replete with short sighted and opportunistic ‘strategic’ political alignments which create security dilemmas and creates arms races, provokes insurgencies- dismembering the very fabric of communities. In the post-Cold War era, this dominant perception of security has come to be juxtaposed with the narrative of human security and this narrative makes available to us a different lens and a tool through which we can discern and execute another reality previously ignored. The value of Resolution 1325 as that tool stands unalloyed and the decade gone by is witness to the shift, however imperceptible, in how we construct and communicate about our securities.



Resolution 1325: Evolution of Gender Perspective in UN Peacekeeping Operations

Notes:

1. "Peacekeeping Operations" are understood broadly as internationally mandated, uniformed presences, either under United Nations auspices or under the authority of a regional organization like the Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS), the African Union (AU) or the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO). Armed UN peacekeepers, unarmed UN Military Observers (UNMOs), armed and unarmed UN Police (UNPOL) and soldiers serving under their national commands but authorized by the Security Council, like the US-led Multinational Force in Haiti (1994-95) and the Australian-led force in Timor-Leste (1999-2000), also come under the category of peacekeeping operations.
2. The UN Economic and Social Council (ECOSOC) on 17 September 1997, in its Agreed Conclusions, defined gender mainstreaming as "a strategy for making the concerns and experiences of women as well as men an integral part 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".
3. An Action Plan is a document that spells out the steps that a government is currently taking, and those initiatives and activities that it will undertake within a given time frame to meet the obligations in the Resolution. National Action Plans can help to increase the comprehensiveness, coordination, awareness-raising, ownership, accountability, and monitoring and evaluation of a government's women, peace and security activities.
4. Jessica Neuwirth (2002). "Women and Peace and Security: The Implementation of U.N. Security Council Resolution 1325". *Duke Journal of Law Gender and Policy*, 22 June 2002.
5. Her remarks as she opened the discussion on behalf of Secretary-General Ban Ki-moon on the occasion of the adoption of UN Resolution 1889 on 5 October 2009, available at <http://www.un.org/News/Press/docs/2009/sc9759.doc.htm>
6. There is a conceptual difference between the terms "sex" and "gender". "Sex" refers to the biological differences between women and men (e.g., chromosomes, anatomy and hormonal states). These characteristics are congenital and their differences are limited to physiological reproductive functions. "Gender" refers to the social differences, social attributes, opportunities and relationships associated with being male and female which are socially constructed and learned through socialization. They are context-/time-specific and changeable. "Gender" defines power relations in society and determines what is expected, allowed and valued in a woman or a man in a given context. "Gender", therefore, refers not to women or men, but to the relationship between them, and the way this is socially constructed.
7. Millennium Report of the Secretary-General of the United Nations: "We the Peoples – The Role of the United Nations in the 21st Century, released in April 2000 by the then UN Secretary General, Kofi A. Anna. See section IV, "Freedom from Fear", p. 43, available at <http://www.un.org/millennium/sg/report/full.htm>
8. Eventually in the ensuing mayhem and wave of violence, the Rwandan Patriotic Front (RPF) led by Paul Kagame emerged victorious as the RPF captured Kigali and declared ceasefire. Subsequently, Hutus en masse fled to Democratic Republic of Congo. Rwanda's Tutsi led government has twice invaded Dem. Rep. of Congo to wipe out the Hutu militias implicated in the massacres. The fighting continues unabated. See BBC News, "Rwanda: How the genocide happened", 18 December 2008, available at <http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/hi/1288230.stm>; and also see McConnell, Tristan, "Rwanda's Other Genocide", *The Nation*, 17 September 2010, available at <http://www.thenation.com/article/154857/rwandas-other-genocide>
9. The problem of peacekeeper involvement in sexual exploitation and abuse against the local population first surfaced publicly in the 1990s with the UN peacekeeping missions in Cambodia, Bosnia and Herzegovina, Timor-Leste, and Kosovo. In 2003, Secretary General had formulated a Bulletin stipulating special measures for protection from sexual exploitation and sexual abuse, ST/SGB/2003/13, October 9, 2003, available at <http://daccess-dds-ny.un.org/doc/UNDOC/GEN/N03/550/40/PDF/N0355040.pdf?OpenElement>. See United Nations (2005). *A comprehensive strategy to eliminate future sexual exploitation and abuse in United Nations peacekeeping operations. [The Zeid Report]*, A/59/710. March 24, 2005.
10. Cynthia Enloe, (2010.) "Afterward". *International Peacekeeping*, 17: 2, 307-308.
11. United Nations Department of Peacekeeping Operations, *Policy Dialogue to Review Strategies for Enhancing Gender Balance among Uniformed Personnel in Peacekeeping Missions: Final Report*, (New York: UN, March 28th - 29th, 2006). This was followed by another dialogue held in 2007 in Pretoria.
12. United Nations, DPKO released the manual which is called the *Gender Resource Package for Peacekeeping Operations*.
13. Guidelines: *Integrating a Gender Perspective into the Work of the United Nations Military in Peacekeeping Operations*, launched on August 9, 2010. Available at <http://www.un.org/en/peacekeeping/> http://www.un.org/en/peacekeeping/documents/dpko_dfs_gender_military_perspective.pdf

14. The text of Resolution 1820 available at <http://daccess-dds-ny.un.org/doc/UNDOC/GEN/N08/391/44/PDF/N0839144.pdf?OpenElement>
15. United Nations Security Council Resolution 1888 (2009) Adopted by the Security Council at its 6195th meeting, on 30 September 2009. http://www.2ohchr.org/english/bodies/chr/special/docs/17thsession/SC_res1888_2009.pdf
16. United Nations Security Council, Resolution 1889 (2009) Adopted by the Security Council at its 6196th meeting, on 5 October 2009. [http://betterpeace.org/files/SC_S_RES_1889\(2009\)_5October2009.pdf](http://betterpeace.org/files/SC_S_RES_1889(2009)_5October2009.pdf)
17. Olivera Simić (2010). "Does the Presence of Women Really Matter? Towards Combating Male Sexual Violence in Peacekeeping Operations". *International Peacekeeping*, 17: 2, 188-199. See p. 193.
18. Dr. Bruce Jones, Richard Gowan, and Jake Sherman (2009). *Building on Brahimi-Peacekeeping in an era of Strategic Uncertainty*. A Report by the NYU Centre on International Cooperation, Submitted to the UN Departments of Peacekeeping Operations and Field Support For the 'New Horizons' Project, April 2009.
19. Report of the International Commission on Intervention and State Sovereignty (ICISS), "Responsibility to Protect", International Development Research Center (Canada), December 2001. See Forward, p. VII. http://google.idrc.ca/search?PHPSESSID=940e40c4d0a2b3705d69f35698bebb8&site=idrc_corp&client=idrc_corp_en&output=xml_no_dtd&proxystylesheet=idrc_corp_en&q=International+Commission+on+Intervention+and+State+Sovereignty+%28ICISS%EF%BB%BF
20. See United Nations Peacekeeping Website- <http://www.un.org/en/peacekeeping/>
21. Quoted by Natsuko Fukue in "Japan urged to back equality push", *Japan Times*, September 15, 2010. <http://search.japantimes.co.jp/cgi-bin/nn20100915f1.html>
22. Keynote Speech by Ambassador Anwarul K. Chowdhury at the 2005 Symposium on International Relations on "Building a Culture of Peace" Yale University Law School, New Haven, Connecticut, March 17, 2005. http://www.un.org/special-rep/ohrrls/ohrrls/Statements/hr%20keynote%20speech%2017%20Mar%2005_Culture%20of%20peace-Yale.pdf
23. About 200,000 Liberians are believed to have been killed in the 1989-2003 civil war, which also displaced half the country's 3 million people.
24. OSCE offers a forum for political negotiations and decision-making in the fields of early warning, conflict prevention, crisis management and post-conflict rehabilitation, and puts the political will of the participating States into practice through its unique network of field missions.
25. The Secretary General's Annual Evaluation report on the Implementation of the 2004 OSCE Action Plan for the Promotion of Gender Equality. September 2010. http://www.osce.org/documents/sg/2010/08/45877_en.pdf
26. The speech by Margot Wallström, Vice-President of the European Commission, in Stockholm on October 22, 2009.
27. The first woman to head the peacekeeping mission was Dame Margaret Anstee, appointed as the Special Representative of the Secretary General to Angola in 1992. Angela King, a Jamaican headed a U.N. mission in South Africa from 1992 until 1994; Ann Hercus, a New Zealander ran the Cyprus mission in 1998 and 1999; Elisabeth Rehn, a Finnish national ran the U.N. mission in Bosnia from 1995 through 2001 Heidi Tagliavini, a Swiss national ran the U.N. monitoring mission in Georgia from 2002 until 2006; Carolyn McAskie, headed the U.N. mission in Burundi from June 2004 until April-2006; Ellen Margrethe Løj from Denmark is heading the U.N. mission in Liberia since 2007; Karin Landgren is heading the U.N. mission in Nepal since Feb. 2009; Sahle-Work Zewde from Ethiopia is heading in Central African Republic since May 2009; Ameerah Haq from Bangladesh is heading the mission in Timor-Leste since December 2009 and Lisa Buttenheim from the US heads the mission in Cyprus since June 2010.
28. UNIFEM Brief titled *Gender Justice: Key to Achieving the Millennium Development Goals* launched on September 20, 2010, p. 13. <http://www.unifem.org/progress/>
29. Eirin Mobekk (2010). "Gender, Women and Security Sector Reform". *International Peacekeeping*, 17: 2, 278-291, April 2010. See p. 281.
30. IRIN Africa, "IRIN interview on the role of women in conflict and peace and security". *Integrated Regional Information Networks, part of the UN Office for the Coordination of Humanitarian Affairs*, October 31, 2001. <http://www.irinnews.org/Report.aspx?ReportId=27979>
31. (1) Bangladesh:10,736; (2) Pakistan:10,691; (3) India: 8,935; (4) Nigeria:5,709; (5) Egypt:5,458; (6) Nepal:5,044; (7) Jordan:3,826; (8) Ghana:3,647; (9) Rwanda:3,635; (10) Uruguay:2,489 http://www.un.org/en/peacekeeping/contributors/2010/sept10_2.pdf

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32. As of September 30, 2010 there are 116 countries contributing around 100,000 troops for the on-going UN PKOs. Bangladesh, Pakistan and India together contribute about 30 percent to the UN personnel.
33. See the publication by the United Nations titled *Addressing Conflict-Related Sexual Violence – An Analytical Inventory of Peacekeeping Practice*, June 2010. Available at: www.stoprapenow.org.
34. Concept paper presented by Ambassador Le Luong Minh, Permanent Representative of Vietnam, for the Security Council open debate on the theme "Women and peace and security: responding to the needs of women and girls in post-conflict situations for sustainable peace and security".
35. IRIN Global, "Women UN peacekeepers - more needed". *Integrated Regional Information Networks, part of the UN Office for the Coordination of Humanitarian Affairs*, May 20, 2010. <http://www.irinnews.org/Report.aspx?ReportId=89194>
36. A country-wise and sector oriented assessment of the implementation of the Resolution 1325 is beyond the scope of this article but for some countries see the 2005 study by the Commonwealth Secretariat titled *Gender Mainstreaming in Conflict Transformation: Building Sustainable Peace* which documents case study experiences of gender and conflict in Commonwealth countries and sub-regions including Bangladesh, Cyprus, India, Jamaica, the Pacific, Papua New Guinea, the Mano River Union Sub-region, Sierra Leone and Sri Lanka. Another important work is a 2009 study about the effectiveness and the process to integrate resolution 1325 in NATO's operations related to the Provincial Reconstruction Teams (PRTs) of the Dutch, the Italian, the New Zealand, the Norwegian and the Swedish in different parts of Afghanistan. The title is *Operational Effectiveness and UN resolution 1325-Practices and Lessons from Afghanistan*.
37. UN Trust Fund to End Violence against Women (UN Trust Fund), managed by UNIFEM on behalf of UN System, is the only multilateral grant-making mechanism exclusively devoted to supporting efforts to end violence against women and girls.
38. Susan Willett (2010) 'Introduction: Security Council Resolution 1325: Assessing the Impact on Women, Peace and Security', *International Peacekeeping*, 17: 2, 142 — 158
39. Olivera Simić (2010). "Does the Presence of Women Really Matter? Towards Combating Male Sexual Violence in Peacekeeping Operations". *International Peacekeeping*, 17: 2, 188-199. See p.
40. Vandra Harris and Andrew Goldsmith (2010). "Gendering Transnational Policing: Experiences of Australian Women in International Policing Operations". *International Peacekeeping*, 17: 2, 292-306. See p. 294.
41. *Ibid.* p. 296.
42. The composite body called UN Women would consolidate and take in all the existing mandates and functions of the Office of the Special Adviser on Gender Issues and Advancement of Women, the Division for the Advancement of Women, the United Nations Development Fund for Women (UNIFEM) and the International Research and Training Institute for the Advancement of Women (INSTRAW). UN Women would be both a normative body and an operational one, acting as a secretariat and carrying out operational activities, to provide operational support to countries to implement those norms and standards which advance gender equality.