AN ASSESSMENT OF THE ROLE OF UNIFORMED WOMEN’S PARTICIPATION IN PEACEKEEPING OPERATIONS IN AFRICA: THE CASE OF THE UNITED NATIONS MISSIONS IN LIBERIA AND IVORY COAST

By

Lioba Tendai Gunduza

A DISSERTATION SUBMITTED IN PARTIAL FULFILMENT OF THE REQUIREMENTS OF THE MASTER OF SCIENCE DEGREE IN INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS

DEPARTMENT OF POLITICAL AND ADMINISTRATIVE STUDIES

FACULTY OF SOCIAL STUDIES

UNIVERSITY OF ZIMBABWE
ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I am deeply indebted to my supervisor Dr Charity Manyeruke for her insightful supervision which culminated in this study. I also register the generous support I received from the teaching staff in the Department of Political and Administrative Studies in the Faculty of Social Studies of the University of Zimbabwe as well as fellow students. I thank my husband and children for the support they rendered throughout the writing of this study. When the chips were down they gave me the incentive to soldier on and complete the study.
DEDICATIONS

To all the brave uniformed women peacekeepers, past, present and the future
TABLE OF CONTENTS
ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS ......................................................................................... i
DEDICATIONS ........................................................................................................ ii
TABLE OF CONTENTS ............................................................................................ iii
ABBREVIATIONS AND ACRONYMS .................................................................... vii
LIST OF TABLES ....................................................................................................... viii
LIST OF FIGURES .................................................................................................... ix
ABSTRACT ............................................................................................................... x

CHAPTER ONE: INTRODUCTION ........................................................................... 1
1.0 Background to the Problem ............................................................................. 1
1.1 Statement of the Problem ................................................................................ 4
1.2 Justification of the Study ................................................................................ 5
1.3 Objectives of the Study ................................................................................... 5
1.4 Hypothesis ........................................................................................................ 6
1.5 Research Questions .......................................................................................... 6
The study is guided by the following research questions: .................................. 6
1.6 Literature Review and Theoretical Framework .............................................. 6
  1.6.1 The UN and Peacekeeping an Overview ................................................... 6
  1.6.2 Gender and Peacekeeping in Africa .......................................................... 8
  1.6.3 Women, Peace and Security .................................................................... 9
  1.6.4 The case for uniformed women participation in peacekeeping operations in Africa... 10
  1.6.5 Leadership Positions held by Women in UN Peacekeeping Operations ....... 13
1.7 Theoretical/ Conceptual Framework ............................................................... 14
1.8 Delimitations ................................................................................................... 16
1.9 Limitations ....................................................................................................... 16
1.10 Methodology .................................................................................................. 16

CHAPTER TWO: THE UNITED NATIONS AND THE PARTICIPATION OF
UNIFORMED WOMEN IN PEACEKEEPING OPERATIONS IN AFRICA: AN
OVERVIEW ............................................................................................................. 19
2.0 Introduction ...................................................................................................... 19
2.1 The UN and African Sub Regional Organisations in Peacekeeping Missions .......... 20
2.2 Past and Current Peacekeeping Missions in Africa ......................................... 21
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Section</th>
<th>Page</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>2.2.1 UN Peacekeeping Operations 1960-2007</td>
<td>21</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.2.2 Active UN Peacekeeping Operations in Africa</td>
<td>23</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.3 Assessing UN Peacekeeping Operations in Africa</td>
<td>23</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.3.1 UN Peacekeeping Operations Deemed a Success</td>
<td>23</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.3.2 UN Peacekeeping Operations Considered Failures</td>
<td>25</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.4 Global Trends in Gender Mainstreaming in the Military</td>
<td>26</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.4.1 Experiences of the USA and UK in Gender Mainstreaming in the Security Forces</td>
<td>27</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.4.2 Gender mainstreaming in SADC’S Security Forces</td>
<td>28</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.4.3 Gender Mainstreaming in Zimbabwe’s Security Forces</td>
<td>32</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.5 Uniformed Women Peacekeepers in Peacekeeping Operations</td>
<td>34</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.6 Limited Participation of Uniformed Women in UN Peacekeeping Missions in Africa</td>
<td>35</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.6.1 Persistent discriminatory recruitment policies</td>
<td>35</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.6.2 Mission types</td>
<td>36</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.6.3 Gendered leadership culture</td>
<td>37</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.6.4 Limited Mandate of UN Peacekeeping Missions</td>
<td>37</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.6.5 Slow Rate of UNPKO Deployments</td>
<td>37</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.6.6 Poor Enforcement of Arms Embargoes</td>
<td>38</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.6.7 Insufficient Manpower and Logistical Support</td>
<td>39</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.6.8 Non-cooperation by the Belligerent Parties Involved</td>
<td>40</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.7 Conclusion</td>
<td>40</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**CHAPTER THREE: THE UN PEACEKEEPING MISSION TO LIBERIA AND THE PARTICIPATION OF UNIFORMED WOMEN PEACEKEEPERS**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Section</th>
<th>Page</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>3.0 Introduction</td>
<td>41</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.1 Establishment of UNMIL</td>
<td>41</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.2 Deployment of uniformed women peacekeepers under UNMIL</td>
<td>42</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.3 The Contribution of Uniformed Women Peacekeepers in Liberia</td>
<td>43</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.3.1 Women Assisted in Building Trust in the Peacekeeping Mission</td>
<td>44</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.3.2 Uniformed Women Peacekeepers and Relationship Building Initiatives</td>
<td>45</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.3.3 Uniformed Women Peacekeepers as Symbols of Hope for the Liberian Women</td>
<td>46</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.3.4 Encouraging Local Women to Join the Liberian National Police</td>
<td>47</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.3.5 Uniformed Women Peacekeepers and Female Education</td>
<td>48</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
3.4 Competence of the Uniformed Women Peacekeepers in Liberia ................................................................. 49
3.5 Multidimensional Peace Missions and the Participation of Uniformed Women ........................................... 50
3.6 Challenges to Gender Balancing in the Liberian Peacekeeping Mission ..................................................... 51
  3.6.1 Persistence of Gender Stereotypes ........................................................................................................ 51
  3.6.2 Problems in the Selection of Peacekeepers ......................................................................................... 52
  3.6.3 Insufficient Support for Uniformed Women Peacekeepers ................................................................. 53
  3.6.4 Persistent Absence of Senior Female Officers in Leadership Positions .............................................. 54
3.7 Conclusion .................................................................................................................................................. 55

CHAPTER FOUR: THE UN PEACEKEEPING MISSION IN IVORY COAST AND THE PARTICIPATION OF UNIFORMED WOMEN PEACEKEEPERS .................................................... 56
4.0 Introduction ................................................................................................................................................. 56
4.1 The establishment of UNOCI .................................................................................................................... 56
4.2 Deployment of Uniformed Women in the Ivorian Peacekeeping Mission .................................................. 57
4.3 Contribution of uniformed Women in the Ivory Coast Peacekeeping Mission ........................................... 58
  4.3.1 Reorganization of Youth Associations .................................................................................................. 58
  4.3.2 Civil- military relations ....................................................................................................................... 59
  4.3.3 Healing through Reflections ................................................................................................................. 60
4.4 Competency of Uniformed Women Peacekeepers in Ivory Coast ........................................................... 60
4.5 Support for Uniformed Women in Multidimensional Peacekeeping Operations ......................................... 61
4.6 Challenges Uniformed Women faced under UNOCI .................................................................................. 62
  4.6.1 Gendered Allocation of Tasks ............................................................................................................... 62
  4.6.2 Limited Representation of Uniformed Women in Senior Leadership Positions .................................... 63
  4.6.3 Uniformed Women still Experience SEA within the Bases .................................................................. 64
4.7 Conclusion .................................................................................................................................................. 65

CHAPTER FIVE: CONCLUSION AND RECOMMENDATIONS ............................................................................. 66
5.0 Introduction ................................................................................................................................................. 66
5.1 Conclusions ................................................................................................................................................ 66
  5.1.1 Under-representation of Uniformed Women in Peacekeeping Missions .............................................. 66
  5.1.2 Persistence of Conservative Gender Stereotypes .................................................................................. 67
  5.1.3 Skewed Recruitment Policies ............................................................................................................ 68
  5.1.4 Negative Attitudes of Male Officers towards Uniformed Women Officers ......................................... 69
5.1.5 Uniformed Women Face Sexual Exploitation and Abuse at Home and on Missions . 69
5.1.6 Contribution of Uniformed Women Peacekeepers ............................................... 70
5.1.7 Competence of Uniformed Women Peacekeepers ............................................... 70
5.1.8 UN Support of Uniformed Women Peacekeepers ............................................... 71
5.2 Recommendations ...................................................................................................... 72
   5.2.1 Institutional-wide Changes to Accommodate Uniformed Women Peacekeepers ...... 72
   5.2.2 Need for Stringent Laws to Protect Uniformed Women from SEA ....................... 72
   5.2.3 Promotion of Uniformed Women to Senior Leadership and Decision Making Positions ................................................................. 73
   5.2.4 Strengthening of Gender Units in the UN System ......................................................... 73
   5.2.5 Content of Peacekeeping Training Programmes ...................................................... 73
   5.2.6 Gender Mainstreaming in the Peacekeeping Force .................................................. 74
   5.2.7 Constant Review of PKOs ...................................................................................... 74
5.3 Areas for Further Study ............................................................................................... 74
REFERENCES ...................................................................................................................... 75
APPENDICES ..................................................................................................................... 80
ABBREVIATIONS AND ACRONYMS

AU               African Union  
ECOWAS           Economic Community of West Africa  
CAR              Central African Republic  
DSRSG            Deputy Special Representative to the Secretary General  
CEDAW            Convention on the Elimination of all forms of Discrimination Against Women  
GBV              Gender based violence  
LNP              Liberia National Police  
NATO             North Atlantic Treaty Organisation  
OGA              Office of the Gender Adviser  
PKOs             Peacekeeping operations  
PSOs             Peace Support Operations  
SADC             Southern Africa Development Community  
SEA              Sexual exploitation and abuse  
SRSG             Special Representative to the Secretary General  
TCCs             Troop-contributing countries  
UK               United Kingdom  
UN               United Nations  
UNAVEM II        United Nations Angola Verification Mission  
UNGA             United Nations General Assembly  
UNMIBH           United Nations Mission in Bosnia-Herzegovina  
UNMIL            United Nations Mission in Liberia  
UNOCI            United Nations Operation in Côte d'Ivoire  
UNSC             United Nations Security Council  
UNSCR            United Nations Security Council Resolution  
UNTSO            United Nations Truce Supervision Organization  
USA              United States of America
LIST OF TABLES
Table 1. UN Peacekeeping Operations 1960-2007 ................................................................. 22
Table 2 Currently Active UN Peacekeeping Operations in Africa ........................................ 23
Table 3 Representation of Women in SADC Defence Forces .............................................. 28
Table 4 Women's Representation in SADC Police Services ................................................ 29
Table 5 Representation of Women in Leadership Positions in the ZNA .............................. 32
Table 6 Representation of Women in Leadership in the ZRP ............................................. 33
LIST OF FIGURES
Figure 1 Average Percentages of Females by Category of Peacekeeping Forces January 2011 to 2011 ........................................................................................................................................30
Figure 2 Liberian Women Calling for Peace .................................................................................................................. 46
ABSTRACT

This study assesses the participation of uniformed women peacekeepers in UN multidimensional peacekeeping operations in Africa using the Liberian and Ivory Coast (also known as Cote D’Ivoire) peacekeeping missions. The study examines the constraints militating against the full participation of uniformed women peacekeeping in UN peacekeeping operations. This study evaluates the contribution of uniformed women peacekeepers in peacekeeping operations and whether they are competent like their male counterparts and interrogates whether the UN gives uniformed women peacekeepers support in multidimensional peacekeeping missions. The study was based on the hypothesis that although the multidimensional nature of contemporary UN peacekeeping promotes equal participation of both male and female peacekeepers, uniformed women peacekeepers remain underrepresented in peacekeeping operations. The study was qualitative and relied on documentary study, interviews with key informants and the data was analysed following the thematic approach. The study concludes that gender stereotypes, lack of uniformed women peacekeepers in senior leadership within the UN and the troop contributing countries were some of the key factors negatively affecting the participation of uniformed women in multidimensional peacekeeping operations. It was also revealed by this study that uniformed women were equally competent as their male colleagues in peacekeeping operations. The study noted that the UN has to do more to support uniformed women in multidimensional peacekeeping missions. The participation of uniformed women can be enhanced if gender mainstreaming is done in full accordance with UN Resolution 1325.
CHAPTER ONE: INTRODUCTION

1.0 Background to the Problem

Uniformed women peacekeepers are increasingly playing a pivotal role in United Nations (UN) peacekeeping operations in Africa. This is because the UN recognizes that a gendered approach to contemporary peacekeeping, particularly in Africa, is essential as it makes women active participants in the prevention and resolution of conflicts as well as peace-building in conflict zones (Bertolazzi, 2010:3). Though the UN acknowledges the important role that uniformed women peacekeepers play in the prevention and resolution of conflicts in Africa, their participation in peacekeeping operations remains subdued. The peacekeeping culture is predominantly masculine as there is persistence of gender discrimination based on prejudice and stereotypes that women do not have required psychological and physical abilities to perform successfully in the peacekeeping operations (Odanovic, 2010:70). This study assesses the participation of uniformed women peacekeepers in UN peacekeeping operations in Africa with a particular focus on the Liberian and Ivory Coast (also known as Cote D’Ivoire) peacekeeping missions.

In defining UN peacekeeping operations, this study from the outset acknowledges that there is no single accepted definition of the term peacekeeping. Peacekeeping operations (PKOs) are defined as operations in which peacekeepers help parties to a conflict to resolve their differences peacefully (UN, 2000:2). Maritell (2008:8) defines UN peacekeeping operations as operations in which armed personnel owing allegiance to the UN are engaged in military or para-military duties designated by the UN as necessary for the restoration and maintenance of peace. This study is guided by the foregoing definition given by Maritell. The presence of the military and the police in peacekeeping operations encourage hostile groups not to use violence but allow processes such as mediation and negotiations to take place in order to peacefully settle disputes. Thus a peacekeeping force can be regarded as an inter-positional force placed between two or more warring factions with opportunity to resolve the conflict either through diplomacy, mediation, negotiation and sometimes arbitration (Agada, 2008:15). Hence peacekeeping
operations are a practical mechanism used by the UN to contain international conflicts and to facilitate their settlement by peaceful means (Liu, 1999:3). Peacekeepers are often referred to as blue helmets owing to the blue coloured helmets they wear whilst on duty (UN, 1996:1). It must be noted that over the years, UN peacekeeping operations have evolved into multidimensional operations to include the political, military, police, criminal justice, civil affairs, human rights, gender, child protection, disarmament, demobilization and reintegration, public information and support components, as well as an electoral component in some countries (Annan, 2003). According to Kember (2010:6), the mandate of contemporary UN peacekeeping operations has widely broadened into a multidimensional endeavor which inter alia, requires providing operational support to national security sector institutions; protecting critical infrastructure such as roads and bridges; protecting civilians; and providing support to reconciliation and reconstruction efforts. The UN Missions in Liberia and Ivory Coast are essentially multidimensional operations which have drawn the participation of both male and uniformed women peacekeepers.

Traditionally, PKOs have been considered to be the preserve of male members of the uniformed forces, despite the fact that women, children and the old are the most vulnerable during conflicts (Awojobi, 2013:1). This has prompted Leijenaar (2002:4) to conclude that, peace is a human aspiration, yet peacemaking and peace-building have largely been the affairs of men and carried out through a male perspective. The foregoing observation by Leijenaar (2002:4) point to the fact that peacekeeping is primarily the domain of men where patriarchy considerations reign supreme. The participation of uniformed women peacekeepers in Africa has to be contextualised against a background of patriarchy prevailing in most African countries where conflicts and peacekeeping operations are taking place. Under a patriarchy arrangement the position and status of women deemed inferior to that of men (Awojobi, 2013:2). In other words, in a patriarchy society women are not accepted on equal terms as their male counterparts. With respect to peacekeeping operations, patriarchy considerations believe that uniformed women can only take part in peacekeeping operations in supportive roles. Men are the ones solely entitled to occupy the peace enforcement roles as soldiers, senior decision making positions and command of the peacekeeping missions at the expense of women.
However, in recent times this trend seems to be waning as there is a marked increase in female uniformed officers participating in PKOs. Contemporary PKOs have seen uniformed women officers being deployed to conflict zones in various capacities, as either police or military personnel (Jennings, 2011:4). The increasing participation of women uniformed officers in PKOs has its roots in international and regional conventions on women’s rights to participate in economic, social, politics, conflict resolution and peace-building. At the international level, the Convention on the Elimination of all forms of Discrimination Against Women (CEDAW) of 1979 serves as the founding convention on the protection and advancement of economic, political, social and cultural rights of women. The UN has also passed a number of resolutions that facilitate the participation of uniformed women in PKOs. On the 31st of October 2000 the UN Security Council (UNSC) historically adopted Resolution 1325 which emphasized the participation of women in all the processes of peace building and peacekeeping (Odanovic, 2010:72). According to Chhabra (2005:1), Resolution 1325 of 2000 unequivocally stipulates that:

‘peace cannot be sustained unless women have an equal and active role in formulating political, economic and social policy and that without women's full participation in peace processes, there can be no justice or sustainable development in the reconstruction of societies’.

The passing of Resolution 1325 of 2000 has thus witnessed a considerable increase in uniformed women forces participating in PKOs (Cordell, 2011:31). According to the UN Peacekeeping Department statistics, in 1993, women made up 1% of deployed uniformed personnel, however, that number has since increased because in 2012, out of approximately 125,000 peacekeepers, women constituted 3% of military personnel and 10% of police personnel in UN Peacekeeping missions which translates to 13% of female uniformed members deployed (www.un.org/Dept/DPKO). Female peacekeepers have proved that they can perform in the same roles, to the same standards and under the same conditions as their male counterparts (Guehenn, 2007:2). In view of the foregoing, it can be observed that despite uniformed women peacekeepers performing at par with their male counterparts in peacekeeping and despite increased calls for gender balance in all fields uniformed women remain marginalized in PKOs as opposed to their male counter parts (Cordell, 2011:32). The marginalization of uniformed
women in peacekeeping remains a challenge despite the UN’s efforts to strive towards gender parity as its priority. This study therefore makes an assessment of uniformed women participation in UN peacekeeping missions with a view to explore ways and how best it can be enhanced.

1.1 Statement of the Problem

Despite the provisions of UN Security Council Resolution (UNSCR) 1325 of 2000 which calls for the increase in women participation in peacekeeping, the integration of uniformed women peacekeepers in national contributions to UN peace operations has remained low (Gender Advisory Team Annual Progress Report, 2010:5). Statistics show that in 2013, women accounted for just less than 13% of UN peacekeepers globally broken down into about 2% of the UN military personnel and about 9.8% police staff (Dharmapuri 2009:2). This is indicative of the fact that the UN has not been able to comply with the UNSC resolution 1325 of 2000. The participation of female peacekeepers remains low despite the ever increasing realization of the need for gender balance and equal opportunities as well as the recognizable performance of women in peacekeeping. As such the UN recognises the low participation of uniformed women as a challenge which must be addressed by the world body and its member states. Traditional views that dissuade women from participating in anything related to violence such as war still hold sway in most societies. Women are still considered and treated as weak and inferior to men. The general presumption that women are not supposed to deploy far away from their homes and treating them as protected species are some of the beliefs inhibiting their recruitment into their respective national uniformed forces and their eventual deployment as peacekeepers. Similarly, the marginal figures of female soldiers based on stereotyping and bias towards male soldiers arguably contributes to many countries failing to deploy sufficient and competent female peacekeepers. It is against this background that this study seeks to assess the participation of uniformed women peacekeepers in peacekeeping missions on the African continent using the Liberian and Ivorian peacekeeping missions as the units of analysis.
1.2 Justification of the Study

The practical applicability of increasing the number of female peacekeepers in UN peacekeeping operations, and improving their performance and access to senior decision-making posts remains obscure. Furthermore, the attainability of gender equality basis as demanded by the UN Resolution 1325 of 2000 remains blurred with respect to how uniformed female peacekeepers should participate in peacekeeping operations. This study recognizes that uniformed women have participated in PKOs in Africa but not much has been researched with respect to the numbers, roles they have played and the positions they have been given. The study therefore seeks to explore the applicability of enhancing the participation of more female peacekeepers as a means to increase the operational effectiveness of UN peacekeeping operations in Africa. This study seeks to suggest a policy framework that should facilitate an increase in the number of uniformed women peacekeepers as well as facilitating their promotion to senior leadership and decision making positions in UN peacekeeping operations. Further the study makes a scholarly contribution to existing knowledge and literature as well as academia with respect to the participation of uniformed female peacekeepers in peacekeeping operations on the African continent in particular and the world as a whole.

1.3 Objectives of the Study

The objectives of this study are:

- To examine the constrains militating against the participation of uniformed women in PKOs
- To evaluate the contribution of uniformed women peacekeepers to operational effectiveness in the Liberian and Ivory Coast PKOs.
- To assess how multi-dimensional PKOs have accommodated uniformed women peacekeepers
- To make a comparative analysis between the contribution of uniformed women officers with their male counterparts in PKOs in Liberia and Ivory Coast.
• To proffer policy measures to facilitate the full participation of uniformed women in UNPKOs.

1.4 Hypothesis

Though the multidimensional nature of contemporary UN peacekeeping promotes equal participation of both male and female peacekeepers, uniformed women peacekeepers remain under-represented in PKOs.

1.5 Research Questions

The study is guided by the following research questions:

1. What factors militate against the deployment of uniformed women peacekeepers?
2. How effective was the contribution of uniformed women to the operational effectiveness of the PKOs in Liberia and Ivory Coast?
3. Are female peacekeepers competent to carryout different peacekeeping roles just like their male counter-parts?
4. What policy measures can be adopted to promote the full participation of uniformed women in PKOs?

1.6 Literature Review and Theoretical Framework

1.6.1 The UN and Peacekeeping an Overview

Since its formation in the aftermath of the World War Two in 1945, the UN has for over sixty years, played a critically important role in spearheading international conflict prevention, peacekeeping and post war reconstruction (UN, 2012:1). PKOs are one way that the UN has utilized to intervene in order to save succeeding generations from the scourge of war. The PKOs are usually set up by the Security Council, a UN organ primarily responsible for maintaining international peace and security (Ndulo, 2011:7). One distinctive feature of PKOs is that they are voluntary and based on consent as well as cooperation of member states involved (UN,
Peacekeeping operations fall into two distinct categories, observer missions and peacekeeping forces. Observer missions usually comprise unarmed military and civilian personnel who monitor the implementation of cease-fire agreements (UN, 2001:6). Peacekeeping forces are composed of lightly armed forces that may at times include fully equipped infantry troops (UN, 2001:7). With the passage of time, PKOs have evolved to meet the demands of different conflicts and a changing international political environment.

The United Nations Security Council (UNSC) has the mandate and prerogative to decide the size, overall objectives and time frame of the mission (UN, 2000:2). Since the UN does not have a standing army of its own, member states voluntarily express their desire to participate. The UN member states that participate and voluntarily contribute troops to peacekeeping missions are generally referred to as troop contributing countries (TCCs) (UN, 2000:3). Participating member states decide the personnel and military equipment they are willing to contribute (Ndulo, 2010:8). The fact that participating member states decide on the personnel to participate in peacekeeping operations has ramifications on the participation of uniformed women peacekeepers. Jennings (2011:2) notes that persistent gender bias and stereotypes deeply entrenched in the militaries of most troop countries tend to marginalize uniformed women leading to a few uniformed women peacekeepers being deployed under UN PKOs. If uniformed women are deployed as peacekeepers, it is often in supportive roles such as cooks, administrators and nurses deemed as safe by the male commanders.

The nature of contemporary peacekeeping has however radically evolved to involve a host of measures aimed at attaining and maintaining sustainable peace. Such measures are referred to as Peace Support Operations (PSOs) which are multidimensional in nature (www.un.org/Peace). PSOs according to Boutros-Ghali (1993a:210), encompass peacemaking, peace-building, peace-enforcement and peacekeeping. Olonisakin (2008:6) views PSOs as employing diplomatic, civil and military activities to re-establish peace in conflict-affected areas and the concept involves peacekeeping, peace-creation, peace- enforcement, peace-building and delivery of humanitarian assistance. According to UN parlance, PSOs are referred to as multidimensional peacekeeping missions which are normally conducted without the consent of all parties to the conflict and involve conflict management, resolution and post-conflict peace-building strategies to ensure sustainable and durable peace (UNb, 2012:2). This has elevated peacekeeping operations beyond
their originally envisaged purpose making them multidimensional or multifaceted in nature and scope. Thus PSOs in contemporary times include a variety of activities such as cease-fire monitoring, peace enforcement, protection of humanitarian aid, disarming belligerents, monitoring elections and other post-conflict measures to prevent a relapse of the situation (UNb, 2012:3). In light of the foregoing, it may be argued that contemporary peacekeeping offers both opportunities and constraints for uniformed female peacekeepers to participate in various capacities.

1.6.2 Gender and Peacekeeping in Africa

The issue of gender has become an important factor in contemporary conflict resolution, peacekeeping and post war re-construction in Africa (Awojobi, 2013:4). This arises from the fact that the importation of the gender perspective into contemporary peacekeeping recognizes that they are gender differences that must be considered in the processes of conflict resolution and peacekeeping as well as post war re-construction (Jennings, 2011:4). This then requires a brief discuss on the concept, gender. Maruzana (2013:1) defines gender as;

social differences among females and males throughout the life cycle that are learned and, though deeply rooted in every culture, are changeable over time and have wide variations both within and between cultures.

Thus gender refers to socially constructed roles ascribed to men and women. The definition of gender given by Mazurana (ibid: p2) highlight the fact that gender is a system of power that rests upon a central set of distinctions between different categories of people; values some over others; and organises access to resources, rights, responsibilities, authority and life options along the lines demarcating those groups of people. Peacekeeping in Africa has to take into account the socially constructed differences that exist between men and women. In Africa, although armed conflicts affect both men and women alike, how they experience these phenomena during and after conflict is influenced by different aspects of gender relations and their gender roles (Cohn, 2012:22). This means that peacekeeping in Africa has to be sensitive to gender differences. The needs of African women have to be considered and should take centre stage in peacekeeping operations as they are in the majority of cases at the receiving end of conflicts. Thus uniformed women peacekeepers have to be integrated in peacekeeping operations so that the whole process
of peace and security restoration in African countries torn by years of conflict is credible, and meets the aspirations and expectations of both, women and men.

1.6.3 Women, Peace and Security

Contemporary peacekeeping recognizes the multifaceted role women play in conflict resolution, peace and security as well as post war reconstruction in their communities. This is particularly so in Africa, as women constitute more than half of the population on the continent and at the same time are the majority of the victims of war (Awojobi, 2013:2). Kember (2010:7) assert that,

it is important to disaggregate women’s and men’s experiences and impacts as victims, combatants and peacemakers, and the need for women’s participation in official peace mechanisms such as negotiations and peacekeeping operations to be recognized and encouraged.

Thus the call for increased women uniformed peacekeepers’ participation in peacekeeping is based on the notion that the experiences of women and men are different. Increasing the participation of uniformed women peacekeepers gives peacekeeping operations a gender sensitive outlook they badly need (Jennings, 2011:3). The participation of uniformed women peacekeepers has been enhanced by the adoption of UN Security Council Resolution (UNSCR) 1325 of 2000 which endeavours to promote gender equality in peacekeeping (UN, 2012:4). Resolution 1325 recognises the following:

the important role of women in the prevention and resolution of conflicts and in peace-building, and stressing the importance of their equal participation and full involvement in all efforts for the maintenance and promotion of peace and security, and the need to increase their role in decision-making with regard to conflict prevention and resolution. The urgent need to mainstream a gender perspective into peacekeeping operations, and in this regard noting the Windhoek Declaration and the Namibia Plan of Action on Mainstreaming a Gender Perspective in Multidimensional Peace Support Operations (S/2000/693)

It is, however, observed that notwithstanding Resolution 1325 of 2000 which seeks to expand the role and contribution of women in peacekeeping operations, the numerical and substantial
representation of women remains appalling, more so at senior levels (Pampell and Shoemaker, 2008:3). In the last decade the UN has directed its efforts towards making uniformed women’s participation a relevant factor in PKOs. However, despite the principle having been endorsed by UN member states that women should systematically be involved in PKOs, approaches to achieve this goal so far have been ad hoc and isolated (Dharmapuri, 2013:3). Hence there is a great deal that needs to be done if this goal is to be realised through the efforts and positive responses of all UN troop-contributing countries (TCCs), (Simic, 2013:5). The passage of Resolution 1325 of 2000 has, thus, signified the UN’s clear intent to promote the participation of women in peacekeeping missions. The relative consideration of women not only in terms of numbers or quantitatively but qualitatively as depicted by appointments held as SRSG and DSRSG is an indicative of the shift from male dominated PKOs, not only in terms of numbers but higher decision-making posts which previously have been the preserve of men (Nooman, 2012:3). However, despite this relatively improved position, more needs to be done to increase the participation of uniformed women peacekeepers in both the military and police.

1.6.4 The case for uniformed women participation in peacekeeping operations in Africa

Increasing the participation of uniformed women in peacekeeping operations in Africa is now part of the broader process of gender mainstreaming in the UN peacekeeping operations. A number of advantages have been noted associated with the increased participation of uniformed women in peacekeeping operations. Some of the often cited merits are as follows:

It has been argued that the presence of women peacekeeping helps to reduce conflict and confrontation. Jennings (2011:3) notes that the main advantage of involving uniformed women peacekeepers in peacekeeping operations is that they portray an image of natural peacefulness which may be difficult to invoke in male only dominated PKOs. Bridges and Hosrfall (2009:5) support Jennings’ assertion by noting that studies done in Kosovo, Namibia and Cambodia where uniformed women peacekeepers had taken part show that they were able to portray a peaceful image of the peacekeepers which helped to reduce incidences of conflict and confrontation. Thus the participation of uniformed women peacekeepers gives the local population, especially women and children, a feeling of increased security. In Africa the participation of uniformed women peacekeepers can yield positive results as it can help curtail conflict and confrontation in
war torn zones due to the peaceful image that women peacekeepers render to the peacekeeping mission.

Apart from the peaceful image that uniformed women peacekeepers render to peacekeeping missions they often guard against indecorous behaviour and sexual abuses that can be perpetrated by their male counterparts on the members of the host nation. In recent years, UN male peacekeepers have been accused of abusing women and girls in host nations they are supposed to protect (Christian Science Monitor, 2004:1). Peacekeepers have been fingered in cases involving human rights abuses, sexual abuses and exploitation as well as human trafficking in places such as the DRC in 2005 and Kosovo, in 1999 (Human Rights Advocates, 2009:2). This has tended to cast peacekeepers in bad light. The participation of uniformed women peacekeepers has helped reduce incidents of bad behaviour among the peacekeepers. De Groot (2008:3) notes that the participation of uniformed women peacekeepers in the peacekeeping operations contributes to higher levels of discipline among the male members of the mission and can lead to a corresponding decrease in the number of cases of sexual exploitation and abuse of local women involving male peacekeepers on peacekeeping missions. Thus uniformed women peacekeepers can help to instil discipline among the male peacekeepers during peacekeeping operations.

The involvement of uniformed women peacekeepers has improved access and support for local women and provides role models for women in the host communities to take up positions such as the police which are traditionally considered to be the domain of men (Valenius, 2007:3). Uniformed women peacekeepers help contribute to more equitable gender relations within the local society by serving as role models or mentors for local women and girls (Jennings, 2011:8). In Africa, uniformed women peacekeepers are essential as they can help inspire local women to take responsibility of peace building and post conflict reconstruction initiatives in their communities (Bertolazzi, 2010:12). Women in African host countries can be inspired to join important national security institutions such as the police and the army. The involvement of uniformed women peacekeepers has inspired women in African countries such as Rwanda and Sierra Leone to formally join the police and the army in the post war era.
Simic (2013:2) argues that increased involvement of uniformed women peacekeepers help to reduce incidences of sexual violence and assist local women to openly discuss and report issues pertaining to gender based violence and rape. Uniformed women peacekeepers ensure a more compassionate or empathetic response to victimised women and children, especially those that have been sexually assaulted (Jennings, 2011:9). It is often claimed that it is easier for a raped woman to talk freely to another woman than to a man about her assault (Ibid: p10). The inclusion of uniformed women peacekeepers in substantive numbers is therefore critical (Odanovic, 2010:88). This is more compelling in Africa where women have suffered gross sexual violence. Reports emanating from conflicts in the DRC, CAR and Sudan indicate that women are increasingly becoming victims of sexual violence which is being used as a weapon of war (Amnesty International, 2013:1). Thus the involvement of uniformed women peacekeepers can help fellow women to cope with the traumas caused by sexual violence, gender based violence and human rights abuses that have become synonymous with African conflicts.

The participation of uniformed women peacekeepers has also practical advantages. Jennings (2011:4) sums these advantages by stating that:

- women peacekeepers are able to search local women at checkpoints; can establish better relations with local women’s groups; and can improve intelligence gathering about the local community, via better access to local women and a broader understanding of what constitutes a security threat.

Thus in Africa uniformed women peacekeepers can be play a role that their male counterparts cannot play. Uniformed women peacekeepers are more accepted by fellow women who feel free to relate their war time experiences to a woman who understands how it feels to be raped and sexually abused. Basing on the foregoing advantages, uniformed women peacekeepers have the potential to improve the operational effectiveness of peacekeeping operations. This is not to say that the participation of uniformed women has no disadvantages. Africa is known for its deep rooted patriarchy practices which make the acceptance of uniformed women peacekeepers difficult (Hudson, 2012:2). Once peacekeepers are contemptuously looked down upon by the populace on the basis of gender, their effectiveness and that of the peacekeeping mission may be jeopardized.
1.6.5 Leadership Positions held by Women in UN Peacekeeping Operations

Women have held top decision-making posts in UN peacekeeping operations. These include Ellen Margrethe Løj, appointed as the Special Representative to the Secretary General (SRSG) in October 2007 and Henrietta Joy Abena Nyarko Mensa-Bonsu appointed in August 2007 as Deputy Special Representative to the Secretary General (DSRSG), both in the United Nations Mission in Liberia (UNMIL) (UN, 2012). Margaret Joan Anstee was appointed in Angola United Nations Angola Verification Mission (UNAVEM II) from 1992-93. Elizabeth Rehn was appointed to lead in Bosnia and Herzegovina during the United Nations Mission in Bosnia-Herzegovina (UNMIBH) from 1995 to 2001 and Carolyn McAskie in Burundi (ONUB) from 2004 to 2006. Gro Harlem Brundtland in Cyprus (UNFICYP) 1998-99, Heidi Tagliavini in Georgia United Nations Observer Mission in Georgia (UNOMIG), 2002-2006 and Angela King in South Africa during the United Nations Observer Mission in South Africa (UNOMSA) between 1992 and 1994 (UNDP, 2008). Although women have held such powerful leadership and decision-making posts in UN peacekeeping missions, their number on a cumulative basis is relatively low as compared to that of men. Men have largely dominated the leadership and top decision making positions in the UN. The top military positions are still the preserve of men and this has prompted Bridges and Horsfall (2009:9) to conclude that the participation of uniformed women peacekeepers in PKOs is more of tokenism than substantive.

Against the foregoing background, the Department of Peacekeeping Operations (DPKO) continues to respond to the calls to increase the numbers and appointments of uniformed women in peacekeeping by advocating for more of their deployment and appointments (www.un.org/Dept/DPKO). However, it is observed that the final responsibility for deploying more uniformed female peacekeepers rests with the individual TCCs who have to recruit and train more women into their national security institutions such as the military and police force (Hudson, 2010:5). This in turn facilitates the deployment of more uniformed female peacekeepers into various uniformed posts within UN PKOs missions. National practices based mainly on conservative cultural and religious values and beliefs with regards to the recruitment of women into uniformed services to facilitate their deployment in PKOs remain major obstacles (Odanovic, 2010:89). For example, most Islamic countries such as Saudi Arabia do not recruit women into their uniformed forces and some do not allow their women to be formally employed.
This implies that if such a country is to contribute troops to a UN PKO, it would not be able to provide uniformed peacekeepers. In view of the foregoing, despite the stipulations of UNSCR 1325 of 2000, conservative cultural practices must first of all be cleared if gender mainstreaming is to be attained in PKOs. It is the purpose of this study to identify such impediments to uniformed women’s participation in PKOs both numerically and in influential leadership and decision making posts.

1.7 Theoretical/ Conceptual Framework

The call for the participation of uniformed women peacekeeping is grounded in the feminist theory. According to Chinyani (2010:242) the ideology of feminism basically unpacks and challenges the hegemony of patriarchy, which poses as the major impediment to the advancement of women. It is worthy to highlight that feminist theories have many variants; among them are Marxist, radical, and liberal. Each one of them provides its own toolbox of ideas in explaining the most critical issues in gender discourses (ibid: 242). Varied as they are, their point of convergence is the quest to examine and explain all structures of domination in the aspects of gender, race, class, age, sexuality, or nationality. However, the scope of this study does not warrant an in-depth study of the specifics of each of the leanings of feminist theories. This study is guided by liberal feminism. Liberal feminism developed of capitalism and is based on individual rights (Chinyani, 2010:245). Thus liberal feminism advocates for equal opportunity and participation in the economic, political, social and cultural aspects of life for both men and women. However, the feminist theory is against treating women exclusively as located inside the typically separate sphere of domestic life (Peterson, 2004:37). Gender equality can be attained in UN peacekeeping operations in a way that balances the demands of the peacekeeping missions and the need to incorporate uniformed in such missions.

Increased gender-senility which goes with this theory seeks to facilitate equality of roles for both men and women in all spheres of life including peacekeeping operations. This means that gender analysis has to be carried to understand the societal constructions of the roles of men and women as they are shaped by the primary and secondary socialization processes were gender stereotypes are strongly reinforced to men and women (Mutopo, 2013:5). Gender analysis involves examining the control and activity profiles that regulate the different roles that men and women
undertake in society, (Moser and Moser, 2005:4). A gender analysis is usually done to establish whether gender relations limit uniformed women’s participation in peacekeeping operations.

The ultimate goal of gender analysis is gender mainstreaming in the security forces and peacekeeping operations. Gender mainstreaming refers to the:

Process of assessing the implications for women and men of any planned action including legislation, policies or programmes in all areas and at all levels. It is a strategy for making the concerns and experiences of women and men an integral dimension of design, implementation, monitoring and evaluation of policies and programmes in all political, economic and societal spheres so that women and men benefit equally and inequality is not perpetuated. The ultimate goal is to achieve gender equality (Report of the Economic and Social Council, 1997:3)

This study is underpinned by concepts such as gender balance which according to DPKO, refers to the degree to which men and women hold the full range of positions in a society or organisation (UN DPKO, 2000: 69), gender equality which to Kember (2013:2) implies that women and men have equal rights, responsibilities and opportunities. To achieve gender equality in PKOs, the DPKO has stipulated a target of 20% female police personnel by 2014 and has undertaken to continue working to increase the presence of women in military contingents though no set target has been set for military female peacekeepers (UN, 2010:12). There is need to set even a higher target for female military participants as a way of increasing the participation of uniformed women in UN peacekeeping missions. Increased participation of uniformed women in PKOs should not only be numerically it must also be qualitatively assessed. As stipulated in Millennium Development Goal number 3, Gender equality is one of the goals being pursued by the UN (UN, 2012). The UN should therefore work towards increasing the number of uniformed women peacekeepers in senior leadership and decision making positions. UNSCR 1325 of 2000 calls for gender mainstreaming in order to increase the participation of uniformed women in UN peacekeeping operations. Similarly, the UNSCR 1889 (2009) further reaffirms the provision of UN resolution 1325 and calls for accelerated participation of uniformed women in peacekeeping operations by facilitating their promotion to senior leadership and decision making positions.
1.8 Delimitations

The study assesses the participation of uniformed women peacekeepers in Liberia and the Ivory Coast missions. These two case studies have been chosen on the basis that the peacekeeping missions are still ongoing and they represent concrete attempts by the UN to increase the participation of uniformed women in peacekeeping operations on the African continent. The Liberian and Ivorian peacekeeping missions also present gender mainstreaming challenges being faced by the UN as it attempts to increase the participation of uniformed women peacekeepers in its missions in Africa.

1.9 Limitations

The researcher was not able to travel to Liberia and Ivory Coast due to limited funds but instead, the study concentrated on primary sources which included in-depth interviews with key informant who included the embassy staff drawn from Liberia, Ivory Coast, UNDPKO officials and Zimbabwean female peacekeepers from the Zimbabwe Defence forces (ZDF) and Zimbabwe Republic Police (ZRP) who have participated in UN peacekeeping operations on the African continent in countries such as Liberia and Ivory Coast. There was also an extensive documentary review of books and journal articles on peacekeeping operations as a bridge to covering the information gap.

1.10 Methodology

The research methodology of this study was predominantly qualitative and this enabled an in-depth understanding of the interpretative meanings given by respondents to issues affecting the participation of women in PKOs. Denzin and Lincoln (2005:34) note that, the qualitative research methodology aims to gather an in-depth understanding of human behaviour and the reasons that govern such behaviour. This method enabled the researcher to collect in-depth information from knowledgeable people on the UN PKOs in order to develop an understanding of the challenges, strengths, weaknesses and opportunities uniformed women face in PKOs. In this regard the researcher employed, in-depth interviews with key informants and documentary
search to gather information. Purposive sampling was used to select key informant respondents who were handpicked based on their expert knowledge and experience on issues related to the participation of uniformed women in UN PKOs. The purposive sampling technique was deployed as it saved time, costs and was easy to apply as respondents with the required information were deliberately targeted and selected (Denzin and Lincoln, 2005:40). The target population for the study constituted UNDPKO staff, embassy staff from the two countries under study, Liberia and Ivory Coast, uniformed women and men drawn from the Zimbabwean national security institutions who have participated in UN peacekeeping missions, academics specializing in peacekeeping and gender, and the SADC Regional Peace Keeping Centre staff.

The study made extensive use of documentary search of documents that contain information on UN peacekeeping involving uniformed women in general and the Liberian and Ivorian missions in particular. Documentary search is suitable for qualitative data collection as it enables the study to consult and analyse a variety of sources and is cost-effective (Kothari, 1999:45). The study reviewed UN peacekeeping reports as well as publications by various writers on peacekeeping operations and the involvement of uniformed women. In depth interviews were also conducted in this study with key informants. Key informants were identified and selected using the purposive sampling technique. The study employed unstructured, face-to-face, in-depth interviews for the respondents included in the researcher’s selection. Unstructured questionnaires were used in this study as they allowed the researcher to probe for further detail on the peacekeeping operations that involved uniformed (Kothari, 1999:47). One major advantage of unstructured interviews is that there is little or no direction from the interviewer and respondents are encouraged to relate their experiences, to describe whatever events seem significant to them, to provide their own definitions of their situations, and to reveal their opinions and attitudes as they see fit (Williamson et al, 1977:143). In-depth interviews allowed the researcher to capture the perspectives, interpretative meanings, views, opinions, knowledge and experiences of respondents on gender, war, peace and security in peacekeeping operations.

The study used the thematic approach to the analysis of qualitative data. Qualitative data generated by this study was also analysed using thematic analysis. Data generated through techniques such as in-depth unstructured interviews, open-ended questionnaires and documents, were analysed using the technique of thematic analysis where emerging patterns, themes, clusters
and categories of data were grouped accordingly (Braun and Clarke, 2006:77). In this study, qualitative data thematic analysis consisted of three specific activities. First, it entailed scrutinizing the data for themes, concepts and propositions. The second activity required grouping the data and refining one’s understanding of the subject matter. The final activity involved, understanding the data in the context it were collected.
CHAPTER TWO: THE UNITED NATIONS AND THE PARTICIPATION OF UNIFORMED WOMEN IN PEACEKEEPING OPERATIONS IN AFRICA: AN OVERVIEW

2.0 Introduction

The participation of uniformed women in African peacekeeping missions has to be understood within the historical evolution of UN peacekeeping operations on the continent in particular and the world in general. Africa remains one of the regions of the world torn by violence as a result of inter and intra state conflicts (Mazurani, 2012:4). These conflicts have necessitated the intervention of the UN through its peacekeeping operations. Kvaca (2013:1) notes that from a total of 60 UN peacekeeping operations in history, 23 have taken place in Africa. The broad aim underpinning the UN peacekeeping operations in Africa, as elsewhere in the world, is to facilitate the entrenchment of conditions for lasting peace and agreement based on mutual consent of the warring parties involved (Ndulo, 2012). Though the UN has carried out and is still involved in PKOs in Africa the performance of these peacekeeping operations has yielded mixed results (Kvaca, 2013:1; Boulden, 2003:11). Some peacekeeping missions have been certified as a success and some a failure. The Rwandan genocide in the great Lakes region in 1994 and in Somalia 1992-1993 is a poignant reminder to the world of some of the monumental failures of the UN peacekeeping intervention on the African continent.

The progress of the UN peacekeeping operations as well as the participation of uniformed women, in Africa has to be contextualized within important events such as the Cold War, 1945-1985 and the War on Terror after September 11, 2001 which had a huge impact on international geo-politics (Kvaca, 2013:2; Ahere, 2009:6). The Cold War situation created two competing power blocks, led by the United States of America (USA) and the now defunct Union of the Soviet Socialist Republics (USSR). On the one hand the USA led the North Atlantic Treaty Organisation (NATO) block comprising Western countries on the other hand the USSR led the Eastern block mainly composed of socialist aligned countries (Ahere, 2009:10). The African continent increasingly became one of the main battlegrounds of the hegemonic contest between the Cold War blocks (Shaw, 2003:2). As a result of the interests that the Cold War blocks had in Africa, it became difficult for the highly polarized UN Security Council to reach consensus on
UN peacekeeping missions in response to conflicts on the continent (Kvaca, 2013:3). During the Cold War era, the UN only managed to carry out one peacekeeping mission in Africa, the United Nations Peacekeeping Operation in the Congo (ONUC) from 1960-1964 (www.un.org/Depts/DPKO). Thus during the Cold War era Africa was largely ignored in terms of UN peacekeeping operations which resulted in avoidable loss of life in conflicts such as the civil wars in Mozambique (1977-1992), Angola (1975-2002) and Ethiopia (1991) (Kvaca, 2013:4). The Cold War hangover saw the UN failing to timely intervene in Rwanda in 1994 to avert the resultant genocide. One conspicuous feature of the Cold War UN peacekeeping operations was that there was a marked absence of uniformed female peacekeepers.

After the Cold War, the attitude of the UNSC on the security situation in Africa has greatly changed. The September 11, 2001 Al Qaeda sponsored attacks in the USA and the subsequent declaration of the global War on Terror by the then US President George Bush, gave a new impetus to UN peacekeeping operations in Africa (Ahere, 2009:6). Under the War on Terror drive, there was an attempt to link continued conflict on the African continent with the activities of terrorists worldwide who thrived on chaotic situations to advance their interests (Gatsheni-Ndlovu and Ojakorotu, 2010:90). With the support and sponsorship of the USA, the UN took a marked direct interest in peacekeeping operations on the African continent (Boulden, 2003:6). As a result, more than 22 UN peacekeeping missions have taken place after the Cold War, particularly after the declaration of the War on Terror by George Bush (ibid: p7). Currently the African continent is experiencing a boom in peacekeeping operations which have incorporated the continental body, the African Union and its sub-regional bodies, Economic Community of West Africa (ECOWAS) in West Africa and Southern Africa Development Community (SADC) in Southern Africa.

2.1 The UN and African Sub Regional Organisations in Peacekeeping Missions

Over the years the attitude of the UN towards the security situation in Africa has greatly evolved in response to the changing international geo-politics. This has made the UN to evoke specific sections of its Charter that encourage the corporation, inclusion and participation of regional bodies in peacekeeping operations (Ahere, 2009:13). Chapter VIII of the UN Charter suggests the possibility of co-opting regional bodies in peacekeeping operations (UN Charter, Kvaca, 2013:4). This paved way for the UN to form a cooperative relationship with the AU and its
entities such as ECOWAS in West Africa and SADC in Southern Africa in dealing with conflicts across the continent.

It is noteworthy to highlight the fact that during the Cold War era, owing to the block rivalry, no formal activity took place under Chapter VIII of the UN Chapter (Kvaca, 2013:6). The UN carried out peacekeeping operations without the involvement of regional bodies. This was all to change after 1980. In 1990, for the first time an African regional organisation, ECOWAS fielded a peacekeeping force in Liberia (Clapman, 2010:4). Thereafter there have been more than 20 African led peacekeeping missions organized by the AU and its sub-regional bodies such as ECOWAS and SADC. According to Agada (2008:24) since 1990, ECOWAS through the Military Observer Group (ECOMOG) has also intervened with high degrees of success in Sierra Leone, Ivory Coast and Mali. In the SADC region SADC countries have deployed peacekeeping missions in the DRC, 1998 and in Angola 2000 to deal with civil wars which threatened regional peace and security (Ahere, 2009:10). The success of peacekeeping operations organized and implemented by the African regional bodies has compelled the UN to support and at times co-opt these bodies (regional bodies) in its peacekeeping operations.

2.2 Past and Current Peacekeeping Missions in Africa

2.2.1 UN Peacekeeping Operations 1960-2007

Since 1960 a number of peacekeeping operations have been carried out by the UN in Africa. The success of the UN led peacekeeping operations in Africa varies, some have been success stories and some have been monumental disasters. The Table 1 below shows past UN peacekeeping operations in Africa from 1960 -2007. It is worth to mention that all the UN peacekeeping operations in Africa cited in Table 1 below did not involve the participation of uniformed women peacekeepers. This reflected the deep seated cultural and institutional impediments that limit the participation of women in important institutions such as the army and the police at both the national and international level from which uniformed women are drawn (Conaway and Shoemaker, 2008:6). Hence peacekeeping in Africa has been highly gendered, dominated by the men in the military and police.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>DURATION OF THE OPERATION</th>
<th>NAME OF THE OPERATION</th>
<th>COUNTRY OF MISSION</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1960-1964</td>
<td>United Nations Operation in the Congo (ONUC)</td>
<td>Congo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1994</td>
<td>United Nations Aouzou Strip Observer Group (UNASOG)</td>
<td>Libya and Chad</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1999-2005</td>
<td>United Nations Mission in Sierra Leone (UNAMSIL)</td>
<td>Sierra Leone</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

2.2.2 Active UN Peacekeeping Operations in Africa

There are several ongoing UN peacekeeping operations taking place in various parts of Africa. The current UN peacekeeping operations are of particular importance in this study as they provide the main case studies, Liberia and Ivory Coast that are going to be used to assess and evaluate the participation of uniformed women peacekeepers. Table 2 below shows currently active UN peacekeeping operations in Africa. Current UN peacekeeping operations in Africa are significant in the sense that they are now incorporating uniformed women peacekeepers in the military and the police divisions. The Liberian UN peacekeeping mission was a groundbreaking peacekeeping operation in Africa which saw, for the first time, the deployment of an all-female Indian police unit of uniformed women peacekeepers. Other countries such as Zimbabwe, Chad and Nigeria also contributed uniformed women peacekeepers.

Table 2  Currently Active UN Peacekeeping Operations in Africa

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>YEAR OF COMMENCEMENT</th>
<th>NAME OF THE OPERATION</th>
<th>COUNTRY OF MISSION</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>2012</td>
<td>United Nations Multidimensional Integrated Stabilisation Mission in Mali (MINUSMA)</td>
<td>Mali</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2007</td>
<td>United Nations –African Union Hybrid Operation in Darfur (UNAMID)</td>
<td>Sudan (Darfur)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2011</td>
<td>United Nations Mission in South Sudan (UNMISS)</td>
<td>South Sudan</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2004</td>
<td>United Nations Operation in Côte d'Ivoire (UNOCI)</td>
<td>Côte d'Ivoire</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2010</td>
<td>United Nations Organisation Stabilisation Mission in the Democratic Republic of the Congo (MONUSCO)</td>
<td>DRC</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1991</td>
<td>United Nations Mission for the Referendum in Western Sahara (MINURSO)</td>
<td>Western Sahara</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Adapted from (www.un.org/Depts/DPKO)

2.3 Assessing UN Peacekeeping Operations in Africa

2.3.1 UN Peacekeeping Operations Deemed a Success

Notwithstanding the general feeling that UN peacekeeping operations have been poor in Africa, there are some missions which are considered to be qualified successes. Two missions on the
African continent are usually singled out as success stories of the UN peacekeeping operations in Africa. These are the UN peacekeeping mission to Sierra Leone and the Congo (MUNOC) (www.cfr.org/world/african-peacekeeping-operations/p9333). The success of UN peacekeeping operations is measured among other key variables by the degree to which peace and security are achieved and sustained in conflict zone. In fact UN peacekeeping missions are considered a success if they achieve the main goal of helping countries torn by conflict to create conditions for post war re-construction and durable peace (Ahare, 2009:3). In a way mission success for UN peacekeeping operations lies in their ability to bring durable peace and stability in a zone that has experienced conflict.

The roots of the conflict in Sierra Leone can be traced to 1991 when hostilities broke out between the Government forces and the Liberian- backed Revolutionary United Front (www.un.org/Dept/DPKO). A fully fledged civil war which crippled the country ensued in Sierra Leone. Hostilities only ended after the signing of the Lome Agreement in 1999. The UN sent a peacekeeping mission UNAMISL which paved way for the democratic elections which were held in 2002 (Ibid). Overall, general peace has prevailed throughout Sierra Leone bringing back normal civilian life. However, sporadic fighting continues to be recorded in some parts of the country.

The Democratic Republic of Congo (DRC) is one of the African countries highly endowed with rich mineral resources. These mineral resources include high value precious minerals such as diamonds, cobalt and gold. Congo’s mineral resources have been the source of conflict and civil wars which have drawn in many foreigners. In 1998 the Congo suffered armed intervention which involved five African countries namely Angola, Namibia, Rwanda, Zimbabwe and Uganda (www.cfr.org/world/african-peacekeeping-operations/p9333). The fighting came to an end after the deployment of a French-led intervention force which culminated in the signing of the Lusaka Ceasefire Agreement in 1999. MONUC was deployed in 1999 which led to other countries that had intervened to withdraw their forces (Baregu and Landsberg, 2003:20). Under the aegis of MONUC the DRC has held democratic elections and general peace has prevailed. The UN peacekeeping experiences in Sierra Leone and the DRC have contributed to general peace in these two war torn countries heightening the perception that the UN can achieve peace and security through its peacekeeping operations in Africa. However, the Eastern region of the
DRC, particularly the Goma region, continues to experience insurgency allegedly perpetrated by the Rwandan backed M23 rebels. The involvement of Rwanda in the DRC can be traced to the Rwandan civil war of 1994 when the then Rwandan Government was overthrown by the National Patriotic Front (NPF) led by Paul Kagame (Baregu and Landsberg, 2003:21). One of the groups that had supported the overthrown government, the Interharamwe group, crossed into the DRC where they sought refuge. To safeguard the territorial integrity of Rwanda the Kagame led government feels it has an obligation to militarily pursue the Interharamwe in the DRC (ibid: p22). Though peace and security were achieved in Sierra Leone and partially in the DRC it is noteworthy to point out that the majority of the peacekeepers in these two countries both in the military and police force were male. This showed that uniformed women are still marginalized in the armed forces though there was a compelling reason to include women peacekeepers given the high magnitude of human rights abuses, sexual violence and exploitation perpetrated on the local women during the conflict.

2.3.2 UN Peacekeeping Operations Considered Failures

UN peacekeeping operations in Africa have also recorded outstanding failures which have greatly contributed to the skepticism associated with UN peacekeeping endeavours on the African continent. The UN peacekeeping mission to Somalia 1992-1993 is considered to be one of the failed peacekeeping missions in Africa (Agada, 2008:1). In 1993 the US forces in the peacekeeping mission came under fire in an attack carried out by armed warlords in the capital Mogadishu resulting in the death of 18 US soldiers. This humiliating incident on the part of the US soured the mood for peacekeeping operations, particularly in Africa (www.cfr.org/world/african-peacekeeping-operations/p9333). The Mogadishu incident forced the US to withdraw its forces an action which precipitated the hasty withdrawal of forces by other countries such as the UK and France, leading to the partial collapse of the UN peacekeeping initiative. Failure of the UN peacekeeping operations in Somali can be attributed to the limited mandate of the operation. The US soldiers were only authorized to protect humanitarian deliveries and as such they were ill armed to engage in a fire fight to match the magnitude of fire they faced from the armies of the warlords (Agada, 2008: 6).
The UN peacekeeping mission in the Darfur is also considered to be one of the failed operations in Africa (www.cfr.org/world/african-peacekeeping-operations/p9333). Belligerent parties to the Darfur conflict include the Sudanese Government, the Arab rebels it is backing and the Janjaweed separatist movement. The UN peacekeeping operation in Darfur has failed to protect the civilians from attacks by the belligerent forces. Failure of the Darfur peacekeeping mission is attributed to the limited mandate of the mission. The UN peacekeepers are only confined to monitoring and reporting on the ceasefire and also the peacekeepers are considered understaffed in relation to the tasks and area an under supervision (www.cfr.org/world/african-peacekeeping-operations/p9333). This limited mandate has prevented the use of force where it is legitimately necessary. The belligerents perpetrate acts of violence knowing too well that the UN peacekeepers are toothless bulldogs that cannot do anything to deal with their acts of violence.

Apart from the failure of the UN peacekeeping mission in Somalia to bring about lasting peace in that country the main failed in incorporating uniformed women peacekeepers. Not a single TCC that contributed troops to the Somali peacekeeping mission had a female soldier. This showed the persistence of the deep seated belief that female peacekeepers cannot participate in dangerous conflict zones.

2.4 Global Trends in Gender Mainstreaming in the Military

The involvement of uniformed women in peacekeeping operations in Africa has to be contextualized within global trends in peacekeeping and the drive towards gender mainstreaming taking place in the militaries across the world. Though the peacekeeping world remains essentially a military world, since the 1980s there has been a significant shift in the focus of peacekeeping operations to include the social or human dimension (Hudson, 2010:3). The increased focus on the social or human dimension in peacekeeping operations has allowed women easier access to this bastion of male domination (Hudson, 2010:4). Women are now considered essential participants in peacebuilding initiatives in peacekeeping operations. The participation of uniformed women in peacekeeping operations also reflects the shift in composition of most armed forces in the world. Most armies in the world have embraced gender mainstreaming which gives equal opportunity for both men and women in the military. Gender mainstreaming has seen more women joining the army and the police in several countries (UN,
2012:4). It is worthy to consider experiences of countries that have embraced gender mainstreaming as this has a bearing on the participation of women in peacekeeping operations. Troop contributing countries are now compelled to include uniformed women as a significant proportion of their peacekeeping troops as stipulated by UN resolution 1325 of 2000 which calls for increased participation of women in peacekeeping operations. To this end countries such as the USA, UK and South Africa have taken significant steps to achieve gender mainstreaming in their armies and the police.

### 2.4.1 Experiences of the USA and UK in Gender Mainstreaming in the Security Forces

The USA and UK are some of the few countries in the world that have taken bold steps towards gender mainstreaming in the military which has seen the incorporation of women in combat operations. Combat operations entail the involvement of troops in military operations which include firefighting with the enemy at close range (Cordell, 2011:45). Traditionally, combat operations have been the preserve of male soldiers. The dangerous nature of combat operations has been the major justification by most male dominated armies to exclude women from the military. However, countries with strong female activism such as the USA and UK have yielded to pressure towards gender mainstreaming in the military and the police (De Groot, 2008:3). As a result of the pressure to achieve gender mainstreaming in the military, the armies in the USA and UK have taken significant steps in incorporating women in combat operations. The involvement of female soldiers in combat situations in Iraq, 2000 to 2007, in which they successfully proved that they were as effective as their male counterparts made the USA and UK armies to reconsider their position (Juma, 2009:39). The USA has since made it mandatory for its army to incorporate women in combat positions. To this end the USA army has engaged military academies, graduate and leadership programmes and training institutions to broaden the pool of female talent in leadership positions within the military (Cordell, 2011:47). The USA military has thus ensured that institutions such as West Point, National Defense University, and the Peacekeeping and Stability Operational Institute train female officers who will be competent to take up leadership positions within the army (ibid).

In the period 2007 to the present the USA has seen an increase in the participation of uniformed women soldiers in combat operations in conflict zones such as in Afghanistan. Developments in
the USA and UK with respect to gender mainstreaming have had a positive impact on some armies in the world as it has encouraged the incorporation of women in combat operations. Currently more and more countries across the world are now allowing their armies to recruit female soldiers into combat positions. For example countries such as Germany, Canada and France now have women incorporated in combat positions (Juma, 2009:47). In Africa, Nigeria has created an all-female police unit which has proved to be equally as competent as predominantly male units (Kember, 2010:9). Bangladesh has also followed suit by forming an all-female police unit and allowing women to take up combat positions in its military. These seismic shifts in women participation in the military have been reflected in peacekeeping operations. Though still grossly under-represented women are now taking part directly in peacekeeping operations in direct combat positions. This is because armies and police forces of powerful nations such as the USA and UK have set an example that has emulated by other countries.

2.4.2 Gender mainstreaming in SADC’S Security Forces

Southern Africa is making progress towards gender mainstreaming in the peace and security sector. The number of uniformed women in the national security institutions of SADC has considerably increased over the ears though at a snail’s pace. Table 3 below shows the representation of women in the SADC defence sector

**Table 3 Representation of Women in SADC Defence Forces**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>COUNTRY</th>
<th>MALE %</th>
<th>FEMALE %</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Angola</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Botswana</td>
<td>99</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>DRC</td>
<td>93</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lesotho</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Madagascar</td>
<td>99.9</td>
<td>0.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Malawi</td>
<td>95</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mauritius</td>
<td>No Army</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mozambique</td>
<td>95</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Namibia</td>
<td>74</td>
<td>26</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Seychelles</td>
<td>80</td>
<td>20</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>South Africa</td>
<td>73</td>
<td>27</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Swaziland</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
The representation of uniformed women in the SADC defence sector is very low despite the passage of UN Resolution 1325 which calls for gender mainstreaming in the militaries of troop contributing countries. South Africa has the highest representation of uniformed women who constitute 27% of the defence forces; close to South Africa are Namibia, Seychelles and Zimbabwe with 26%, 20% and 20% respectively. In SADC countries such as the DRC, Botswana, Madagascar and Malawi uniformed women are lowly represented. This shows that gender mainstreaming is yet to take root in the defence sectors of some SADC countries. The same trend is visible in the police forces of the SADC countries. Table 4 below

**Table 4 Women's Representation in SADC Police Services**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>COUNTRY</th>
<th>MALE %</th>
<th>WOMEN %</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Angola</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Botswana</td>
<td>76</td>
<td>24</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>DRC</td>
<td>94</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lesotho</td>
<td>83</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Madagascar</td>
<td>88</td>
<td>12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Malawi</td>
<td>79</td>
<td>21</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mauritius</td>
<td>94</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mozambique</td>
<td>93</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Namibia</td>
<td>69</td>
<td>31</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Seychelles</td>
<td>62</td>
<td>38</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>South Africa</td>
<td>68</td>
<td>32</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Swaziland</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tanzania</td>
<td>81</td>
<td>19</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Zambia</td>
<td>83</td>
<td>17</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Zimbabwe</td>
<td>75</td>
<td>25</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: (SADC Gender Protocol Barometer, 2013)
The representation of women in SADC police services show that countries such as Seychelles (38%), South Africa (32%), Nambia (31%), Zimbabwe (25%) and Botswana (20%) have the highest representation of female police officers. The DRC, despite its large population, women police officers constitute 6% of the police service which shows that the police sector is still a men’s world in that country.

On a comparative basis the police services of SADC countries have more women being represented in the police than the defence sector. The major reason attributable to this phenomenon is that the police service is considered to be less dangerous. Policing duties are considered to be less dangerous and therefore suitable for women police officers. The defence sector in the SADC region is riddled with deeply entrenched conservative gender stereotypes and biases which discriminate against the participation of women (SADC Gender Protocol, 2012:2). As a result the numbers of uniformed women peacekeepers contributed by SADC countries from the defence sector to UN peacekeeping operations are generally low.

Figure 1 Average Percentages of Females by Category of Peacekeeping Forces January 2011 to 2011
The Figure 1 above shows that in the SADC region Namibia is biggest contributor of women police officers to UN peacekeeping operations at 66% followed by Tanzania at 31% and Zimbabwe at 30%. It is evident from the figure 1 above that more women police officers from the SADC region are deployed to UN peacekeeping operations than from the army. This concurs with the general assumption that police duties are generally regarded as less dangerous and furthermore the police forces of most SADC have a relatively high representation of women as compared to the defence sector.

In this study South Africa deserves close attention as it is one of the SADC countries that have adopted best practices that can be adopted by fellow member states in the area of gender mainstreaming in the national security sectors. Schoeman (2010:1) notes that South Africa is one of only a handful of countries incorporating women in combat positions and peace support operations (PSOs). This is particularly so, as South Africa has, at a policy level, committed itself to gender mainstreaming in the South African National Defence Force (SANDF), in accord with UN resolution 1325 of 2000. The SANDF review of 2007-08, shows that 27% uniformed forces in South Africa are women (SANDF Review, 2007-08). This percentage is much higher in comparisons to other SADC countries such as Botswana, Zimbabwe, Zambia and Mozambique just to mention a few. Though recognizing that women are generally few in senior decision making positions within the SANDF, a woman Lindiwe Sisulu headed the Ministry of Defence and was replaced by another woman Nosiviwe Mapisa-Nqakula in 2012 (SADC Gender Protocol 2012 Barometer, 2012:9). Currently, there is only one woman major general out of 37 and 31 women brigadier generals out of 171 generalship positions (ibid :p9). Thus South Africa has more uniformed in senior leadership and decision making positions than any other SADC country.

The SANDF has also taken deliberate steps to increase the participation of women in PSOs. This has been done through the Military Skills Development System (MSDS). The broad aim of the MSDS is to recruit young suitably qualified female soldiers to carry out peacekeeping operations. Within the broader aim of MSDS, incorporated is the need to also recruit suitably qualified, fit and healthy female soldiers (Schoeman, 2010:2). In the period 2007-08 the aim of the MSDS was 40 % of female recruitment. The actually realized percentage for the 2007-08 MSDS recruitment was 31% a figure much higher than the percentage of women in the SANDF.
However, structural impediments such as cultural and institutional stereotypes remain the major stumbling block to effective gender mainstreaming within the SANDF. Nieuwkerk (2012:6) cautions against using South Africa as a model, as new research shows that the country might be regressing in terms of gender equality. This is because South Africa’s security forces remains male dominated and members of their personnel continue to perpetrate GBV at home and abroad (Nieuwkerk, 2012:7). Members of the SANDF peacekeeping force in the DRC have had over 93 cases of misconduct brought against them (Patel, 2013:1). Some of the cases were related to gender based violence perpetrated against civilian women in the DRC.

2.4.3 Gender Mainstreaming in Zimbabwe’s Security Forces

Zimbabwe has embraced gender mainstreaming in its security forces in line with the UN resolution 1325 of 2000 as well as other local and international treaties, protocols and statutes. The country is among four countries in SADC with 20 percent or more of all defence forces posts filled by women. The Zimbabwe National Army (ZNA) has shown commitment to the gender equality by training women into officer’s position. For example in 2012 13 women graduated as officers out of 31 basic officers. Women representation in the defence forces stands at 20% (SANDEM, 2012:10). The Table 5 below shows representation of women in the Zimbabwe National Army.

Table 5 Representation of Women in Leadership Positions in the ZNA

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>RANK</th>
<th>% MALE</th>
<th>% WOMEN</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Lieutenant General</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Major General</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Brigadier General</td>
<td>99</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Colonel</td>
<td>93.4</td>
<td>6.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lieutenant Colonel</td>
<td>94.1</td>
<td>5.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Major</td>
<td>96.2</td>
<td>3.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Captain</td>
<td>97.3</td>
<td>2.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lieutenant</td>
<td>83</td>
<td>17.0</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: (SADC Gender Protocol Barometer 2013)
With respect to senior leadership positions, currently, there is only one woman Brig- General, in the ZNA, Brig-General Shalet Moyo. Women constitute approximately 5.9% of lieutenant colonels and 6.6% of colonels in the Zimbabwe National Army (SADC Gender Protocol 2012 Barometer, 2012:254). More women at 17% occupy junior leadership positions of Lieutenant. According to Butaumocho (20104: 4) women’s representation in senior positions within the national army is still far below 30 percent due to the absence of special measures and specific policies to increase the recruitment and promotion of women to top positions within the defence sector.

The Zimbabwe Republic Police (ZRP) has also taken significant steps towards gender parity within its force. Table 6 below shows the representation of women in the ZRP.

**Table 6 Representation of Women in Leadership in the ZRP**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>RANK</th>
<th>% MALE</th>
<th>% WOMEN</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Deputy Commissioner</td>
<td>75</td>
<td>25</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Senior Assistant Commissioner</td>
<td>82</td>
<td>18</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Assistant Commissioner</td>
<td>82</td>
<td>18</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chief Superintendent</td>
<td>83</td>
<td>17</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Superintendent</td>
<td>85</td>
<td>15</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chief Inspector</td>
<td>90</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Inspector</td>
<td>91</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total Senior Positions</strong></td>
<td><strong>89</strong></td>
<td><strong>11</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*Source: (SADC Gender Protocol Barometer, 2013)*

In Zimbabwe women constitutes 25% of the total police force and 11% are in senior leadership positions (SADC Gender Protocol 2012 Barometer, 2012:17). The Zimbabwe Republic Police has made strides in including women police officers in its contingents participating in United Nations peacekeeping operations. When the first ZRP peacekeepers were deployed to the UN peacekeeping mission to Angola in 1993, there were no women among the 25 participating police officers. This changed a decade later because in 2012, 189 women police officers out of the 1,063 officers from ZRP had participated in peacekeeping missions (Butauchomo, 2014:6). The first woman police officer was deployed in 2,000 in East Timor. Since then women police
officers have been deployed to UN in missions in East Timor, Kosovo, South Sudan, Sudan, Liberia, Darfur and Sierra Leone. However, women in the ZRP are under-represented in senior leadership and decision making positions which mean they have little say in determining the deployment of uniformed women in the force to peacekeeping missions as these positions are still dominated by male officers.

2.5 Uniformed Women Peacekeepers in Peacekeeping Operations

Uniformed women peacekeepers have become an integral component of UN peacekeeping operations. Be that as it may, although women now fill half the positions in political, legal affairs and human rights they make up barely 2% of military positions, 8% of UN police and are conspicuously rare in senior leadership and decision making positions (UN, 2012:2). Currently they are only two female heads of mission out of 17 (Kember, 2010:8). The UN statistics on the participation of uniformed women in peacekeeping operations reveal a marked trend. There are more uniformed women participating in peacekeeping operations as police officers than in the military. That they are more uniformed women peacekeepers in peacekeeping operations as police officers than in the military point to deep seated gender stereotypes within the UN system.

Within the context of peacekeeping, the police is generally regarded a safe and less serious aspect of peacekeeping. In peacekeeping operations the police engage in social activities aimed at restoring confidence in the security services, the protection of women and children as well as showing sensibility and compassion to the populace in conflict zones (Nooman, 2012:4). The duties of the police in peacekeeping operations fit in well with the gender stereotypes, which view uniformed women peacekeepers as peaceful, less aggressive and portray an image of peace and stability essential in engendering peace a post conflict situation (De Groot, 2008:3). With the foregoing supposed qualities uniformed women are often channeled into the police force in most peacekeeping operations. This explains why India could contribute an all-female police unit in Liberia.

The limited participation of uniformed women in the military in peacekeeping operations illuminates the highly gendered perspective attached to the army. According to Nooman (2012:5) the military is perceived to be solely for dangerous operations which require male aggression and
bravery a component believed to be absent in most uniformed women peacekeepers. The grueling selection and training process through which military recruits undergo before attestation in the army precludes many women from joining the army. Thus the military forces of most countries show a marked underrepresentation of women both in the rank and file positions and in senior leadership positions. The command of peacekeeping operations is often given to the rank of lieutenant General, of which a few women if none at all have attained that rank in the armies of TCCs.

2.6 Limited Participation of Uniformed Women in UN Peacekeeping Missions in Africa

Several reasons account for the limited participation of uniformed women in UN peacekeeping missions in Africa. The limited participation of uniformed women in peacekeeping operations in Africa are found in the recruitment policies, mission type, leadership culture within the UN system and the structures of the UN peacekeeping system. Thus the following is an examination of some of the main reasons attributable to the limited participation of uniformed women in UN peacekeeping operations in Africa:

2.6.1 Persistent discriminatory recruitment policies

One of the major determining factor in including uniformed women peacekeepers are the recruitment policies of both the TCCs and the UN peacekeeping department in particular. How peacekeepers are recruited has a bearing on the gender composition of peacekeeping missions (Bertolazzi, 2010:22). Quite often recruitment policies of most TCCs are considered to be highly gendered favouring the males. Some armies such as the Nepalese Defence Forces did not have a policy of recruiting women into the army (Nooman, 2013:2). As a result, when they contribute troops to peacekeeping operations they will be no women peacekeepers represented. To make matters worse the military is perceived to be a highly formalized structure which does not allow members to volunteer to participate in peacekeeping operations. Thus even if uniformed women want to participate in peacekeeping operations on a voluntary basis they cannot do so as selection is done by the military leadership which is usually dominated by men. The men occupying leadership positions in the military of most TCCs prefer to deploy male soldiers as peacekeepers in conflict zones.
Notwithstanding UN resolutions such as 1325 of 2000 which require gender mainstreaming in the recruitment of peacekeepers, the UN faces challenges in its recruitment policies. Since the UN has no standing army of its own, it has to rely on the contribution of TCCs for peacekeepers. As noted earlier some TCCs are still lagging behind in terms of gender mainstreaming their uniformed forces (Kember, 2010:26). When these countries make troop contributions to peacekeeping operations the UN is powerless to determine their composition even in instances where women are underrepresented. Furthermore the military is a rigid and command sensitive institution which requires highly trained, experienced and qualified leadership. These positions are often occupied by men who traditionally dominate the military at all levels notably at junior, middle and senior level leadership positions.

Resolution 1325 of 2000 has been blamed for being too vague when it comes to the recruitment of uniformed women in peacekeeping operations (Conaway and Sheomaker, 2011:7). It is alleged that resolution 1325 does not give specific guidelines on the recruitment criteria of uniformed women peacekeepers in peacekeeping operations. This has led to TCCs arbitrarily adopting their own recruitment policies which are at times at variance with resolution 1325 of 2000.

2.6.2 Mission types

The type of peacekeeping mission to a large degree determines the composition of peacekeepers. This has to be understood within the context that UN peacekeeping operations are now multidimensional involving the military and humanitarian aspects. UN peacekeeping operations which require a huge military component because of the perceived hostilities and dangers in the area of deployment are often dominated by male soldiers (Mazurana, 2013:2). For example the UN peacekeeping operation in the Central African Republic is predominately male underpinning the perceived danger posed to peacekeepers as a result of ongoing fighting between the belligerents. Male soldiers are believed to be best suited for the harsh conditions which female uniformed peacekeepers are presumed unable to cope with (Juma, 2009:19). The peacekeeping missions to Sierra Leone, Liberia and East Timor were considered to be less dangerous given the low incidences of violence and this allowed the UN to deploy a large contingent of uniformed women peacekeepers as police officers. Thus peacekeeping operations that take place in conflict
zones deemed dangerous are often associated with a low representation of uniformed women peacekeepers. Inversely, peacekeeping operations that are considered less dangerous because of low incidents of violence often have a large number of uniformed women peacekeepers particularly in the police units.

2.6.3 Gendered leadership culture

The gendered leadership culture associated with peacekeeping operations still mirror the masculinity aspect attached to the military nature of UN peacekeeping operations (Bertolazzi, 2010:20). Thus the male thinking dominates the leadership culture of the UN peacekeeping operations. At the top echelons of peacekeeping operations are male military officers who often harbour conservative attitudes when it comes to the participation of uniformed women peacekeepers. These patriarchal attitudes manifest themselves in leadership culture which pays little regard to the incorporation of uniformed women in peacekeeping operations.

2.6.4 Limited Mandate of UN Peacekeeping Missions

Most UN peacekeeping operations are strictly guided by the mandate to provide humanitarian assistance which precludes the use of force (www.un.org/Dept/DPKO). This means that UN peacekeepers are not mandated to use military force in instances where it is necessary. In Somali the Warlords exploited this loophole to perpetrate acts of violence on the US forces participating in the UN peacekeeping operation (Agada, 2008:58). This has resulted in the avoidable death of UN peacekeepers who find themselves hapless in situations which require active military engagement. Such dangerous situations to a significant extent affect the deployment of uniformed women peacekeepers. There is still entrenched thinking within the UN and the TCCs that uniformed women peacekeepers should be deployed to safer zones.

2.6.5 Slow Rate of UNPKO Deployments

The blame for the failure of UN peacekeeping operations in Africa lies in the slow rate of deployment (Agada, 2008:59). In this study many respondents interviewed stated that the slow rate of UN peacekeeping deployments gave the chance to the belligerent forces to better equip themselves and prepare for the fight. This creates unsafe conditions for the deployment of
uniformed women and most TCCs are reluctant to deploy female peacekeepers to such areas. The reasons for the slow rate of deployment are seen at both the procedural and the bureaucratic front. At the procedural front the UNSC has to go through the voting process which gives the peacekeeping missions their mandate (Agada, 2008:60). Problems in the voting procedure, as a result of power play among the Security Council members, can delay the deployment of peacekeepers. Currently, the UNSC is finding it difficult to come up with a resolution to deal with the conflict in Syria. This has also affected the deployment of UN peacekeepers in Somalia. Troop contributing countries (TCCs) have bureaucratic processes which they have to follow before they deploy troops. National Parliaments have to be consulted and the army itself has to be mobilized so that the participating troops can be identified and trained in preparation for the peacekeeping role. The Darfur peacekeeping operation was affected by an eight month delay in troop deployment which saw the conflict spreading to neighbouring countries such as Chad (Justino et al, 2013:4). Furthermore the AU was supposed to fund this operation but failed to raise the required funds. This clearly shows that Africa is not yet ready to carry out peacekeeping operations on its own, but will continue relying on the UN which is selective in the way it conducts peacekeeping operations on the continent.

2.6.6 Poor Enforcement of Arms Embargoes

The failure of peacekeeping operations in Africa to adequately incorporate uniformed women peacekeepers is also as a result of the poor enforcement of arms embargoes (Adaga, 2008:61). Arms embargoes are instruments used by the UN to deny belligerent forces arms that are usually used to perpetrate violence. However, in Africa the UN is unable to put in place strict measures to enforce arms embargoes. Agada (2008:67) notes that in Somalia the warlords used force to confine the UN peacekeepers to the Mogadishu Airport. This means that the UN peacekeepers could not stop the warlords from accessing arms of war which came through the sea and other ports of entry. Since the arms trade is a lucrative business some UN member states flawed the arms embargo rules to secretly supply belligerents with arms of war. In the DRC conflict, Rwanda is accused for secretly supplying the M23 rebels with weapons. Thus the poor enforcement of arms embargoes creates a security risk situation which makes TCCs uncomfortable to deploy their uniformed women peacekeepers.
2.6.7 Insufficient Manpower and Logistical Support

There is no doubt that the success of any peacekeeping operation solidly rests on the availability of adequate manpower and logistical support. However, the majority of peacekeeping operations in Africa are affected by inadequate manpower and logistical support (www.un.org/Dept/DPKO). The troops are often insufficient and the materials in the form of equipment such as guns are not enough to meet the demands of the operations. The UN/AU peacekeeping operation faced manpower and logistical challenges which ultimately contributed to their failure, particularly the Darfur mission which took long to deploy as a result of insufficient manpower and logistical support (UN, 2012:3). The UN also failed to come up with sufficient manpower for the peacekeeping mission in Somalia and this has seen unrest in that country spreading to countries such as Kenya as shown by the Westgate siege in 2013 which was carried by insurgents from Somalia protesting the involvement of Kenya in the Affairs of the former (www.cnn.com). Agada (2008:27) notes that the UN faces a logistical nightmare when it deploys troops to peacekeeping missions. UN peacekeepers are drawn from countries which speak different languages and the organisation has to come up with instructional manuals that ensure that the peacekeepers adhere to the mandates of the mission. In Africa the situation is often aggravated by the many ethnic languages that are spoken in a single country. Countries such as Sudan have over 20 ethnic languages and when deploying UN peacekeepers have to at least have some knowledge of the local languages. This might entail longer preparation periods as the peacekeepers look for personnel with working knowledge of the languages of the areas where deployment is going to take place (Bertolazzi, 2010:20). Another logistical challenge that the UN faces is that of moving military cargo such as tanks and personnel to the conflict zone (UN, 2012:2). Since the UN does not have a standing army it has to rely on member states for such support. Often the deployment of troops by member states has to be sanctioned by the national legislatures subject to budgetary support. The whole process of deploying troops to UN peacekeeping missions is so cumbersome to an extent that TCCs are only willing to deploy male peacekeepers who constitute the bulk of their militaries at the expense of women.
2.6.8 Non-cooperation by the Belligerent Parties Involved

The deployment of uniformed women peacekeepers is often affected by non-cooperation by the belligerent parties involved in a conflict zone. UN peacekeeping operations in Africa are usually affected by non-cooperation and lack of political commitment by the belligerent parties involved to lasting peace and security (Agada, 2008:70). Non-cooperation among the belligerents to the conflict can be a product of the perceived insecurities and mistrust they might have towards the peacekeepers. The problem of noncooperation and mistrust towards the UN peacekeepers was mainly because of the US forces that constituted the force. Warlords in Somali viewed the US as contributing to the violence in that country thus because of that the UN peacekeeping force was viewed with suspicion. The problem of noncooperation is also experienced in the Darfur region. Belligerents parties to the Darfur conflict accuse the UN peacekeepers for taking sides and are unwilling to work with the world body to bring about lasting peace and security in that region. In the Central African Republic (CAR) the conflict has taken an intolerant form where there is open warfare between Muslims and Christians. The Muslims, because of their religious beliefs do not accept women to participate in occupations such as the military that are regarded as the domain of men. Thus the deployment of uniformed women peacekeepers to conflict zones in CAR may be met with stiff resistance by the Muslims.

2.7 Conclusion

The participation of the UN in peacekeeping operations in Africa has yielded mixed results. However, the general sentiment among most Africans is that the UN peacekeeping operations in Africa have been a failure. The continued conflicts in Somalia and the Darfur are usually referred to as typical examples where the UN has failed to stamp its authority and bring about lasting peace and security. These failures in peacekeeping have an impact on the participation of uniformed women in peacekeeping operations. Peacekeeping on the African continent is seen as far too dangerous and not conducive for the participation of uniformed women. The fact that peacekeeping missions are underfunded and under-resourced per se makes it difficult for TCCs to include as many women as is possible in peacekeeping operations. In fact this has made many countries reluctant to deploy contingents of uniformed women to participate in peacekeeping.
CHAPTER THREE: THE UN PEACEKEEPING MISSION TO LIBERIA AND THE PARTICIPATION OF UNIFORMED WOMEN PEACEKEEPERS

3.0 Introduction

Liberia experienced a bloody civil war from 1989 to 2003. The warring parties in the Liberian civil war were the government forces who fought fighters in an opposition group, the National Patriotic Front of Liberia (NPFL), led by a former government official, Mr. Charles Taylor (www.un.org./Dept/DPKO). It is estimated that the Liberian conflict claimed the lives of almost 150 000 people, mostly civilians and caused the displacement of over 850 000 refugees mostly accommodated in neighbouring countries (www.un.org./Dept/DPKO).

Initial efforts at peaceful settlement of the conflict were led by the sub-regional group, the Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS) through its Military Observer Group (ECOMOG) in 1990. In 1993 the UN intervened and the UNSC established the United Nations Observer Mission in Liberia (UNOMIL). The UNOMIL mandate came to an end on the 30th of September 1997 (www.un.org./Dept/DPKO). In an effort to keep the momentum for peace in Liberia, the UN established the United Nations Peace Building Support Office in Liberia (UNOL) with the main task of helping the Liberian Government to consolidate peace after the July 1997 multiparty elections.

The UNOL managed to facilitate the promotion of national reconciliation and good governance and helped mobilize international support for the implementation of reconstruction and development programmes in Liberia. However, disagreements between the Charles Taylor led Government and opposition parties threatened the peace effort. After a number of tumultuous events characterized by violence Charles Taylor was forced to resign on the 11th of August 2003 (www.un.org./Dept/DPKO). A Comprehensive Peace Agreement was signed in August 2003. This paved way for the multiparty elections which catapulted President Ellen Johnson-Sirleaf to power as the first female president of Liberia and Africa as a whole in 2005. After these elections the UNSC through resolution 1509 of 2003 established a peacekeeping mission to Liberia under the banner of UNMIL.
3.1 Establishment of UNMIL

The UNSC adopted resolution 1509 of 2003 on the 19th of September 2003 paved way for the establishment of the United Nations Mission in Liberia (UNMIL) (www.un.org./Dept/DPKO). Subsequent UNSC resolutions have been passed to authorize UNMIL. Security Council Resolution 2066 of 2012 currently authorizes UNMIL. In terms of resolution 1509 of 2003 the UNMIL was headed by the Special Representative of the Secretary General who assumed overall responsibility of the mission. The Special Representative was assisted among other staff members by two Deputies. The Deputies were a Force Commander with the rank of Lieutenant General and a Police Commissioner.

The leadership of UNMIL comprised the Special Representative of the Secretary General Karin Landgren of Sweden (a female) , Deputy Special Representative of the Secretary General for Recovery and Governance and the UN humanitarian Coordinator and resident Coordinator Aeneas Chapinga Chuma of Zimbabwe, Deputy Special Representative of the Secretary General Tamrat Samuel, the Force Commander was Major General Leonard Muriuki Ngondi of Kenya and the Police Commissioner was John Nielson of the United States (www.un.org./Dept/DPKO). There was only one woman in senior leadership position the rest were men who made the final decisions on operational issues. This is clear evidence that UN’s multidimensional peacekeeping missions are male dominated at the senior leadership level.

Initially when the UNMIL was deployed it had a force of 15 000 military personnel, 250 military observers, 160 staff officers and 1 115 police unit (www.un.org./Dept/DPKO). However, in 2013 the force number has greatly decreased as a result of the increased stability in Liberia. Current numbers are as follows, 7 346 total uniformed personnel disaggregated into 5 759 troops, 130 military observers, 1457 police, 429 international civilian personnel, 858 local staff and 215 UN Volunteers (www.un.org./Dept/DPKO).

The troop contributing countries were as follows: Bangladesh, Benin, Bolivia, Brazil, Bulgaria, China, Croatia, Denmark, Ecuador, Egypt, El Salvador, Ethiopia, Finland, France, Gambia, Ghana, Indonesia, Jordan, Kenya, Kyrgyzstan, Malaysia, Montenegro, Namibia, Nepal, Niger, Nigeria, Pakistan, Paraguay, Peru, Philippines, Poland, Republic of Korea, Republic of Moldova,

Police personnel were contributed by the following countries: Argentina, Bangladesh, Bosnia and Herzegovina, Brazil, China, Egypt, El Salvador, Fiji, Gambia, Germany, Ghana, India, Jordan, Kenya, Kyrgyzstan, Lithuania, Namibia, Nepal, Nigeria, Norway, Pakistan, Paraguay, Peru, Philippines, Poland, Russian Federation, Rwanda, Serbia, Sri Lanka, Sweden, Switzerland, Thailand, Turkey, Uganda, Ukraine, United States, Uruguay, Yemen, Zambia and Zimbabwe (www.un.org/en/peacekeeping/missions).

3.2 Deployment of uniformed women peacekeepers under UNMIL

Uniformed women peacekeepers were part of the peacekeeping contingent deployed by the UN to Liberia. In January 2007 the UN successfully deployed its first all-female peacekeeping force of more than 100 Indian police women. The Indian all-female peacekeeping force was part of a peacekeeping contingent that comprised uniformed women peacekeepers from other countries (Basu, 2013:1). It must be pointed out from the outset that the peacekeeping mission in Liberia was dominated by males. The female contingent of peacekeepers was less than 1000 out of a force of 15000 (www.un.org/en/peacekeeping/missions). However, the Liberian peacekeeping mission recorded ground breaking initiatives towards gender mainstreaming in UN peacekeeping missions. The deployment to Liberia of an Indian Female Police Unit is of particular interest to this study as it was the first ever all-female unit deployed in a UN peacekeeping mission.

The Indian Female Police Unit (FPU) was deployed to Liberia in January 2007 as part of the UNMIL (Kember, 2010:25). The 125-strong Unit consisted of 103 female officers, including 13 ranking officers, formed in three platoons of 30, and 22 male logistics staff (ibid). The officers, drawn from the Rapid Action Force battalions of India’s paramilitary Central Reserve Police Force, were aged between 27 and 45. Some had extensive domestic paramilitary experience, including counter-insurgency in Jammu and Kashmir, and riot control in central India (Kember. 2010:30). The majority were married with children. Initially the Indian FPU was deployed for six months on an experimental basis at a base in Congo Town, a suburb of Monrovia the capital city of Liberia. Following the success of the deployment of the first mission of the Indian FPU was
extended by a further six months. Since then the Indian FPU has served in Liberia for three years on a rotational basis. The duties of the Indian FPU included guarding the Ministry of Foreign Affairs which houses the offices of the President, providing security at national events, riot control and night patrols carried out in conjunction with the Liberian National Police.

3.3 The Contribution of Uniformed Women Peacekeepers in Liberia

In many ways, the participation of uniformed women peacekeepers in Liberia marks a radical break with tradition in a field that has been for years dominated by males and guided by gender differentiations. The participation of uniformed women peacekeepers in Liberia was no ordinary mission; it was part of a broader experiment by the UN to assay how women peacekeepers fared in peacekeeping operations. Lessons drawn from the participation of uniformed women in Liberia stand to inform future multidimensional peacekeeping operations in terms of gender mainstreaming.

3.3.1 Women Assisted in Building Trust in the Peacekeeping Mission

The participation of uniformed women in the Liberian peacekeeping mission mostly as police officers assisted in building trust in the mission (Kember, 2010:35). A female peacekeeper, Gloria\(^1\) with the Zimbabwe Republic Police (ZRP) interviewed elaborated that:

> One key component of a peacekeeping operation is that the local people should have faith and trust in the peacekeeping mission. Years of conflict erode the trust that people have in the uniformed forces as the same force that are now assuming the role of protector were the perpetrators of violence.

The foregoing observation is particularly true in Liberia the foreign uniformed forces that had intervened to bring about peace and stability under ECOMOG were accused of unleashing violence on the local populace (Mazurana, 2013:3). This made the Liberian populace wary of foreign peacekeeping forces. The female peacekeepers in Liberia, particularly the Indian police units, showed a greater level of understanding local cultural and religious peculiarities (Kember, 2010:36). They were more successful in establishing dialogue which in turn encouraged trust and

\(^1\) Interviewed 10 December 2013, Police Head Quarters, Harare
The cooperation of the local population with the UN peacekeepers. An academic at the University of Zimbabwe, Prof Ngirazi\(^2\), interviewed stated that:

\[
\text{Trust and cooperation between the peacekeepers and the local population is essential as it facilitates the transition from conflict to peace, security and stability.}
\]

In Liberia, the involvement of uniformed women ensured that the local population had a belief that the peacekeepers were there to facilitate peace and transition back to normal civilian void of conflict. This was because of the trust they had in the peacekeeping mission. This observation concurs with Basu (2010:2) who stated that the Indian female peacekeepers were able to make the local population in Liberia support the peacekeeping mission. Jennings (2011:4) contends that the operational effectiveness of UN peacekeeping operations if enhanced by increasing the participation of uniformed women peacekeepers.

### 3.3.2 Uniformed Women Peacekeepers and Relationship Building Initiatives

The uniformed women peacekeepers in Liberia were effective in that they successfully engaged in fruitful relationship building initiatives (Kember, 2010:37). This was supported by Officer Gundaz\(^3\) of the ZNA who stated that:

\[
\text{Community relationships are essential as they are the building blocks of durable peace and security in a post conflict situation. Usually the desired end product of relationships building initiatives is increased mutual cooperation among local people which facilitates the building of community trust.}
\]

It must be remembered that Liberia endured more than a decade of civil strife which saw the total breakdown of relationships at the family, community and national level. There was little cooperation among people in Liberia because of the conflict mode that had gripped the nation. One of the immediate tasks of the UN peacekeeping mission was to facilitate the rebuilding of relationships, which had progressively broken down as a result of protracted conflict, among the various social groups in Liberia. Kember (2010: 28) notes that the Indian female police unit managed to engage in community work that involved re-building of community relationships in which community groups were to be made responsible for their own security and protection from common crime.

\(^2\) Interviewed 11 December, 2013, University of Zimbabwe, Harare.

\(^3\) Interviewed 12 December, 2013, Defence House, Harare.
3.3.3 Uniformed Women Peacekeepers as Symbols of Hope for the Liberian Women

The involvement of uniformed women peacekeepers in Liberia provided hope to a majority of Liberian women who had experienced incessant conflict for more than a decade. As a result the majority of women in Liberia had the courage to openly come out and implore the warring parties to negotiate for peace and desist from violence as a means to settle their disputes. The picture below shows part of a group of Liberian women calling for an end to war and the return of peace in Liberia.

Figure 2 Liberian Women Calling for Peace


The women in Liberia took the bold step of detaining the leaders of the warring parties with the aim of making them negotiate until they reached a peaceful settlement. Indeed, the Liberian
women inspired by uniformed women peacekeepers managed to compel the leaders to reach a peaceful settlement which ended the conflict. This bold action by the Liberian women paved way for the historic election of the first female president in Liberia and Africa, President Ellen Johnson-Sirleaf in 2005.

A female peacekeeper in the ZRP Officer Vivian\(^4\) noted that:

\[
\text{In any conflict situation women and children are worst affected by the violence associated with war. If the conflict becomes protracted, like the case of Liberia, people lose hope for a better future. So the uniformed women peacekeepers gave the Liberian women renewed hope of a better future.}
\]

Thus the peacekeepers must be able to show to the local people that all hope is not lost. McConnell (2008:3) argues that the involvement of uniformed women peacekeepers in Liberia acted as a symbol of hope for the Liberian women. That fellow women could direct peace bringing activities such as policing, gave the Liberian women hope that they too could become part of the transition from conflict to peace. Moreso the acceptance of uniformed peacekeepers by the men in Liberia reinforced the peacekeepers as symbols of hope in a conflict widely known to be brutal and harsh to the women. The uniformed women peacekeepers trained Liberian women in aspects such as self-defense, first aid and Indian dances (Kember, 2010:29). This on its own helped raise the hopes of the local Liberian women.

3.3.4 Encouraging Local Women to Join the Liberian National Police

Lieberman (2010:13) notes that the effectiveness of the uniformed women peacekeepers in Liberia lay in their ability to encourage the local Liberian women to join the Liberian National Police. The advent of peace brought about by the peacekeeping mission opened opportunities for Liberia women to participate in the security sector reconstruction in that country (Basu, 2010:1). The uniformed women peacekeepers became the role models for the local women and this encouraged the recruitment of women in the police force. Officer Chitema\(^5\) of the ZNA corroborated Basu’s observation by stating that:

\[
\text{The all-female Indian peacekeepers showed that they were equally capable like their male counterparts when it came to the discharge of their duties. They became the role}
\]

---

\(^4\) Interviewed 13 December, 2013, Harare Central Police Station, Harare.

\(^5\) Interviewed 13 December, 2013, KG6, Harare.
models for the local women and this gave the women the courage to participate in the reconstruction of their country.

The Indian all-female police also changed the terrain of peacekeeping by showing the Liberian populace that women are also able to be agents of peace. Liberal feminist theory contends that women are as capable as their male counterparts in all spheres of life (Chinyani, 2012:5). This instilled in local women that they too can serve as police officers, and help reduce the levels of crime and aggression towards fellow women who were often the victims of the civil war in Liberia. The number of females enrolled at the police academies in Liberia sharply rose from four per class to around 30 per class in 2007 to over 100 per class in the 2008 (Kember, 2010:34). By 2008 women constituted 10% of the total police force in Liberia in 2009 the percentage rose to 13% mainly attributable to the success of the female police units that comprised the peacekeeping mission (Jacobs, 2010:4). However, the increase in female recruits in the Liberian National Police has to be understood within the context of other measures taken by the Liberian government to encourage the recruitment of women into its national security institutions. Other attributable factors include the educational support programmes for female recruits and the growing representation of female officers recruited and deployed in the community.

3.3.5 Uniformed Women Peacekeepers and Female Education

Kember (2010: 33) observed that the involvement of women peacekeepers had a positive impact as it is partly responsible for the increase in female enrolments at the schools in Liberia. Officer Juliet of the ZRP who participated in the Liberian peacekeeping mission stated that:

> When we arrived in Liberia the local girls and women were not going to school, but that soon changed as they found out that we had become police officers in our home countries on the back of good educational qualifications. This inspired the local women to go back to school.

The conflict in Liberia had led to the breakdown of the school system across the country (UN, 2012:12). This resulted in a large number of the Liberian populace, particularly the female population being unable to attend school. Once peace was restored, there was a return to normal civilian life and schools reopened. This meant that those who were unable to attend school

---

6 Interviewed 16 December, 2013, Police Head Quarters, Harare.
because of the war could now do so. The need for formal education qualifications as an entry point requirement into professions such as the police made school attendance a prerequisite (Kember, 2010:34). Recruitment into the LNP required a high school diploma. Liberian females were encouraged by the example set by the uniformed women peacekeepers that were part of the peacekeeping mission. Thus there was a marked increase in the number of female school attendees in Liberia particularly in the Congo district of Monrovia were the uniformed peacekeepers were deployed (ibid :p34). The belief held by the local Liberian female population was that if they attend school they will be able to acquire the needed educational qualifications to join the police or other professions that could uplift their social status.

### 3.4 Competence of the Uniformed Women Peacekeepers in Liberia

The major issue surrounding the participation of uniformed women in peacekeeping operations is whether they are competent enough to match the competency levels that their male counterparts are supposedly believed to have. Thus focus was on whether the women peacekeepers in Liberia were competent enough to carry out their duties in a way that enhanced durable peace and security. The Liberian peacekeeping mission showed that women are equally competent like their male counterparts in peacekeeping operations.

It emerged from the Liberian peacekeeping mission that women peacekeepers were competent when it came to the application of social skills (Basu, 2012:2). Social skills in the context of peacekeeping encompass skills relate to the engagement of the community through dialogue, relationship building and engendering trust among the local population towards the peacekeeping mission (UN, 2013:2). An academic, Mr Tawanda, interviewed stated that

> Women in general and the uniformed women peacekeepers in particular possess superior social skills which make them ideal communicators in conflict zones which helps to diffuse tension among the warring parties. Communication helps to re-establish social relationships that would have been broken as a result of war.

Thus social skills constitute the soft aspect of peacekeeping operations which require peacekeepers to have the skills to engage the local community in a way that fosters peace,

---

7 Interviewed 17 December, 2013, University of Zimbabwe, Harare.
acceptance and cooperation. Since peacekeeping operations are a phase in the transition from conflict to peace there is need to apply social skills that make the local population accept the peacekeeping effort, take it as their own and conduct themselves in way that reduces chances of lapsing back to violence (Jennings, 2011:4). An assessment of the activities of the Indian female police unit deployed in Liberia, together with other uniformed women peacekeepers, reveal that the greatest asset that these peacekeepers had was their ability to utilize their social skills. The social skills facilitated greater interaction between the peacekeepers and the local community. According to Bell (2013:5) the uniformed women peacekeepers in the police were able to engage the local community in a way that resulted in the sharing of cultural experiences and the development of practical solutions to problems facing the people affected by years of conflict. Women in Liberia developed trust and confidence in the female peacekeepers. This saw an increase in the number of women reporting cases of abuse to the peacekeepers which resulted in arrests of known perpetrators of rape (www.un.org/Dept/DPKOS). Though the success of the female peacekeepers in the utilization of social skills in engaging the local community was well pronounced in Liberia, that success cannot, however, be read outside the contribution the whole peacekeeping mission channeled towards the peace effort.

3.5 Multidimensional Peace Missions and the Participation of Uniformed Women

The Liberian Peacekeeping mission was essentially a multidimensional peacekeeping mission that encompassed the military, political, economic, peacebuilding and electoral aspects. Multidimensional peacekeeping operations have a broad mandate which require striking a balance between the interests of the operation and the need to meet the demands of gender mainstreaming (UN, 2012:13). Achieving that balance sometimes entails tradeoffs which tend to compromise efforts towards gender mainstreaming envisaged under UN resolutions such as 1325 of 2000. Gender mainstreaming in multidimensional peacekeeping operations are still affected by the gender and cultural stereotypes that define the roles of women in society (Bertolazzi, 2010:47). The so called military aspect of peacekeeping which is considered dangerous is still dominated by men. Whereas the so called soft side of peacekeeping operations which cover the policing aspect is left open to women participation. In terms of support, multidimensional
peacekeeping operations are generally accused of giving abundant support to areas where there is a high concentration of male peacekeepers particularly in the military.

The Liberian peacekeeping mission showed that the UN attempted to fully support the participation of uniformed women peacekeepers in peacekeeping operations. The Indian female police officers deployed to Liberia were given wide discretionary powers to carry out their duties as well as the necessary material support (Basu, 2012:3). Support given to the female peacekeepers in Liberia had a positive overall impact on their performance. The most positive aspect of that support is that the female peacekeepers were able to build trust and acceptance of the peacekeeping operation among the local populace. Liberian women and children were able to freely interact with the female police officers in a way that enabled them to report on issues that affected their welfare and generate sustainable solutions to these problems. However, the mission was predominantly male as evidenced by the number of men in senior leadership positions responsible for decision making and in the rank and file positions.

3.6 Challenges to Gender Balancing in the Liberian Peacekeeping Mission

Though the Liberian peacekeeping operation is considered to be a success particularly in terms of incorporating uniformed women peacekeepers, numerous challenges still stand in the path of effective gender balancing. This section of the study attempts to highlight some of these challenges.

3.6.1 Persistence of Gender Stereotypes

The major challenge confronting the participation of uniformed women in peacekeeping operations in Liberia was the persistent gender stereotypes. Persistent gender stereotypes define the roles that men and women should play in society. Interviews with several male officers drawn from the Zimbabwe National Army reveal that they still believe that women are not mentally strong and could not be expected to be deployed to dangerous conflict situations. One male respondent, Officer Munemo\(^8\) of the ZNA tacitly, stated that:

---

\(^8\) Interviewed 17 December, 2013, Defence House, Harare.
Well our uniformed women cannot be deployed to dangerous war zones. What will the nation say if they are massacred in such dangerous war zones? We can only deploy our male soldiers to dangerous war zones because they have what it takes to withstand such challenges.

The sentiments expressed by Officer Munemo reflect the persistent gender stereotypes consideration which informs the decision on whether to deploy male or female military contingencies to certain peacekeeping missions. Generally, male soldiers believe that female soldiers are weak and need protection. Schoeman (2011:3) challenges this gender stereotype presumption by stating that

*The fact that their vulnerability could be changed by training them to fill combat positions like their male counterparts is something these officers have not thought about: vulnerability and weakness is often the product of a person’s position in a social hierarchy and not of her/his sex (Schoeman, 2011:3).*

Thus the persistence of gender stereotypes was quite evident in the Liberian peacekeeping mission. This explains the deployment of female peacekeepers in positions and duties such as the police which are considered less dangerous. The persistence of gender stereotypes was not only evident in the Liberian peacekeeping mission; even in contemporary peacekeeping missions it is still pronounced. For instance, in Zimbabwe when the need arose to send peacekeepers to Syria, it was generally agreed among the top ranking officials in the military that no female peacekeepers were to be deployed as the situation in that country (Syria) was considered too dangerous for the women. When the decision not to deploy women peacekeepers from the army was taken it must be noted that Zimbabwe had only one female officer with rank of Brig-General. This means that the male generals arbitrarily made the decision not to include uniformed women peacekeepers influenced by gender stereotypes which favoured men.

### 3.6.2 Problems in the Selection of Peacekeepers

The selection criteria used to select peacekeepers was considered to be fraught with inherent problems. In Liberia the peacekeeping force which dealt with military issues was predominantly male. There were a few women in the armies of TCCs. Zimbabwe managed to send one female peacekeeper from the army out of 10 military officers while the ZRP sent five women peacekeepers out of fifteen peacekeepers. This raised the issue of the selection criteria used to select personnel to participate in the peacekeeping operations. Most armies of TCCs are male
dominated at the high command level which is responsible for the selection of peacekeepers (Juma, 2009:12). The prevailing attitude of male commanders is that peacekeeping operations are often done in dangerous situations which require brave men. Thus when it comes to the selection of peacekeepers male soldiers are preferred in the peacekeeping force. If women are selected they are often confined to soft and support administrative duties often far away from actual combat. Female peacekeepers who have participated in the Liberia peacekeeping mission lamented that the selection criteria favoured their male counterparts. Officer Gina interviewed of the ZNA noted that:

> When the ZNA recruited troops for the Liberian peacekeeping operation the first preference was given to the male soldiers. The commanders discouraged women to volunteer as the situation then prevailing in Liberia was considered dangerous.

It is worthy to mention that selection to peacekeeping operations also considered the rank and combat experience of the soldiers. Often a few women possessed the requisite qualifications and this automatically disqualified them a majority of uniformed women who intended to participate in peacekeeping operations. The issue of corruption also was raised as it affected the fair recruitment of uniformed women peacekeepers. A female officer within the ZRP, Officer Congo revealed that:

> There was rampant corruption in the selection of officers to peacekeeping operations. If one was to closely analyse the composition of the police force sent to Liberia it will not be surprising to note that most of the officers bribed the selection officers and if they are female they are connected intimately to the top commanders.

Allegations of corruption leveled against the selection process clearly show that selection to the peacekeeping mission in TCCs affects efforts envisaged by the UN resolution 1325 of 2000 aimed at gender balance in peacekeeping operations.

### 3.6.3 Insufficient Support for Uniformed Women Peacekeepers

Despite the existence of UN resolution 1325 of 2000 which demands gender balance in peacekeeping operations, there is a general feeling among women peacekeepers that there is insufficient support (Schoemaker, 2011:2). In interviews with women security officers who have

---

9 Interviewed 20 December 2013, Defence House, Harare.
10 Interviewed 21 December 2013, Police Head Quarters, Harare.
participated in the Liberian peacekeeping mission drawn from the ZNA and ZRP, it emerged that there was a general believe that their superiors give them little support when they are deployed to peacekeeping operations. A female officer, Massie\textsuperscript{11} with the ZRP once deployed to Liberia stated that:

\begin{quote}
Our superiors are more concerned with us at deployment and when we return given the media attention associated with such events. Whilst we are out there our superiors are not concerned at all.
\end{quote}

The expressed above by the female officer show that there is a discord between the deployed uniformed women peacekeepers and their superiors back home during deployment. Uniformed women peacekeepers need constant contact with their superiors back home during deployment to peacekeeping operations.

3.6.4 Persistent Absence of Senior Female Officers in Leadership Positions

The Liberian peacekeeping mission, though famous for involving uniformed women peacekeepers, had a major deficiency in that it had a few senior female officers in leadership positions (UN, 2010:33). Uniformed women officers interviewed lamented that the military leadership in the Liberian peacekeeping mission was an antithesis of what was envisaged by UN resolution 1325 of 2000. The top military leadership in Liberia responsible for decision making was mainly composed of male officers. A female officer, Mushipe\textsuperscript{12} in the ZNA expressed the view that:

\begin{quote}
It is problematic when female officers continue to be marginalized from senior leadership positions in the military responsible for decision making on issues such as the deployment criteria and assignment of duties in peacekeeping operations. We women in the military need role models we can emulate and have proven to the world that we are as effective as our male counterparts in decision making.
\end{quote}

There is no doubt that peacekeeping operations, even multidimensional peacekeeping missions such as the one underway in Liberia, still show signs that women are grossly under-represented with respect to senior leadership positions which have the mandate to make important operational decisions. Uniformed women peacekeepers lack female role models who can prove that they are equally as good as their male colleagues.

\textsuperscript{11} Interviewed 21 December 2013, Police HQ, Harare.
\textsuperscript{12} Interviewed 22 December 2013, KG6, Harare.
3.7 Conclusion

The Liberian peacekeeping mission is important in many ways with respect to the participation of uniformed women peacekeepers. For the first time in UN peacekeeping history an all-female police unit from India and other countries contributed uniformed women peacekeepers were deployed to assist with the peacebuilding effort in once war torn Liberia. The female officers in the police proved to be as effective as their male counterparts in peacekeeping operations. They showed that they had an extra edge than their male counterparts in peacekeeping missions by effectively deploying their social skills in a way which won the trust of the local populace. However, the Liberian mission revealed that there were challenges which obfuscated the participation of uniformed women in peacekeeping operations. Some of these challenges include the persistence of gender stereotypes, absence of female officer in senior leadership positions mandated with decision-making. The worst affected women peacekeepers were from the military, TCCs preferred to deploy a few women in the military a fact which shows that gender stereotypes still reign supreme.
CHAPTER FOUR: THE UN PEACEKEEPING MISSION IN IVORY COAST AND THE PARTICIPATION OF UNIFORMED WOMEN PEACEKEEPERS

4.0 Introduction

The UN mandated a peacekeeping operation in the Ivory Coast on the 13th of May 2003 under the banner of MINUCI. MINUC was mandated to facilitate the implementation of the Linas-Marcoussis Agreement of January 2003, signed between the warring parties in Ivory Coast. Some of the Ivorian political parties involved in the Agreement included the Ivorian Popular Front, the Movement of Future Forces (MFA), the Movement for Justice and Peace, the Patriotic Movement of Côte d'Ivoire, the Ivorian Popular Movement of the Great West, the Democratic Party of Côte d'Ivoire-African Democratic Party (PDCI-RDA), the Ivorian Workers Party, the Rally of the Republicans, the Democratic Union of Côte d'Ivoire (UDCI) and the Union for Democracy and Peace in Côte d'Ivoire (www.usip.org). The main political gladiators at the centre of the conflict in the Ivory Coast included President Laurent Gbagbo; Mr. Ouattara, Henri Konan Bédié and Seydou Diarra. These men and their respective para-militia organisations were fighting for political power to control Ivory Coast. On the 4th of April 2004 MINUC was superseded by the UN peacekeeping operation, the United Nations Operation in Côte d'Ivoire (UNOCI) (www.un.org/Dept/DPKOS). The mandate of UNOCI was to facilitate the implementation by the Ivorian parties of the peace agreement signed by them in January 2003 which aimed at ending the Ivorian civil war.

4.1 The establishment of UNOCI

The peacekeeping operation of the UN to the Ivory Coast under the banner of UNOCI was solemnized by resolution 1528 of 2004 (www.un.org/Dept/DPKOS). UNOCI had a 6420 strong force. The mandate of the 6420-strong force, in coordination with the French forces, included observing and monitoring the implementation of the comprehensive ceasefire agreement of 3 May 2003 (www.un.org/Dept/DPKOS). UNOCI had the mandate to monitor the movements of armed groups; provide assistance in disarmament, demobilization, reintegration, repatriation and resettlement; protection of United Nations personnel, institutions and civilians; support for
humanitarian assistance, implementation of the peace process; and assistance in the field of human rights, public information and law and order (www.un.org/Dept/DPKO).

TCCs to UNOCI included the following countries; Bangladesh, Benin, Bolivia, Brazil, Chad, China, Ecuador, Egypt, El Salvador, Ethiopia, France, Gambia, Ghana, Guatemala, Guinea, India, Ireland, Jordan, Malawi, Morocco, Namibia, Nepal, Niger, Nigeria, Pakistan, Paraguay, Peru, Philippines, Poland, Republic of Korea, Republic of Moldova, Romania, Russian Federation, Senegal, Serbia, Togo, Tunisia, Uganda, Ukraine, United Republic of Tanzania, Uruguay, Yemen, Zambia and Zimbabwe (www.un.org/Dept/DPKOS). Police personnel came from the following countries; Argentina, Bangladesh, Benin, Burkina Faso, Burundi, Cameroon, Canada, Central African Republic, Chad, Djibouti, Democratic Republic of the Congo, Egypt, France, Ghana, Guinea, Jordan, Madagascar, Niger, Nigeria, Pakistan, Rwanda, Senegal, Togo, Tunisia, Turkey, Ukraine, Uruguay and Yemen (www.un.org/Dept/DPKOS). The top leadership of UNOCI comprised SRSG Aïchatou Mindaoudou of Niger (the only female), DSRSG Arnauld Antoine Akojenon of Benin, DSRSG UN Resident Coordinator, Humanitarian Coordinator and UNDP Resident Representative M’baye Babacar Cissé of Senegal, Force Commander Major General Muhammad Iqbal Isa from Pakistan, Police Commissioner Major General Jean Marie Bourry of France (www.un.org/Dept/DPKOS). From the outset it can be concluded that the senior leadership of UNOCI was predominantly male. The uniformed forces were headed by male commanders who made the operational decisions when it came to the deployment of peacekeepers. Uniformed women peacekeepers were grossly under-represented in Ivory Coast and this reflected the gendered nature of peacekeeping missions in Africa. In Africa peacekeeping is still regarded as a masculine affair despite passage of UN Resolution 1325 in 2000.

4.2 Deployment of Uniformed Women in the Ivorian Peacekeeping Mission

UNOCI, in line with resolution 1325 of 2000, saw the deployment of uniformed women peacekeepers. The majority of the uniformed women deployed were in the police division as compared to the military division (UN, 2010:27). This shows that gender stereotypes are still prevalent. The police division is generally considered as safer for the deployment of women whereas the military is deemed dangerous hence the few numbers of uniformed women in the
peacekeeping army. Rwanda a country known for its genocide in 1994 contributed a contingent of 15 female officers which became the first female unit to serve with UNOCI (Kanyesigye, 2012:1). Countries such as Chad (deployed 10 female police officers), Zimbabwe (has been deploying one female officer from the ZNA out of five officers deployed for a period of 1 year since the inception of the mission in 2004, the police deploys four female peacekeepers out of 10 peacekeepers), and Canada (deployed 30 uniformed women peacekeepers) made significant contributions of uniformed women to the Ivorian peacekeeping mission (www.un.org/Dept/DPKO). Though the uniformed women peacekeepers were relatively few they made significant contributions which increased the operational effectiveness of the mission.

4.3 Contribution of uniformed Women in the Ivory Coast Peacekeeping Mission

It is noteworthy to mention from the outset that the UN peacekeeping mission in the Ivory Coast witnessed many episodes of violent conflict between the belligerent forces. In the eyes of many TCCs, this created a dangerous situation which limited the deployment of uniformed women particularly in the military. This perceived danger associated with the Ivorian peacekeeping mission did not deter the uniformed women deployed to carry out their duties. Some noted successes recorded by uniformed women peacekeepers include the following contributions:

4.3.1 Reorganization of Youth Associations

The uniformed women peacekeepers deployed in the Ivory Coast recorded success in the area of youth associations reorganization (UN, 2010:27). Years of conflict in the Ivory Coast had led to the systematic breakdown of social groups. The youth were absorbed into the conflict in various capacities especially as soldiers who perpetrated unspeakable atrocities. Thus when peace returned to the Ivory Coast there was to need to revive youth associations as they are key to building an inclusive peace process. An Ivorian Embassy official\(^\text{13}\) interviewed noted that

_The youth are an important component in any peace initiative; the UN peacekeepers in Ivory Coast managed to establish youth associations such as the Young Man Christian Association (YMCA)._

\(^\text{13}\) Interviewed 23 December 2013, Harare.
The uniformed women deployed in the Ivory Coast, especially from Rwanda and Chad helped in reorganizing the youth into associations that promoted peace, cooperation and reconciliation. To promote their peace endeavor the uniformed women managed to win the support of influential Ivorians such as Didier Drogba a world renowned footballer revered by the local youth (UN, 2012:4). The engagement of the youth as future leaders in the peace process has the net effect of reducing the possibility of conflict in future.

4.3.2 Civil- military relations

The participation of uniformed women in the Ivorian peacekeeping mission helped to build a relationship of trust between the military and the civilians (UN, 2010:36). An Ivorian embassy staff official\textsuperscript{14} interviewed stated that:

\begin{quote}
It must be noted that the years of conflict in the Ivory Coast had given the local citizens a wrong image of the military which was largely characterized by mistrust arising from the brutalities and atrocities that have come to be associated with the army. That image had to be transformed and the female peacekeepers were able to precisely do that.
\end{quote}

An official\textsuperscript{15} with the UN Department of Peacekeeping operations corroborated what was said the Ivorian embassy official by saying that:

\begin{quote}
One of the aims of the UN peacekeeping operations on the African continent is to improve the relationship between the local civilian population and the military. There is need to ensure that the civilian population cooperates with the military so that enduring peace can be achieved. Uniformed women peacekeepers have done exceptionally well in Liberia and the Ivory Coast as they helped restore civil-military relationships that had been torn by years of conflict.
\end{quote}

Thus the coming in of uniformed women as caring peacekeepers, able to freely interact with the local population, drastically changed the image of the military from a brutal force to one that can protect and safe guard citizens in a way that promotes peace and security. A female Officer\textsuperscript{16} in the ZNA deployed to the Ivory Coast testified that:

\begin{quote}
The inclusions of uniformed women in the peacekeeping mission made the Ivorians believe that the peacekeepers were there to genuinely bring about peace and security in that country.
\end{quote}

\textsuperscript{14} Interviewed 23 December 2013, Harare.
\textsuperscript{15} Interviewed 23 December 2013, Harare.
\textsuperscript{16} Interviewed 23 December 2013, National Defence College, Harare.
Bridges and Hosrfall (2013:3) concur with the foregoing observations by stating that uniformed women peacekeepers increase the operational effectiveness of UN peacekeeping operations. Operational effectiveness of the UN peacekeeping operations is enhanced if the mission has the support of the local population by establishing cordial working relationships between the civilian population and the military.

4.3.3 Healing through Reflections

The uniformed women peacekeepers in the Ivory Coast allowed Ivorian women to open up on issues that affected them (Mazurana, 2013:4). Years of conflict in the Ivory Coast had created a situation of lawlessness which resulted in the gross violation of women’s and children’s rights. Women found themselves being raped or being forced into bush marriages without their consent (www.un.org/Dept/DPKO). An academic17 from the University of Bindura interviewed noted that

*In conflict situations women found themselves powerless and unable to report their rights violations to a credible authority that would protect these rights. With the coming of peace to the Ivory Coast coupled with the deployment of uniformed women peacekeepers, the women in the Ivory Coast felt encouraged to report their plight to the authorities.*

The uniformed women peacekeepers thus created an accessible platform in which the women in the Ivory Coast felt free to discuss and report on issues such as gender based violence, HIV and sexual exploitation and abuse (SEA) (UN, 2010:40). The UN gender mainstreaming report notes that the uniformed women peacekeepers worked with the Office of the Gender Adviser (OGA) to encourage the Ivorian women to be open on issues that affected them arising from the conflict such as rape and sexual exploitation.

4.4 Competency of Uniformed Women Peacekeepers in Ivory Coast

It is important to compare the involvement of uniformed women peacekeepers in the Ivorian peacekeeping mission to that of their male counterparts. Kember (2011:38) cautions against this by noting that such a comparison is not fruitful as it may mean revoking gender stereotypes which may affect the whole exercise. However, the uniformed women peacekeepers acquitted

---

17 Interviewed 27 December 2013, NSSA, Harare.
themselves well in the roles and duties assigned to them at deployment. A female Officer\textsuperscript{18} in the ZRP interviewed noted that:

\begin{quote}
Uniformed women were able to effectively utilize their superior social skills to divest the peacekeeping mission of its veil as a masculine military mission, there to enforce peace through the application of force.
\end{quote}

That the Ivorian people accepted the peacekeeping mission shows that the uniformed women were equally competent as their male counterparts. The uniformed women peacekeepers were also able to engage Ivorian women effectively than their male counterparts to discuss issues such as GBV, HIV and SEA shows how essential they are in contemporary peacekeeping operations (UN, 2010:21). This competent application of social skills by the uniformed women peacekeepers made them effective peacekeepers and this increased the operational effectiveness of the UN peacekeeping mission in Ivory Coast.

4.5 Support for Uniformed Women in Multidimensional Peacekeeping Operations

The Ivorian peacekeeping mission casted light on whether the UN fully supported the participation of uniformed women in multidimensional peacekeeping operations. Female peacekeepers who participated in the Ivorian peace mission agreed that the UN was doing a lot, though more needs to be done, to support the deployment of uniformed women. One area that received a lot of praise was the initial training on gender issues that the uniformed women go through. A female peacekeeper\textsuperscript{19} with the ZNA stated that the:

\begin{quote}
UN organized a lot of training sessions that helped us deal with GBV, HIV and SEA if the issues emerge whilst in the field.
\end{quote}

The UN has also allowed other players to assist in equipping its uniformed women peacekeepers with essential operational skills. A female peacekeeper\textsuperscript{20} from Chad also collaborated this by stating that:

\begin{quote}
I have participated in trainings on issues such as gender and development organized by various institutions, associations, women’s organizations and the United Nations.
\end{quote}

\textsuperscript{18} Interviewed 27 December 2013, Police HQ, Harare.
\textsuperscript{19} Interviewed 27 December 2013, CBD, Harare.
\textsuperscript{20} Interviewed 28 December 2013, Skype Interview.
The UN has set up the Office of Gender Advisor, a specialized office that looks into the specific concerns of uniformed women and the civilian women (UN, 2012:15). One of the major mandates of the OGA is to ensure that uniformed women are able to carry out their assigned duties effectively and that civilian women are protected from abuse. The UN also tries to ensure that both men and women uniformed peacekeepers receive the same basic training which will help them to carry out their duties effectively.

4.6 Challenges Uniformed Women faced under UNOCI

Despite attempts at gender balance in the UN peacekeeping operations some noted challenges still persist which tend to militate against gender mainstreaming in multidimensional peacekeeping operations. These challenges include the following:

4.6.1 Gendered Allocation of Tasks

It emerged from the study that efforts at gender mainstreaming in UN peacekeeping operations are being negatively affected by the gendered allocation of tasks (Bell, 2011:2). The majority of female officers in the ZNA and the ZRP interviewed expressed the view that the allocation of duties in multidimensional peacekeeping operations were done considering the gender dimension. A female Officer, Zamo21 of the ZNA interviewed stated that:

*In peacekeeping operations uniformed women are often assigned with administrative duties within the camps as well as the cooking of meals.*

In the eyes of male commanders these duties are considered less dangerous and safe for the female officers. Their male colleagues often did the actually patrolling outside the camps which was considered dangerous and fit for male soldiers. Male officers still think that peacekeeping is a man’s world. A male Officer22 in the ZNA stated that:

*Peacekeeping involves monitoring dangerous armed groups who need to be shown that the peacekeeping force can also use force to ensure compliance with the truce. Now if women were to participate this will dilute the masculine image of the force and lead to the violation of the peace accords.*

21 Interviewed 28 December 2013, KG6, Harare.
22 Interviewed 28 December, 2013, Zimbabwe Staff College, Harare.
The sentiments expressed by the ZNA male officer cited above show that there is widespread conservatism among the males within the military who still believe that peacekeeping is a man’s world. This is despite the fact that they would have received the same training to face similar dangers as their male colleagues during operations. Feminist theorists believe that so long as the allocation of tasks in peacekeeping missions is done considering gender roles gender inequality will remain prevalent in such missions (Byrne and MacCulloch, 2013:2). The uniformed women peacekeepers interviewed felt that the UN has to seriously look into this policy if gender mainstreaming in peacekeeping operations is to be achieved. A female officer 23 in the ZNA stated that:

_The UN has to radically enforce gender mainstreaming to enable uniformed women in the military to occupy substantive posts in the peacekeeping missions_

Bridges and Hosrfall (2013:126) argue that peacekeeping is too complex to remain the province of men alone. UN practice should be such that uniformed women are also allocated tasks that are given to their male counterparts as this squarely places them at the centre of peacekeeping than at the periphery. Uniformed women officers should also be given the tasks of patrolling the neighbourhoods, engage in the actual mediation and peace negotiations with the belligerent parties during peacekeeping missions. Confining them to the bases will merely serve to reinforce gender stereotypes.

_4.6.2 Limited Representation of Uniformed Women in Senior Leadership Positions_

The study noted that women found it extremely difficult to access and occupy senior leadership positions within the UN’s multidimensional peacekeeping operations. Even though the measures to ensure gender balance are in place, the way recruitment is managed is poorly directed toward this objective (UN, 2010:21). A female officer 24 in the ZNA noted that:

_Even if uniformed women commanders volunteer, male commanders who are believed to have the experience and courage to lead missions are selected ahead of the women._

A male officer 25 in the ZNA interviewed noted that

---

23 Interviewed 29 December 2013, Zimbabwe Staff College, Harare.
24 Interviewed 29 December 2013, Defence House, Harare.
How can the UN peacekeeping missions expect to have uniformed women commanders when the armies of troop contributing armies have very few commissioned women officers who occupy the rank of colonel and above? Currently the ZDF has only one woman occupying the rank of Brigadier General out of more than 30 male Generals.

The foregoing observation show that gender stereotypes still limit the representation of uniformed women in senior leadership and decision making positions. This tends to affect the operational effectiveness of uniformed women peacekeepers as the male commanders always adopt deployment tactics that assign female officers to administrative duties far away from the real peacekeeping duties of patrolling and engaging with the belligerent forces in the mediation and peace negotiation processes (Bridges and Hosrfall, 2013:5). Feminist agitation must be used to ensure the armies of troop contributing countries promote women to senior leadership and decision making positions within their armies. Women are equally capable of leading peacekeeping operations as their male counterparts.

4.6.3 Uniformed Women still Experience SEA within the Bases

Uniformed women peacekeepers still experience SEA perpetrated by their male colleagues within the base (Gender Mainstreaming Report, 2010:36). A female officer\(^{26}\) in the ZRP interviewed highlighted that:

*Male colleagues regard us as instruments for sexual gratification despite the fact that we are equals.*

This shows that within the military uniformed women are still considered by some male members of the force as tools for free sexual gratification. A female officer\(^{27}\) in the ZNA interviewed expressed concern that:

*If uniformed women experience SEA within the base what more humiliation will they experience when they interact with the wider society where gender stereotypes reign supreme.*

The little respect that some male colleagues accord uniformed women erode efforts aimed at gender mainstreaming. It is noteworthy to point out that gender mainstreaming works in an environment in which there is mutual respect among both men and women. Bertolazzi (2010:14)

\(^{26}\) Interviewed 30 December 2013, Police HQ, Harare.

\(^{27}\) Interviewed 31 December 2013, NDC, Harare.
argues that the UN should come up with a stringent code of conduct that heavily sanctions male uniformed officers who are disrespectfully and treat fellow women officers with contempt. Such measures will encourage the male uniformed officers to accept and work well with their female counterparts.

4.7 Conclusion

The multidimensional peacekeeping mission in the Ivory Coast brought to fore a number of pertinent issues related to the involvement of uniformed women in peacekeeping operations. First and foremost uniformed women peacekeepers proved themselves to be effective and competent as their male counterparts. The uniformed women peacekeepers in the Ivory Coast were able to make a positive contribution in that they enhanced the relationship between the peacekeeping force and the civilian populations that had been accustomed to conflict. The UN still needs to do a lot in terms of supporting uniformed women in peacekeeping operations. There are challenges such as the fact that uniformed women still experience SEA within the base where there are supposed to feel safe. Uniformed women are still few in senior leadership positions and the allocation of tasks in peacekeeping operations is still highly gendered favouring the men peacekeepers. Gendered allocation of tasks militates against gender mainstreaming envisaged under UN Resolution 1325.
CHAPTER FIVE: CONCLUSION AND RECOMMENDATIONS

5.0 Introduction

The main objective of this study was to assess, the participation uniformed women peacekeepers in UN’s multidimensional peacekeeping missions with a view to explore how best it can be enhanced. Part of the study’s objective was to highlight the factors that militated against full gender mainstreaming within the UN’s peacekeeping missions in Africa. The study also evaluated the contribution of uniformed women peacekeepers in UN’s peacekeeping missions with a particular focus on the Liberian (UNMIL) and the Ivorian (UNOCI) peacekeeping missions. There was also, in this study, an assessment of how multidimensional peacekeeping missions have accommodated women. The operational hypothesis of this study was that although the multidimensional nature of contemporary UN peacekeeping promotes equal participation of both male and female peacekeepers, uniformed women peacekeepers remain under-represented in PKOs. This study proved that despite calls for gender mainstreaming within the UN peacekeeping missions in Africa and elsewhere in the world where there is conflict uniformed women are still marginalized and under-represented. The under-representation of women starts at the national level where they are few in number within the national security institutions and in senior leadership and decision making positions. This trend is mirrors itself in the UN system particularly the composition of the peacekeeping force.

5.1 Conclusions

5.1.1 Under-representation of Uniformed Women in Peacekeeping Missions

The study notes that uniformed women are still under-represented in terms of numbers as well as in senior leadership and decision making positions. This study has shown that the paucity of uniformed women in UN peacekeeping operations in general and in leadership and decision making positions in particular in both the military and the police can be traced to the composition of the national security institutions of most troop contributing countries (Jennings, 2011:5). The military and the police are still regarded as the men’s world. As a result uniformed women make
a small percentage of the total force in the military and police of most countries. For example the DRC big as it is, in terms of population and notwithstanding the fact that women outnumber men in that country yet uniformed women make up a mere 7% of the total DRC defence forces and only 6% in the police force (SADC Gender Protocol 2013 Barometer, 2013:4). The situation is more glaring in countries such as Botswana where uniformed women represent 1% of the defence forces in that country (ibid:p5). This means that when these countries contribute troops to the peacekeeping operations the gender disparities are reflected in the composition of the peacekeeping force with men outnumbering women.

5.1.2 Persistence of Conservative Gender Stereotypes

The study notes that cultural conservatism and gender stereotypes still persist in the national security institutions of troop contributing countries and within the UN in a subtle way despite passage of resolution 1325 of 2000 which stipulates gender mainstreaming locally and in international peacekeeping operations. Gender stereotypes are cultural bound and they define the social roles for men and women in all spheres of life within society (Mazurani, 2013:10). Most countries of the UN are dominated by patriarchy which regards women as inferior to their male counterparts in all spheres of life. Thus deeply entrenched gender stereotypes that are prevalent in most national security institutions have a net effect on the participation of uniformed in peacekeeping operations. The military and the police are thus regarded as masculine occupations which must be occupied by men. At the local level gender stereotypes can be a powerful tool that discourages women from joining national security institutions since society regards them as the preserve of men. Women who join the military are sometimes viewed as social misfits bent on challenging the existing status quo. A few women are willing to be classified as social deviants and totally avoid joining the national security sector.

Further, the training that one has to undergo before one can be a soldier or police officer reflect the male world view which emphasizes portrayal of a macho posture and physical fitness. Very few women are prepared to undergo the mandatory rough and tough military training one has to go through before they are deemed full-fledged soldiers or police officers. When women succeed in joining the military or police, considered as the men’s world, they are channeled towards light roles and duties as administrators, clerks, typists and nurses. These support roles that uniformed
women officers find themselves in, by their benign nature are in the lower ranks faraway from senior leadership and decision making positions. Since the UN peacekeeping missions require senior officers with the rank of Brigadier General and above, often occupied by males, to head such missions means that uniformed women loose out. The persistence of gender stereotypes at the national level entail that duties and roles within the military and police are allocated on the basis of gender not on merit even where uniformed women prove to be as capable as their male counterparts. As a result the allocation of duties, roles and the command of UN peacekeeping missions reflect the gender stereotypes prevalent in the national defence sector.

5.1.3 Skewed Recruitment Policies

Closely allied to the persistence of conservative gender stereotypes within the military sector of the TCCs and the UN, this study notes the existence of skewed recruitment policies which favour men. The recruitment policies of most national security institutions in TCCs prefer the defence sector to be male dominated so that it maintains its masculine image as a deterrent factor to those bent on creating anarchy. In countries such as Botswana, DRC and Madagascar there are deliberate recruitment policies which encourage recruitment into the army and police to be done along gender lines. There are deliberate measures in the fore cited countries to recruit more males into the national security sectors than women. Since the UN does not have a standing army of its own it has to rely on the troops contributed by the member states for deployment to peacekeeping missions. This means that the UN has little say or none at all in how member states recruit personnel into their national security institutions. The UN can only pass Resolutions such as 1325 of 2000 which call upon member states to regard gender mainstreaming as the instrumental means for achieving gender balance and equality within the local defence sector and in UN peacekeeping operations. However, the UN is powerless to compel member states to ensure gender mainstreaming as a recruitment policy at the national level. As a result when TCCs contribute troops to peacekeeping operations they reflect the outcome of skewed national recruitment policies which favour the male.
5.1.4 Negative Attitudes of Male Officers towards Uniformed Women Officers

The study established that male officers in both the national armies and police forces on UN member states have negative attitudes towards fellow uniformed women. Male officers in the national security institutions of the UN member states hold conservative views which regard the military and police as the sole domain of men (Nooman, 2013:4). Uniformed women are deemed less fit to engage in masculine military duties such as combat operations which demand physical fitness and courage in the face of imminent danger. This negative attitude is prevalent at the top command of most military institutions of TCCs. The male commanders who hold senior leadership and decision making positions feel that peacekeeping operations require male soldiers who are capable to engage in combat operations in order to enforce peace and protect the civilians from harm perpetrated by the belligerent parties. The army in Zimbabwe was reluctant to deploy uniformed women peacekeepers to Syria because the military commanders believed that uniformed women cannot handle the fierce fighting taking place in that country. So long as the male officers who are supposed to be complemented by the uniformed women officers hold negative attitudes the dream of attaining gender equality in national security institutions and in UN peacekeeping missions will remain a pipe dream.

5.1.5 Uniformed Women Face Sexual Exploitation and Abuse at Home and on Missions

The study noted with grave concern that uniformed women still face sexual exploitation and abuse at home and when they are on UN peacekeeping missions (Simic, 2013:6). Male soldiers hold the belief that uniformed women are objects for sexual gratification, there to provide them with sex whenever they needed. This male chauvinistic belief besides being retrogressive discourages women from joining the national security institutions. In a way uniformed women feel unsafe both at home and on UN missions as their male counterparts can pounce on them. The issue of sexual exploitation and abuse experienced by uniformed women both at home and when they are on UN peacekeeping operations raises a number of concerns regarding how they are treated within the military set up. Are uniformed women treated as agents of change within the military establishment or they are stranded symbols (Jennings, 2011:1). As stranded symbols, uniformed women are believed to be there as a mere façade to give the general impression that women are being accommodated within the military establishment. Thus so long
as uniformed women face sexual exploitation and abuse at home and on missions gender mainstreaming will remain a mirage in UN keeping operations.

5.1.6 Contribution of Uniformed Women Peacekeepers

The study notes that uniformed women made a number of positive contributions which contributed to the operational effectiveness of the peacekeeping effort. In both Liberia and Ivory Coast uniformed women were able to help build a positive image of the military in the eyes of the civilian population that had become accustomed to the army as a perpetrator of violence (Kember, 2010:45). The all-female Indian police unit deployed to Liberia was so effective in its peacekeeping activities that the local population developed trust in the peacekeeping force as an institution that can protect them and guarantee them security in the post conflict era.

Uniformed women peacekeepers were able to effectively engage the local community which helped foster local trust for the peacekeeping effort and allowed the communities to re-engage and cooperate with each other in a way that promoted peace and security. For example in the Ivory Coast the uniformed women peacekeepers helped to re-organize youth associations such as the Young Man Christian Association (YMCA) which ensured the youth were fully incorporated into the peace process. Re-building of community relations is a critical factor that ensures the engendering of enduring peace in societies that have experienced long episodes of conflict.

The uniformed women peacekeepers helped local women in both Liberia and Ivory Coast to discuss, document and report on issues such as GBV, HIV and SEA which affected their lives. Uniformed women peacekeepers acted as role models for the local and encouraged fellow women and girls to return to school and join the police. Overall the uniformed women peacekeepers in Liberia and Ivory Coast were able to give the peacekeeping force a humane face a feature that previous peacekeeping missions essentially lacked.

5.1.7 Competence of Uniformed Women Peacekeepers

The uniformed women peacekeepers proved to be as effective and able as their male counterparts. In Liberia and Ivory Coast the uniformed women peacekeepers were able to go the
extra mile by effectively utilizing their social skills which enabled these peacekeeping missions to achieve their overall objective of returning these two countries back to peace and stability (Bertolazzi, 2010:33). The uniformed women were able to engage the local community through dialogue, relationships re-building exercises and acting as role models for the local women to emulate. In fact the uniformed women complemented their male counterparts in ways that helped achieve the objectives of the peacekeeping missions. In tandem with liberal feminism theory uniformed women proved that they are as capable and able as their male counterparts in carrying out peacekeeping duties (Chinyani, 2012:12). In fact the participation of uniformed women increased the operational effectiveness of the UN peacekeeping operations in Liberia and Ivory Coast as the missions were able to assume a holistic approach that effectively addressed the needs of fellow women and children in the post conflict situation.

5.1.8 UN Support of Uniformed Women Peacekeepers

The study notes that *prima facie* the UN seems to be supporting the full participation of uniformed women peacekeepers in multidimensional peacekeeping operations. Passage of resolution 1325 of 2000 shows how serious the UN is when it comes to gender mainstreaming in multidimensional peacekeeping operations. In some instances, the UN has established Gender Units, Office of Gender Advisor (OGAs) and Gender focal points to support the gender mainstreaming efforts (UN, 2012:2). Though resolution 1325 of 2000 does not give specific guidelines on how member states and the UN should implement gender balance in its security forces it alerts the UN family to the need to have equal representation of both women and men in peacekeeping forces. However, gender mainstreaming is being affected by the continual low representation of women in the army and police as well as their under-representation in senior leadership and decision making positions and the prevalence of gender stereotypes which exist both in the national security institutions and the UN itself. In fact the UN is still powerless to influence the recruitment of uniformed women in the military and police forces of member states where gender inequalities start, perpetrated and cascaded into the UN system.
5.2 Recommendations

This study proffers the following recommendations that can enhance the participation of uniformed women in UN’s multidimensional peacekeeping operations:

5.2.1 Institutional-wide Changes to Accommodate Uniformed Women Peacekeepers

To enable the full participation of uniformed women in UN peacekeeping operations this study recommends institutional-wide reforms in the national security institutions and the UN itself. First and foremost the UN member states should do away with the conservative mindset that the military and the police are the sole domain of males. Deconstructing such a mindset will encourage more women to join the military and police because once women are fully represented at the national level the UN has a large pool from which to select female talent for its peacekeeping operations. The institutional reforms should also cover the recruitment policies. National security institutions must be encouraged to aim for substantive gender mainstreaming when it comes recruiting personnel as this will boost the number of women in the military and police who will in turn be deployed in large numbers to UN peacekeeping operations.

There is need to deconstruct gender stereotypes prevalent in the militaries and police of UN member states uniformed women must be regarded as capable and equally able to carry out military duties as their male counterparts. Once gender stereotypes are deconstructed this will pave way for uniformed women to take part in the intricacies of peacekeeping which inter alia involve combat duties, peace mediation and negotiation.

5.2.2 Need for Stringent Laws to Protect Uniformed Women from SEA

This study recommends that stringent laws and regulations be promulgated to protect uniformed women from SEA perpetrated against them by their male counterparts. Stringent laws and regulations with stiff penalties will discourage male soldiers from abusing uniformed women both at home and during UN peacekeeping operations. This will give uniformed women some modicum of protection as they participate in military duties both at home and during UN peacekeeping operations.
5.2.3 Promotion of Uniformed Women to Senior Leadership and Decision Making Positions

The UN peacekeeping department should ensure that there is an increase in the number of women in senior leadership and decision making positions in the military and police structures of troop contributing countries. The UN can achieve this goal by encouraging TCCs to promote women to senior leadership and decision making positions within their security forces so that the UN has a wide pool from which to tap female talent. Further, the UN can groom uniformed women with potential and who prove themselves to be effective in leadership and decision making roles from past peacekeeping operations.

5.2.4 Strengthening of Gender Units in the UN System

The study recommends that there is need to strengthen the Gender units, Office of the Gender Advisor and gender focal points in the UN member states and the UN peacekeeping system itself. The Gender Units should go beyond mere monitoring of how gender mainstreaming is being implemented in the security forces of UN member states but should be able to influence the substantive participation of uniformed women in the national security institutions and in UN peacekeeping operations. The Gender should be strengthened so that it can document report cases of sexual exploitation and abuse perpetrated against uniformed women by their male counterparts so that deterrent measures can be taken to protect women from such abuses.

5.2.5 Content of Peacekeeping Training Programmes

Peacekeeping training should start at troop contributing country level and then cascade to the UN itself. This means that the UN has to make a monetary sacrifice by ensuring that the armies of TCCs are adequately resourced to carry out training in peacekeeping operations and that training must essentially include the uniformed women officers. Peacekeeping training should have a visible gender component that covers gender mainstreaming, gender based violence, HIV and sexual exploitation and abuse courses.
5.2.6 Gender Mainstreaming in the Peacekeeping Force

The UN should ensure that resolution 1325 of 2000 is ratified by all its member states so that when they deploy their security forces to peacekeeping operations they reflect gender mainstreaming. Gender mainstreaming is a process that TCCs and the UN must mutually embrace and implement to ensure that uniformed women participate in UN peacekeeping operations occupying substantive duties and roles.

5.2.7 Constant Review of PKOs

The UN should review the conduct of each mission so that the rules of engagement in the host country create a conducive peacekeeping environment in which the needs of uniformed women peacekeepers are fully catered for. Furthermore the UN must engage women civic groups so that informed measures can be adopted to increase the participation of uniformed women peacekeepers in peacekeeping operations.

5.3 Areas for Further Study

The participation of uniformed women in UN peacekeeping operations is being studied at the international level mostly focusing on the UN. There is need to expand studies on gender mainstreaming which are specific to troop contributing countries as that is where the root of the problem is. Such research will reveal the challenges that troop contributing countries are facing in trying to achieve gender mainstreaming within their national security institutions. This will enable effective policy making and result in informed decision making that guide increased uniformed women participation in UN peacekeeping operations.
REFERENCES

Books


Chhabra, S. 2005. *Gender Perspective In Peacekeeping Initiatives: Opportunities and Challenges* New Delhi, NIPCCD.


Kember, O. F. 2010. *The Impact of the Indian Police Unit In the United Nations Mission* A Thesis submitted to the Faculty of the Graduate School of Arts and Sciences of Georgetown University


Journal Articles


Bell, Christine, .2013. *Women and peace processes, negotiations, and agreements: operational opportunities and challenges* NOREF Policy Brief


Nieuwkerk, A., V. 2012. ‘Gender Mainstreaming in South Africa’s Defence’ *Forces Security, Defence and Gender Training and Education Workshop. 2-4 May 2012*

Nooman, M. 2012. *The debate Over Female Peacekeepers* Consultancy Africa Intelligence’s Gender Issues Unit.


*United Nations*. 1999. Everything you always wanted to know about the UN, United Nations


**Internet Sources**


APPENDICES

APPENDIX 1: Human Interest Story 1: The Case of Assistant Inspector Gina

Assistant Inspector Gina of the ZRP is aged 36 and she has been with the force for 14 years. She was deployed under UNMIL as part of the civilian police contingent of peacekeeper to Liberia in 2009. Assistant Gina stated that her experience during her participation in peacekeeping in Liberia demonstrated beyond reasonable doubt that uniformed women peacekeepers were as effective as their male counterparts. She noted that uniformed women peacekeepers had a positive effect on the mission’s relationship with the local population particularly with the women, girls, children and the old. Assistant Inspector Gina cited community patrols as having left an indelible mark on the local population. During the community patrols the peacekeepers were able to mix with the local community and hear their security concerns as it related to the peace process that was going on in Liberia. She felt that the young girls and women were comfortable to come out in the open and talk freely about sexual exploitation and abuses that they suffered during the war. The young girls and women helped us to identify men who perpetrated acts of sexual exploitation and abuse and this led to the arrest of some of the men.

Assistant Inspector Gina stated that the pre-deployment gender training that she received prior to deployment helped a lot in planning and discharging her peacekeeping duties. However, she felt that experienced uniformed women peacekeepers should be engaged to give trainees firsthand experience and knowledge about a mission’s relationship with the local female population. She felt that such knowledge will help uniformed women peacekeepers to detail with difficult situations they may encounter during the peacekeeping mission. Assistant Inspector Gina felt that training in sexual exploitation and abuse as well as HIV issues can best be done if its imparted to society at large as it help men and women to understand gender differences and the dynamics of conflict before the outbreak of conflict. This can help mitigate conflicts and make society sensitive to gender differences.

Interviewed 27 December 2013 Harare Central Police Station
APPENDIX 2: Human Interest Story 2: Inspector Nyaradzo\textsuperscript{29} ZRP

Inspector Nyaradzo of the ZRP is 42 years old and has been in the police force for 20 years. She joined the peacekeeping mission to Liberia under UNMIL in 2010 because of her background and wide experience in the police force. Apart from her extensive experience as a police officer, she is also has a qualification in social work.

Inspector Nyaradzo felt that uniformed women peacekeepers should perform the same duties as their male counterparts during peacekeeping missions. However she pointed that it has to be taken into account that uniformed women are mothers and missions should ensure that they are facilities to keep in touch with their families as a way of maintaining the familial bonds.

During her deployment as a peacekeeper in Liberia she noted that uniformed women proved themselves to be capable as their male counterparts. She was able to put to use her skills and knowledge as a social worker. Inspector Nyaradzo provided guidance and counselling services to the young girls and women of Liberia. Most of the women and young girls she assisted were victims of sexual exploitation and abuse. The women and young girls felt more comfortable to express their feelings to a fellow woman. This could not have been possible if the mission was dominated by men only. Through interaction with uniformed women peacekeepers local Liberian women and young girls were encouraged to go back to school, join the Liberian National Police and to form associations and clubs where women could meet to share war time experiences. As a result the uniformed women peacekeepers showed the local women and young girls that they had a role to play in post war reconstruction, peace and security.

Inspector Nyaradzo stated that the participation of uniformed women peacekeepers can be enhanced through substantive gender mainstreaming. Gender mainstreaming should start at the national level and cascade to the UN peacekeeping missions. National police forces should recruit more women and promote them to positions of leadership and decision making so that the UN has a large pool from which to recruit female talent.

\textsuperscript{29} Interviewed 28 December 2013 Police HQ Harare.
APPENDIX 3: Human Interest Story 3: Ireen a Woman from Liberia

Ireen is a 25 year old woman from Liberia who experienced the full brunt of the civil war in her country when she was 18 years. During the war they were captured by the rebels who used her and other women as sex slaves in the camps. There was no way that she could avoid being turned into a sex slave as there was no one to protect women and young girls from such practice because of the war which had contributed to the breakdown of law and order in Liberia. The civil experience was traumatic to her such that she feels unsafe and uncomfortable to be in the company or presence of men particularly the soldiers. Thus when the UN peacekeeping mission to Liberia had uniformed women peacekeepers this changed her perception of the peacekeepers. The uniformed women peacekeepers from India, Chad and Zimbabwe helped local women like Ireen to interact with the peacekeeping force. Ireen and other women were able to relate their war time experiences to uniformed women peacekeepers who proved to be good counsellors. The counselling services received form the uniformed women peacekeepers helped Ireen and other Liberian women to move on with their lives. This helped women who had contracted HIV to accept their fate and live positively.

Ireen feels that UN peacekeeping missions can be more effective if they more uniformed women are included in the missions. The uniformed women who join the peacekeeping mission should be chosen on the basis of special social skills they possess. Women in war zones have special needs which arise from their experiences during conflict. They need special counselling which can be only be provided by uniformed women peacekeepers with skills in that area.

---

APPENDIX 4: Human Interest Story 4: Officer James Chiturumani

Officer James Chiturumani of the ZNA is a 47 year old male officer in the ZNA with over 25 years of military experience. He has participated in a number of UN peacekeeping missions. His last deployment was in Liberia in 2011.

Officer James strongly feels that uniformed women peacekeepers should not take part in peacekeeping operations because of the dangerous nature of the missions. He stated that during his deployment to the DRC and Angola peacekeeping missions the conditions were so terrible at times they faced fire from the belligerent parties. These conditions he said were not conducive for the deployment of uniformed women peacekeepers. He said that although the training they received as military personnel were the same for women and men, the training somehow was more rigorous for the male officers. This made the male officers tougher and better able to withstand the pressure associated with peacekeeping missions on the African continent. He also raised an interesting issue related to women. Officer James noted that the warfare on the African continent was rough and did not conform to the rules of engagement set out in the International Red Cross Conventions on war. Sex is increasingly used as a weapon of war and belligerents are prepared to use it as a means of achieving their objectives. He posited that, what will the nation say if our uniformed women officers are raped during the UN missions? It is obvious that the military leadership will face a backlash from the Zimbabweans.

Officer James noted that uniformed women should be confined to duties within the base if they are deployed on peacekeeping missions far away from the dangers of the mission. He stated that uniformed women should occupy positions such as administrators, clerks and cooks within the base. In fact what Officer James was highlighting are the deep seated gender stereotypes and biases that exist in most armies. Peacekeeping is seen as a masculine activity which requires the participation of men only. He was adamant that the operational effectiveness of UN peacekeeping missions can be enhanced if male officers are trained in gender differences. However, he conceded that local women were not comfortable with the presence of male only peacekeepers.

31 Interviewed 10 January 2014 Defence House Harare
APPENDIX 5: Human Interest Story 5: Constable Stella Ndudzo ZRP

Constable Stella Ndudzo is 37 years old and has been with the ZRP for the past 17 years. She has been deployed to UN peacekeeping missions in Sierra Leone, East Timor and Cote D’Ivoire. Constable Stella raised the important issue of having mixed teams which comprised both male and uniformed women peacekeepers. She stated that mixed gender teams were more effective during UN peacekeeping operations. Her experience from the Ivory Coast proved that gender mixed teams were able to deal effectively with security concerns of local men and women. The local population in Ivory Coast felt more comfortable in dealing with mixed gender teams of peacekeepers as evidenced by the high levels of interaction that such teams experienced.

Constable Stella pointed out that it is not a matter of uniformed women peacekeepers being better than their male officers in the area of peacekeeping. She stated that what is needed is collective effort whereby both male and uniformed women peacekeepers complement each other during peacekeeping. Constable Stella stated that though all female units are desirable during peacekeeping missions in reality male and female peacekeepers should work together in a complementary fashion so that peacekeeping missions achieve their goal of bringing durable peace to a war torn zone. She said mixed teams can help solve numerous problems which can make the UN peacekeeping missions more successful. Constable Stella suggested that UN peacekeeping missions can be more successful if more mixed gendered teams are deployed during peacekeeping operations.

32 Interviewed 14 January 2014 HQ Harare.
Human Interest Story 6: Officer Gilbert Zando

Officer Gilbert Zando is a member of the ZNA with over 30 years of military experience. His concern was with the low representation of uniformed women in leadership and top decision making positions in the ZNA. He stated uniformed women were not adequately represented in leadership and decision making positions in most militaries throughout the globe. The under-representation of uniformed women in top leadership and decision making positions was more glaring in the SADC region. For example he noted that within SADC uniformed women still constitute less than 30% in the militaries of the SADC countries. In Zimbabwe uniformed women are less 25%. He stated that this affected the way women are promoted to senior leadership and decision making posts within the army. Officer Gilbert noted that in the ZNA there is only one woman with the rank of Brigadier-General 30 years into independence. He stated that so long uniformed women occupy low ranks within the army there is no way that they can be expected to lead UN peacekeeping missions. This is because the UN selects officers with experience and who occupy top positions in the troop contributing countries.

He suggested that the under-representation of uniformed women in the army can be corrected by promoting women to top leadership and decision making positions through a gender mainstreaming process which recognizes that uniformed women are as capable as their male counterparts. Officer Gilbert noted that UN member states need to implement gender mainstreaming within the army in accordance with Resolution 1325.

Interviewed 15 January 2014 NDC Harare.
Human Interest Story 7: Diplomat Okoro from West Africa

Diplomat Okoro is from West Africa and is currently based at an embassy in Harare. He has over 32 years of experience in the Foreign Service and he has experienced firsthand most of the deadly conflicts in West Africa in countries such as Ivory Coast, Liberia, Sierra Leone and Mali.

Diplomat Okoro notes that Africa has over the years experienced deadly conflicts which have regrettably led to the loss of human life, property and destroyed community coherence. In all these conflicts women have been the main victims. In a situation in which sex has come to be used as a weapon of warfare women have experienced widespread sexual exploitation and abuse. Some of the women have been raped, infected with HIV and used in the most deplorable ways as sex slaves. Peacekeeping missions have provided a caveat for women in war torn zones to openly express their feelings about the brutalities of the war they have experienced due to the incessant conflicts that have become the order of the day on the continent. What has made women come out in the open and express their security concerns is the increasing participation of uniformed women in peacekeeping missions. He stated that women were comfortable to express their concerns to fellow women who understand their plight better than male peacekeepers. In fact he stated that the operational effectiveness of UN peacekeeping has been greatly enhanced by the participation of uniformed women who have given these missions a gender component.

Diplomat Okoro suggested that the participation of uniformed women can be enhanced by implementing UN resolution 1325 in full. The UN should prioritize gender mainstreaming in UN peacekeeping by creating mixed gender teams that ensure the needs of the women and young girls are addressed in the post conflict and reconstruction period.

Human Interest Story 8: Chineke Chide 35 Woman Ex-combatant in Liberia

Chineke is 30 years old and she experienced the Liberian civil war. During the war Chineke and fellow women from her village joined the war as combatants in one of the rebel armies that fought in the civil war to escape being abused. However, that was not to be, in the rebel camps Chineke and other women were sexual exploited by their male counterparts who demanded sex in exchange for food and money. Chineke stated that there was little they could do about the abuses as there was no credible authority to protect their rights. The deployment of UN peacekeepers helped a lot in bringing to fore the plight of women such as Chineke. Chineke stated that uniformed women deployed under UNMIL were able to comfort the women and empowered them to tell their story to the world in order to highlight the brutalities of the civil wars in Africa on the women population.

Chineke suggested that uniformed women should be increased in UN peacekeeping operations as this will help local women like her to confide her experiences to people who understood how it feels like to be sexually abused. She felt that uniformed peacekeepers also helped to instil discipline among the male peacekeepers. Male peacekeepers behave better if they are in the company of fellow female peacekeepers. Chineke thus suggested that gender mixed teams must be deployed to war zones so that the peacekeeping mission caters for the needs of both women and men.

35 Interviewed 24 January 2014 Holiday Inn Harare