

SABRINA KARIM AND KYLE BEARDSLEY

# EQUAL OPPORTUNITY PEACEKEEPING

Women, Peace, and Security in Post-Conflict States



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in Post-Conflict States*

Sabrina Karim and Kyle Beardsley

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*For the man who always saved me the last sip of Scotch, my friend and source of  
solace,*

*“now until the end,” James Kyle Doyle*

*April 5, 1985–June 24, 2011*

—SK

*To Esther and Hazel, that you might have the opportunity to pursue peace with a  
ferocity that knows no bounds.*

—KB

From the bosom of the devastated earth a voice goes up with our own. It says: Disarm, disarm! The sword of murder is not the balance of justice. Blood does not wipe out dishonor, nor violence vindicate possession. As men have often forsaken the plough and the anvil at the summons of war, let women now leave all that may be left of home for a great and earnest day of council.

—*Julia Ward Howe, "Appeal to Womanhood throughout the World," 1870*

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## ABBREVIATIONS

AFL	Armed Forces of Liberia
BINUB	UN Integrated Office in Burundi
BINUCA	UN Integrated Peacebuilding Office in the Central African Republic
CART	Center for Action, Research, and Training
CIMIC	civil military coordination
DAW	Division for the Advancement of Women
DDR	disarmament, demobilization and reintegration
DDRR	disarmament, demobilization, reintegration, and repatriation
DFS	Department of Field Support
DPKO	Department of Peacekeeping Operations
DRC	Democratic Republic of the Congo
ECOMOG	Economic Monitoring Group
FPU	Formed Police Unit
INSTRAW	International Research and Training Institute for the Advancement of Women
LNP	Liberian National Police
MINURCAT	UN Mission in the Central African Republic and Chad
MINURSO	UN Mission for the Referendum in Western Sahara
MINUSMA	UN Multidimensional Integrated Stabilization Mission in Mali
MINUSTAH	UN Stabilization Mission in Haiti
MONUC	UN Organization Mission in the Democratic Republic of the Congo
MONUSCO	UN Organization Stabilization Mission in the Democratic Republic of the Congo
NAP	National Action Plan
OIOS	Office of Internal Oversight Services
ONUB	UN Operation in Burundi
OSAGI	Office of the Special Adviser on Gender Issues and Advancement of Women
PKO	peacekeeping operation
PRIO	Peace Research Institute Oslo
PSU	Police Support Unit
SEA	sexual exploitation and abuse
SEAHV	sexual exploitation, abuse, harassment, and violence

SGBV	sexual and gender-based violence
SMSG	special representative of the secretary-general
SSR	security sector reform
UCDP	Uppsala Conflict Data Program
UNAMA	UN Assistance Mission in Afghanistan
UNAMID	UN-African Union Mission in Darfur
UNDOF	UN Disengagement Observer Force
UNDP	United Nations Development Programme
UNICEF	The United Nations International Children's Emergency Fund
UNIFEM	United Nations Development Fund for Women
UNFICYP	UN Peacekeeping Force in Cyprus
UNIFIL	UN Interim Force in Lebanon
UNIOSIL	UN Integrated Office in Sierra Leone
UNISFA	UN Interim Security Force for Abyei
UNMEE	UN Mission in Ethiopia and Eritrea
UNMIK	UN Mission in Kosovo
UNMIL	UN Mission in Liberia
UNMIN	UN Mission in Nepal
UNMIS	UN Mission in Sudan
UNMISS	UN Mission in the Republic of South Sudan
UNMIT	UN Integrated Mission in Timor-Leste
UNMOGIP	UN Military Observer Group in India and Pakistan
UNOCI	UN Operation in Côte d'Ivoire
UNOMIG	UN Observer Mission in Georgia
UNPOL	UN Police
UNSCR	United Nations Security Council Resolution
UNSMIL	UN Support Mission in Libya
UNTAC	UN Transitional Authority in Cambodia
UNTSO	United Nations Truce Supervision Organization
WPS	women, peace and security

## Equal Opportunity Peacekeeping





## Equal Opportunity Peacekeeping

## CHAPTER 1

# Introduction

### *Are Blue Helmets Just for Boys?*

In 2014, Swedish Foreign Minister Margot Wallström made international headlines when she announced that the Swedish government would pursue a “feminist foreign policy.” The resulting doctrine affirms that “ensuring that women and girls can enjoy their fundamental human rights is both a duty within the framework of our international commitments, and a prerequisite for Sweden’s broader foreign policy goals on development, democracy, peace and security.”<sup>1</sup>

Several years before this announcement, former U.S. Secretary of State Hillary Clinton outlined the “Hillary Doctrine,” in 2009, in which she proclaimed: “The United States has made empowering women and girls a cornerstone of our foreign policy because women’s equality is not just a moral issue, it’s not just a humanitarian issue, it is not just a fairness issue. It is a security issue. . . . Give women equal rights and entire nations are more stable and secure. Deny women equal rights and the instability of nations is almost certain” (Hudson and Leidl, 2015: 1).

Not only have some countries included a “feminist” orientation in their foreign policy, but many countries have begun implementing reforms to make their defense forces more gender equal as well. In December 2015, Secretary of Defense Ashton Carter announced that the U.S. military would let women serve in all combat roles.<sup>2</sup> The announcement came after Captain Kristen Griest and First Lieutenant Shaye Haver graduated from the army’s famously rigorous Ranger School at Fort Benning, Georgia, four months earlier. These recent developments have propelled gender equality to the forefront of discussions on international security and politics.

On the academic front, the research of many scholars demonstrates that Margot Wallström and Hillary Clinton’s approaches to foreign policy may actually help mitigate conflict and violence globally. Research consistently shows that gender equality contributes to peace or the cessation of violence and human rights violations.<sup>3</sup> When societies are more gender equal, they are more peaceful, which means that promoting gender equality is a step toward ensuring long-term peace globally.

While developments that place gender equality at the forefront of foreign policy in Sweden and the United States are novel and radical, the United Nations (UN), particularly through its Department of Peacekeeping Operations (DPKO), has been paving new ground when it comes to gender equality in conflict-ridden and postconflict countries for decades.<sup>4</sup> In 2000, the UN Security Council passed Resolution 1325 (UNSCR 1325), which institutionalized the Women, Peace, and Security (WPS) agenda at the international level. The Resolution's adoption is considered by many to be a historic milestone since it marked the first time that the UNSCR dealt specifically with gender issues and women's experiences in conflict and postconflict situations and recognized women's contribution to conflict resolution and prevention.<sup>5</sup> The Resolution legally mandates peacekeeping operations (PKOs) to include women in decision-making roles in all aspects of the peacekeeping and peace-building processes. In this way, for nearly two decades, and long before Sweden and the United States formally made gender equality an integral part of foreign policy, the UN DPKO has been one of the main promoters of gender equality in international politics. If peacekeeping missions have a historic advantage in issues related to gender equality, one must ask to what extent have they achieved gender equality in PKOs and been vehicles for promoting gender equality in postconflict states?

In general, the UN DPKO and other stakeholders in the WPS agenda have taken two approaches to implementing gender reforms in PKOs.<sup>6</sup> They have undertaken an ambitious agenda to increase the participation of women in their peacekeeping forces in both military and police contingents, and they have sought to increase the protection of women by mitigating sexual and gender-based violence (SGBV), including exploitation, abuse, and harassment perpetrated by peacekeepers. To date, the results have been somewhat successful.<sup>7</sup> The number of women in PKOs has increased since the first peacekeeping mission in 1948, and there is an increased awareness in peacekeeping missions about the pernicious problem of sexual exploitation, abuse, harassment, and violence (SEAHV).<sup>8</sup> Gender reforms in peacekeeping missions additionally help to promote gender equality in host countries, as peacekeeping missions have been increasingly involved in consulting with and directly assisting domestic institutional reforms. To achieve these goals, UN peacekeeping missions have introduced the concept of gender mainstreaming—the constant assessment of how policies affect women and men—into operations.

While there have been advancements in promoting gender equality in and through PKOs, daunting challenges remain. The 2015 report to the General Assembly from the High-Level Independent Panel on Peace Operations notes a number of areas in which PKOs are falling short. The report specifically acknowledges that “15 years on [since the adoption of UNSCR 1325] there remains a poor understanding of the potential of both integrating a gendered perspective and increasing the participation of women at all levels of political and civil life, most especially at the leadership level” (UN, 2015: 23). Moreover, related to SEAHV, the report admonishes: “sexual exploitation and abuse in PKOs is continuing, to the enduring shame of the Organization, its personnel and the countries which provide the peacekeepers who abuse” (UN, 2015: 14).<sup>9</sup>

The culture of PKOs still too often prevents women and men from equal participation and perpetuates discrimination and violence. In particular, *gender power imbalances* between the sexes and among genders place restrictions on the participation of women in peacekeeping missions, both in terms of the proportions of women and how women are employed relative to men. These restrictions ensure continued discrimination, especially with respect to women's roles in PKOs. And they all but guarantee that SEAHV continues to be a problem both in missions and outside them. In the context of broader peacekeeping mandates, overcoming these imbalances is imperative for ensuring that gender equality is and continues to be a cornerstone of PKOs globally.

The international community is undertaking an ambitious effort to address gender inequality in postconflict security provision. There is tremendous opportunity in this endeavor, but there are also tremendous headwinds. Going forward, an understanding of the current state of peacekeeping with regard to gender reforms is crucial to make the most of the present opportunity to shape how peacekeeping is implemented and how gender is construed in the security sectors of the contributing countries, in multinational missions, and in the domestic institutions of the host countries. Moreover, by understanding the peacekeeping model, which arguably has an institutional comparative advantage in the promotion of gender equality globally, one is better able to understand the opportunities and challenges facing broader gender equality initiatives in foreign policy and other areas of international politics.

## OUR ARGUMENT

This book explores the extent to which reforms that relate to gender equality in peacekeeping missions have been successful both in and through peacekeeping missions. We argue that there have been successes but that they are tempered by institutional barriers. The foundation for our main argument starts with an understanding of the origins and consequences of unbalanced power relations between the sexes and among genders—gender power imbalances. We contend that military and police institutions, of which peacekeeping missions are composed, are gendered institutions in that they project and replicate structures of power that privilege men and certain forms of masculinity.

The imbalance or inequality between the sexes and the genders creates and perpetuates particular gendered problems in PKOs. Power imbalances in PKOs can lead to the privileging of rigid gender roles for men and women. One source of gender power imbalance is the widespread perception that men are natural warriors and women are natural peacemakers. This has the consequence of outright discrimination against women (and men) in the security sector—women are subject to particular roles in the institution and therefore not seen as eligible to partake in or be promoted in areas that are traditionally considered masculine work.<sup>10</sup> Another source of imbalance is the entrenched norm that men are protectors and women are in need of protection. This “gendered protection norm” pervades many PKOs and thereby limits the number and full agency of female peacekeepers, specifically in

terms of relegating them to “safe spaces.” Finally, we argue that militarization processes tend to cultivate the potential for SEAHV, a particularly pernicious manifestation of gender power imbalances. As we explain in chapter 3, these problems are not mutually exclusive, as they often occur simultaneously.

In light of these challenges, we identify and examine how particular gender reforms, through increasing the representation of women in peacekeeping forces (as a policy lever—female ratio balancing) and, even more important, through enhancing a more holistic value for “equal opportunity,” can enable peacekeeping to overcome the challenges posed by power imbalances and be more of an example of and vehicle for gender equality. By “equal opportunity” we mean much more than the equal opportunity for women and men to serve as peacekeepers. We mean that there is equal opportunity for the more marginalized identities and characteristics associated with nondominant forms of masculinity to be valued. We also mean that beliefs about women and men’s contributions, in addition to actual contributions, are respected. The hope is that there will then be equal opportunity for women and men to have power and leadership in peacekeeping missions and equal opportunity for women and men to be part of the solution in identifying and resolving discriminatory practices and instances of SEAHV. These arguments are not new and have been and are the subject of research by many feminist scholars. Thus, we use this foundational work and apply it in the context of PKOs to better understand to what extent PKOs promote gender equality both in missions and through them.

We divide the book into three parts. The first part provides an account of the evolution of gender reforms in PKOs and an overview of current peacekeeping successes with regard to such reforms. We then provide an analysis of the overarching problem of gender power imbalances in security institutions, resulting in the challenges that PKOs face in promoting gender equality. In the second part, we conduct empirical analyses that explore some of the implications of our theoretical framework related to the prevalence of discrimination, a gendered protection norm, and SEAHV. In addition to confirming that these are problems confronting the contemporary peacekeeping landscape, the analyses shed light on the variation of their severity. The results suggest that contributing countries are unlikely to deploy women to missions when they lack the participation of women in their domestic security forces, when the mission environments have a history of brutal violence, and when the contributing countries do not have strong records of gender equality. We also find that the prevalence of SEAHV in peacekeeping missions marginally decreases as the representation of women increases and more robustly decreases as the proportion of troops from contributing countries with relatively strong records of gender equality increases.

The third part of the book uses the UN Mission in Liberia (UNMIL) as a case study. Specifically, we analyze the experiences of mostly female peacekeepers in the mission through interviews and focus group discussions, gauging the extent to which discrimination, the gendered protection norm, and SEAHV impede activities in the mission. We then use household surveys and lab-in-the-field experiments to understand how local interactions with female peacekeepers or local policewomen affect perceptions of the security sector, and how the introduction of reforms initiated

by international peacekeepers has affected gender dynamics within the Liberian National Police (LNP). In these chapters, we find that the protection norm in mission cultures and discrimination often impede the efforts of many female peacekeepers in helping the local population and supporting one another within the mission. We also discuss first-hand accounts of sexual harassment against female peacekeepers.

From analysis of both the global data and the Liberian case, we draw conclusions about how peacekeeping missions can improve gender equality both in and through missions. While one approach has been to increase the proportion of female peacekeepers (and to introduce mostly female civilian gender advisers, units, and focal points) to improve the quality of missions, we posit that such a policy lever is likely to only yield limited fruit, given both practical constraints—if restrictions on female participation is one of the key problems to address, then simply planning to increase the representation of women does not tell us how the underlying problems are addressed—and theoretical concerns: a focus on increasing the representation of women might not sufficiently shape the dysfunctional institutional cultures at the root of the problems. As such, a more holistic approach, one that favors supporting a norm of “equal opportunity” through framing; leadership; recruitment and standards; promotion, demotion, and discipline; training and professionalism; access and accountability; women’s representation; and gender mainstreaming (broadly defined) should be more fruitful. If successful, attempts to address the challenges that stem from power imbalances in peacekeeping missions will help advance gender equality globally.

## **OUR APPROACH AND CONTRIBUTION**

Our approach to understanding the origins and consequences of gender power imbalances related to the provision of peacekeeping is theoretically driven by existing scholarship on gender and international relations. At the same time, our approach is empirically positivist in the sense that we identify and test for the expected manifestations of gender power imbalances in and through peacekeeping missions, using a combination of evidence from quantitative measures, qualitative interviews and focus groups, and surveys. In doing so, we recognize that this particular way of accruing knowledge differs from critical approaches to studying the role of gender in international institutions.<sup>11</sup> These alternative normative and critical approaches have provided a rich foundation for understanding the weight of gender in international politics and security affairs. Our positivist approach fills a gap by demonstrating how well observations from different types of data comport with our theoretical expectations, when so much of the existing empirical literature on peacekeeping has ignored the relevance of gender.

Indeed, much of the existing peacekeeping literature has explored whether PKOs contribute to a wide range of outcomes associated with peace, with the emerging consensus being that peacekeeping has generally played a constructive, if uneven, role—whether in preventing conflict relapse (Fortna, 2008), protecting civilians (Hultman, Kathman, and Shannon, 2013), containing conflict (Beardsley, 2011),

or promoting human rights (Murdie and Davis, 2010).<sup>12</sup> Notably absent from this literature is any discussion on gender or gender equality. Yet gender inequality is inimical to human security and touches all aspects of society, which means that improvements in peacekeeping's record as a model for and catalyst of gender equality has direct implications for the cultivation of peace in host countries. Evaluations of peacekeeping efficacy without first understanding that PKOs are gendered institutions are incomplete. Years of scholarship by prominent feminist international relations scholars have pointed to the importance of gender in understanding international institutions, particularly the role gender power imbalances play in shaping the ways security institutions function.<sup>13</sup> Our goal is to bring these theories to the forefront of the literature on peacekeeping and demonstrate that a comprehensive approach to understanding peacekeeping efficacy must consider the role of gender.

Our empirical approach recognizes that a discussion of the challenges facing peacekeeping missions in nurturing gender equality needs to incorporate observations at different levels, including the individual, institutional, societal, and state levels. We thus use a variety of approaches, including surveys, interviews, focus groups, cross-national data, and lab-in-the-field experiments to triangulate the inferences we draw. We provide rich, multimethod empirical evidence to test our claims and to evaluate the current state of gender equality in peacekeeping missions in two forms—by analyzing all UN missions from 2006 to 2013 (with both a military and police focus) and by using the UNMIL mission in Liberia as a case study. The data include quantitative analysis of observational mission data at the yearly level, a household survey conducted in two internally displaced and ex-combatant communities in Monrovia, data from a lab-in-the-field experiment conducted with the Liberian National Police (LNP), and a series of interviews, participant observations, and focus group discussions with female and male peacekeepers in the UNMIL mission. Each of these sources provides us with a view from a different angle of how gender dynamics are playing out within and through peacekeeping missions.

In our work, unlike much of the previous work on peacekeeping missions, we opt to tell part of our story by highlighting the voices of those who are potentially most affected by gender reforms: female peacekeepers and locals. Part of understanding the extent to which gender reforms have worked is to ask those whom the reforms have affected. This means asking female peacekeepers about their experiences in peacekeeping missions. It also means gauging the locals' perceptions of peacekeeping missions, particularly whether or not there are positive or adverse consequences from the gender reforms that peacekeeping missions spearhead. One of the critiques of the scholarship on peacekeeping missions is that it often ignores the voices of those whom peacekeeping is supposed to help (Pouligny, 2006). In this way, through the interviews and focus groups that we study, we use "feminist" methodology by trying to understand women's roles in UNMIL through the perspective and experiences of the women on mission and through the perceptions of locals.<sup>14</sup>

As a more secondary objective, our approach provides much-needed nuance to the policy and media dialogue on gender and peacekeeping. Many policy-makers and media outlets have tended to unequivocally affirm that female peacekeepers make a strong impact in fostering peace and improving gender equality. We posit, however,

that the story has more layers and caution against tropes that reduce gender to one-dimensional characterizations—for example, by emphasizing the peaceful nature of women—that can often reify the very stereotypes that undergird gender hierarchies. We consider both the strengths and limitations of using female ratio balancing as a policy lever to address the problems of institutional power imbalances in PKOs. We contend that meaningful progress in addressing the root problems requires more holistic approaches to peacekeeping reforms—approaches that include increasing the number of women in peacekeeping but, more important, also promote a value for “equal opportunity” across all personnel.

In interviewing the many men and women in UNMIL, the men frequently asked why we were not writing a book about male peacekeepers. The short answer is that, in a sense, there are many books about male peacekeepers. That is, as noted, much of the existing literature on peacekeeping is at best neutral toward gender, and because security forces are constructed as activity associated with masculinity, this supposedly gender-neutral approach has more accurately described the experiences of male peacekeepers. In explaining mission evolution and effectiveness, many existing studies rely on the views and narratives of male peacekeepers, often ignoring the specific experiences of female peacekeepers and local women that provide more detailed information about mission deployment and effectiveness. Among other elements, such accounts miss the stories of SEAHV by peacekeepers. Moreover, there has never been a conscious effort on the part of the international community to increase the number of male peacekeepers. In contrast, there has been a concerted effort to increase the ratios of women to men in peacekeeping missions because men vastly outnumber women in them.

Thus, we opt to tell a different story from other books on peacekeeping. In part, this is a book that describes the state of gender reforms in peacekeeping missions. In part, this is also a book that expands what we mean by “peacekeeping efficacy” to include equal opportunity for men and women. Most important, this is a book that highlights the challenges and opportunities facing the potential for peacekeeping missions to both facilitate and embody gender equality worldwide.

## OUTLINE OF THE BOOK

Chapter 2 lays the historical foundations for the book by providing an account of gender reforms in PKOs. It explains how implementing gender reforms became a part of international peacekeeping mandates and highlights the success of current gender reforms, including those related to participation, protection, and gender mainstreaming.

Chapter 3 provides the theoretical foundations for the rest of the book. It begins by outlining our main theoretical argument: that gender power imbalances have led to particular problems in PKOs, mainly discrimination against female peacekeepers, a gendered protection norm that relegates female peacekeepers to safe spaces, and SEAHV. We then move on to address potential solutions to power imbalances. We start by critically analyzing the potential for female ratio balancing to work as a



policy lever and conclude by suggesting that a more holistic approach is necessary, one that leads to “equal opportunity” peacekeeping.

In part II, we analyze discrimination, the protection norm, and SEAHV cross-nationally, specifically looking at missions from 2006 to 2013. Chapter 4 assesses how exclusion, discrimination, and the gendered protection norm contribute to the low participation rate of female peacekeepers globally. The scope of the analysis focuses on the willingness of contributing countries to send women to peacekeeping missions, as a function of the characteristics of both the contributing country and the target country. Chapter 5 turns to the relationship between gender power imbalances and SEAHV. The scope of the analysis focuses on mission-level variations in SEAHV offenses, as a function of the representation of women as well as the practice of gender equality in the contributing countries.

In Part III, we analyze the challenges that gender power imbalances pose for peacekeeping missions through our case study in Liberia. Chapter 6 focuses on the experiences of UNMIL peacekeeping personnel with regard to discrimination, the gendered norm of protection, and SEAHV in their day-to-day activities. Chapter 7 considers whether UNMIL has contributed to a culture of power imbalance or of equal opportunity in local contexts.

Chapter 8 summarizes the main findings, provides a comprehensive explanation of “equal opportunity” peacekeeping as a strategy to improve gender equality in and through peacekeeping missions, and concludes with a series of concrete policy changes that domestic countries and peacekeeping missions can use to ensure that gender equality in PKOs and local security institutions is achieved, while also highlighting the potential challenges to implementing some of these recommendations.

PART I

*History and Theory*



## CHAPTER 2

# The Evolution of Gender Reforms in UN Peacekeeping Missions

On January 31, 2007, India deployed 105 Indian policewomen to the UN Mission in Liberia (UNMIL), becoming the first country in the world to deploy an all-female unit to a peacekeeping mission.<sup>1</sup> Even before the unit arrived on the ground, they became a global media sensation and were heralded as a major success for PKOs. In 2010, then Secretary of State Hillary Clinton called the unit “an example that must be repeated in UN peacekeeping missions all over the world.”<sup>2</sup> All-female formed police units (FPUs) have deployed to UNMIL from 2007 until 2016 and have inspired all-female FPUs from Bangladesh to deploy to Haiti and the Democratic Republic of Congo (DRC).

The inclusion of the all-female FPU exemplifies a change in how peacekeeping is done. Peacekeeping missions now include broader mandates to address issues ranging from institution building to human rights to gender equality—the latter especially due to UN Security Council Resolution (UNSCR) 1325, adopted in 2000. It both ushered in and institutionalized a new focus on gender in conflict, moving women’s participation and rights to the forefront of international politics, including in the practice of peacekeeping. Peacekeeping is no longer just about men observing and monitoring peace in conflict-ridden countries, it is also about changing local institutions and ensuring that different norms, such as gender equality, permeate them. The deployment of the all-female FPU from India was a major step toward this new goal, and more broadly, increasing the representation of women in peacekeeping missions is one tangible way the international community has strived to address gender inequality issues in postconflict states.

This chapter describes how we got to this point in time—a time when gender equality is an important component of PKOs—and describes the successes thus far in terms of gender equality in UN peacekeeping missions. It starts out by describing major reforms in missions more broadly and then shifts to the evolution of the “Women, Peace, and Security” agenda (WPS), which was the main stimulus for activity on gender equality at UN DPKO. We then describe the two main types of gender

reform that have been implemented both within peacekeeping missions and also through them: enhancing the participation of women in processes related to conflict resolution and protecting women from violence.<sup>3</sup> We conclude by examining the role of and potential for gender mainstreaming to achieve gender reform goals in PKOs.

## THE EVOLVING NATURE OF PEACEKEEPING

Since the end of the Cold War, traditional peacekeeping has gradually been replaced by broader, multidimensional PKOs. Boutros Boutros-Ghali's "Agenda for Peace" in 1992 laid the foundation for expanding the mandates of peacekeeping missions, as it emphasized the importance of peace-building activities as part of a more holistic accounting of how international missions can stabilize peace.<sup>4</sup> The Brahimi Report (the report of the Panel on UN Peace Operations) of 2000 called for further reforms in the implementation of peacekeeping and peace-building missions (UN, 2000). The use of the term "peace operations" makes it clear that the lines between peacemaking, peacekeeping, and peace-building are typically blurred in modern UN missions. Traditional missions focus on observation, where military observers monitor cease-fires and peace agreements.<sup>5</sup> In contrast, multidimensional peacekeeping missions are characterized by complex military, police, and civilian components that play a role not only in monitoring and enforcing peace agreements but also in peace- and state-building efforts that help reconstruct vital political and security institutions.

The emphasis on multidimensional mandates for peacekeeping missions has changed the composition of the forces deployed. Multidimensional forces now include troop contingents, military observers, and police (UN Police [UNPOL]), which all play different roles in the mission. In particular, the development of the FPU demonstrates reform in the composition of deployed personnel. The first FPU was deployed to the UN Mission in Kosovo (UNMIK) in 1999. They are designed to be rapidly deployable, more heavily armed than regular UNPOL units and more capable of independent operations (Anderholt, 2012). They are intended to respond to a wide range of contingencies they have more flexibility in terms of response than traditional military contingents, and they are self-sufficient. They are also able to operate in "high-risk" environments and are deployed to accomplish policing duties such as crowd control rather than to respond to military threats.<sup>6</sup>

In addition, as one of the first missions to take on a more multidimensional approach to peacekeeping, the UN Transitional Authority in Cambodia (UNTAC), established in 1992, is a good example of peacekeeping reforms that have become the norm (Fréchette, 2012), and that mission has been noted as a relatively successful peacekeeping case (Paris, 2004). In Cambodia, UNTAC was responsible for maintaining a secure environment, disarming combatants and reintegrating them into civilian life, overseeing national elections, providing support to returning refugees, helping to reconstruct the economy, and overseeing the operations of five key ministries. Since UNTAC, many more tasks, such as training, monitoring, and reforming security and judiciary institutions, have been added to the mandates of UN peacekeeping missions.

As a follow-up to the Brahimi Report, in 2014 Secretary-General Ban Ki-moon established The Review by the High-Level Independent Panel on Peace Operations to conduct a comprehensive assessment of the current state of UN peace operations and the emerging needs for the future. The panel's report (High-Level Report), released in June 2015, further emphasizes the multidimensional nature of PKOs and highlights several areas in need of continued reform: (1) conflict prevention; (2) protection of civilians; and (3) rebuilding domestic institutions (UN, 2015: 10–13). The report goes on to recommend specific institutional changes that would achieve these goals and provide the foundation for the next generation of peacekeeping.

The changes in mission mandate and composition since 1948—the year of the deployment of the first peacekeeping mission—reflect the international community's attempt to be more innovative in how it addresses the sources of insecurity in postconflict countries. One of these innovations, explored in detail below, includes prioritizing gender equality in mandate construction, in mission composition, and in each host country's domestic security sector. Much of the existing literature that has assessed the efficacy of multidimensional peacekeeping and peace-building activities across multiple cases, however, has defined success in mostly gender-neutral terms. For example, Paul F. Diehl and Daniel Druckman (2010) have considered a number of ways to evaluate peacekeeping efficacy, but even they do not much consider the legacy of peacekeeping missions with regard to gender equality. Work by scholars such as Page Fortna (2008) has defined success in terms of no recurrence of conflict, which misses assessing the quality of the peace for large swaths of the societies involved. Michael Doyle and Nicolas Sambanis (2006) include progress toward democratization along with the absence of conflict in their definition of success. Multicase qualitative studies, such as those by Lise Howard (2008) and Roland Paris (2004), are better able to build the mandate objectives into their measurements of success and also comment on the quality of the peace, if any, attained. Recent quantitative work by Lisa Hultman and her colleagues (2013, 2014) has found that larger peacekeeping forces tend to do better in reducing levels of one-sided violence and battlefield fatalities. But such measures miss other forms of violence that are more prone to affect women.<sup>7</sup> Kyle Beardsley (2011), meanwhile, finds that peacekeeping can mitigate the potential for conflict to spread from one state to the next. Amanda Murdie and David Davis (2010) have also found that peacekeeping missions with a mandate for humanitarian assistance and with mediation mandates improve human rights. While these are all outcomes important to evaluate, missing is a sense of whether the missions are able to do much in terms of addressing gender inequality in destination countries and in the missions themselves, especially as there has been an increased emphasis in mandates to take gender equality seriously.

## **THE EVOLUTION OF THE WOMEN, PEACE, AND SECURITY AGENDA**

The WPS agenda places gender equality at the forefront of international politics, particularly in the realm of conflict resolution. It first started with the 1995 Beijing