Not Just a Numbers Game: Increasing Women’s Participation in UN Peacekeeping

PROVIDING FOR PEACEKEEPING NO. 4

SAHANA DHARMAPURI

INTERNATIONAL PEACE INSTITUTE
Cover Image: Captain Claire Leroux, Platoon Commander, UNIFIL, Lebanon, November, 9, 2012. UN Photo/J.C. Mc-Ilwaine.

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ABOUT THE AUTHOR
SAHANA DHARMAPURI is a Non-Resident Fellow at the Carr Center for Human Rights Policy, Harvard Kennedy School of Government.

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Providing for Peacekeeping is an independent research project established to broaden the understanding of the factors and motivations that encourage or discourage states from contributing to UN peacekeeping operations. Its aim is to generate and disseminate current information and analysis to support efforts to “broaden the base” of troop- and police-contributing countries, improve the quality of troop and police contributions, and fill key capability gaps.

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DEFINITIONS OF KEY GENDER TERMS
## Abbreviations

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<th>Abbreviation</th>
<th>Description</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ATWAM</td>
<td>Attitudes Toward Women As Managers Instrument</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>DDR</td>
<td>Disarmament, Demobilization, and Reintegration</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>DFS</td>
<td>UN Department of Field Support</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>DPKO</td>
<td>UN Department of Peacekeeping Operations</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>DSRSG</td>
<td>Deputy Special Representative of the UN Secretary-General</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ECOWAS</td>
<td>Economic Community of West African States</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>FPU</td>
<td>Formed Police Unit</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>GEM</td>
<td>Gender-Equitable Men Scale</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>MINURCAT</td>
<td>UN Mission in the Central African Republic and Chad</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>MONUC</td>
<td>UN Organization Mission in the Democratic Republic of the Congo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>MONUSCO</td>
<td>UN Organization Stabilization Mission in the Democratic Republic of the Congo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>MPAC</td>
<td>Military and Police Advisory Committee</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NAP</td>
<td>National Action Plan on Women, Peace, and Security</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NATO</td>
<td>North Atlantic Treaty Organization</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NGO</td>
<td>Nongovernmental Organization</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>OMA</td>
<td>UN Office of Military Affairs</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ONUB</td>
<td>UN Operation in Burundi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SRSG</td>
<td>Special Representative of the UN Secretary-General</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SSR</td>
<td>Security Sector Reform</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TCC</td>
<td>Troop-Contributing Country</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>UN</td>
<td>United Nations</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>UNAMA</td>
<td>UN Assistance Mission in Afghanistan</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>UNAMID</td>
<td>African Union-UN Hybrid Operation in Darfur</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>UNAVEM</td>
<td>UN Angola Verification Mission</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>UNFICYP</td>
<td>UN Peacekeeping Force in Cyprus</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>UNFPA</td>
<td>UN Population Fund</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Abbreviation</td>
<td>Full Name</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>--------------</td>
<td>-----------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>UNIFEM</td>
<td>UN Development Fund for Women</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>UN-INSTRAW</td>
<td>UN International Research and Training Institute for the Advancement of Women</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>UNMIBH</td>
<td>UN Mission in Bosnia Herzegovina</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>UNMIK</td>
<td>UN Interim Administration Mission in Kosovo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>UNMIL</td>
<td>UN Mission in Liberia</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>UNMIN</td>
<td>UN Mission in Nepal</td>
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<tr>
<td>UNMISS</td>
<td>UN Mission in the Republic of South Sudan</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>UNMIT</td>
<td>UN Integrated Mission in Timor Leste</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>UNOMIG</td>
<td>UN Observer Mission in Georgia</td>
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<tr>
<td>UNOMSA</td>
<td>UN Observer Mission in South Africa</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Executive Summary

In 2000, the United Nations Security Council passed Resolution 1325 on women, peace, and security. This stressed the need to integrate a gender perspective into the maintenance and promotion of international peace and security, including through peacekeeping operations. However, the inclusion of female uniformed personnel in national contributions to UN peace operations has fallen short of expectations. By March 2013, women comprised less than 4 percent of UN peacekeepers globally, accounting for about 3 percent of UN military personnel and about 9.7 percent of UN police.

The UN is unlikely to reach its goals for gender equality in peacekeeping missions because it is not fully implementing its own two-pronged approach: increase the number of women in peacekeeping operations and integrate a gender perspective within these missions.

Both goals have gone unmet due to three core issues: the lack of understanding among member states about Resolution 1325 and UN policy on gender equality in peace operations; a gap in data and analysis about women's participation in national security institutions globally and in UN peacekeeping in particular; and, most importantly, the prevalence of social norms and biases that perpetuate gender inequality within the security sector. Further, the UN and member states' focus on increasing the numbers of female uniformed personnel has obscured the equally important goal of integrating a gender perspective into the work of peace operations.

The likelihood of achieving the UN's goals for gender equality in the composition of peacekeeping operations would significantly improve if there were a clear strategy to effectively operationalize the UN's existing policy and generate greater political support for it among governments of key member states. Specifically, increasing female participation and integrating a gender perspective into peace operations requires a strategic vision and coherent efforts in the field, at UN headquarters, and within key member states.

This study proposes that the policy guidelines already outlined by the UN Departments of Peacekeeping Operations (DPKO) and Field Support (DFS) need to be operationalized through a comprehensive strategic plan supported by strong leadership. This should include the following activities:

1. Create a gender-sensitive force generation strategy that includes both military and police personnel for UN peacekeeping with sex-specific measures to address the recruitment, retention, and advancement of female uniformed personnel in missions.
2. Encourage further research on the recruitment and retention of women in national police and armed forces.
3. Establish a gender-coaching program for the UN Military and Police Advisory Committee.
4. Implement the DPKO/DFS guidelines and appoint military gender advisers in all UN peacekeeping missions.
5. Conduct an outreach initiative to member states to increase understanding about Resolution 1325 and the operational benefits of integrating a gender perspective into UN peacekeeping based on a comprehensive multi-country study.
6. Conduct a baseline study on the social norms that perpetuate inequality between men and women in UN peacekeeping operations.

The Numbers: How Many Women Are in UN Peacekeeping Operations?

It is difficult to accurately map trends in the number of female peacekeepers in UN operations, for several reasons. First, it was only in 2000 that the UN collected sex-disaggregated data on its peacekeeping missions, with statistics dating back only to 1994.⁠¹ Second, popular sources of publicly available data on national militaries, including The Military Balance produced by the International Institute for Strategic Studies, do not include sex-disaggregated statistics on national armed forces. Third, very few countries produce country-specific assessments of female participation in their national forces or in their contributions to UN

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¹ See UN Department of Peacekeeping Operations (DPKO), Mainstreaming a Gender Perspective in Multidimensional Peace Operations (New York, 2000), Annex.
Participation rates remained low in UN nineteen UN peacekeeping missions had significant civilian components, and almost one-third of officers were assigned to peacekeeping offices at UN headquarters. However, by 1993, eleven out of nineteen UN peacekeeping missions had significant civilian components, and almost one-third of civilian staff serving in them were women.

The UN did not specifically request women peacekeepers until 1994, when the secretary-general recommended “the target of 50 percent women and men” across the secretariat’s posts by 2000. In 1999, the Windhoek Declaration and the Namibia Plan of Action called on DPKO to improve gender balance and increase gender equality in UN peacekeeping. Falling short of the goal to reach gender balance in missions by 2000, the Plan of Action emphasized women’s participation in peacekeeping and again called for the target of reaching parity between men and women serving in managerial and decision-making positions in peacekeeping missions by 2015.

For almost a decade, female uniformed personnel participation rates remained low in UN peacekeeping operations, hovering around 1 percent globally. Then, in 2009, with the tenth anniversary of Resolution 1325 fast approaching, the problem of low participation rates of women in UN peacekeeping was revisited (see box 1). To address this problem more robustly, UN Police launched The Global Effort, an initiative focused on increasing the

**Box 1: Security Council Resolution 1325 and the women, peace, and security mandate.**

Security Council Resolution 1325 passed unanimously on October 31, 2000. It recognizes the serious impact that armed conflict has on women and children and the potential of women to contribute to all of the processes that aim to establish a durable peace. It calls on all actors to protect women’s rights, to take account of women’s needs and priorities, and to involve women in the process of establishing peace and security through their participation. This is because women and children continue to be disproportionately affected by armed conflict due to their universally lower status in society. They account for the majority of displaced people and civilian casualties, and they are targets of sexual violence. In addition, women are grossly underrepresented in peace negotiations and peace processes.

The resolution contains eighteen points necessary for its implementation, including increasing women’s participation in peace negotiations and peace processes; in politics and elections; in disarmament, demobilization, and reintegration (DDR); increasing women’s representation in security sector reform (SSR); in legal and judicial reforms; and in addressing sexual and gender-based violence.

Resolution 1325 also specifically calls for an increase in the number of uniformed women serving in UN operations and the incorporation of a gender perspective into peacekeeping operations:

- Point 4 urges the secretary-general to expand...
the role and contribution of women in UN field-based operations, especially among military observers, civilian police, and human rights and humanitarian personnel.

- Point 5 expresses the Security Council’s willingness to incorporate a gender perspective into peace operations, and urges the secretary-general to ensure that, where appropriate, field operations include a gender component.

Since Resolution 1325 established the women, peace, and security mandate, the UN has adopted specific policy directives to achieve gender equality in peace operations. The Security Council now has a family of resolutions under the women, peace, and security mandate, including—most importantly for this study—Resolutions 1325, 1820, and 1888.

Resolution 1820 was passed in 2008 and requests troop-contributing countries (TCCs) to take measures that heighten awareness and improve the responsiveness of their personnel in addressing sexual violence against women and children in armed conflict. In 2009, Resolution 1888 encouraged member states to deploy greater numbers of female military and police personnel to UN peacekeeping operations and provide all uniformed personnel with adequate training to carry out their responsibilities. Resolution 1888 also suggested, for the first time, that women join missions as military and police personnel, in part because “women and children affected by armed conflict may feel more secure working with and reporting abuse to women in peacekeeping missions, and that the presence of women peacekeepers may encourage local women to participate in the national armed and security forces, thereby helping to build a security sector that is accessible and responsible to all, especially women.”

Per centage of female police serving in peacekeeping missions to 20 percent by 2014.9 The UN Office of Military Affairs also began to encourage member states to deploy more female soldiers, but set no firm targets. By March 2013, women comprised less than 4 percent of UN peacekeepers globally, accounting for about 3 percent of UN military personnel and about 9.7 percent of UN police.

WOMEN IN SENIOR LEADERSHIP POSITIONS

Since 1948, thirty-one women have held thirty-seven senior leadership positions in UN missions (see table 1).10 The first female special representative of the secretary-general (SRSG) was appointed in 1992, Margaret Joan Antsee of the United Kingdom to the UN Angola Verification Mission (UNAVEM II).11 The most active period of appointments of women to SRSG and deputy SRSG (DSRSG) positions began in 2002 and continues today. However, in October 2012 the secretary-general noted the decrease in women’s participation in peace operations, especially at the director level.12

FEMALE MILITARY PERSONNEL AND POLICE OFFICERS

The top three troop-contributing countries (TCCs) since 2000 are India, Bangladesh, and Pakistan, which is highly relevant to the challenge of implementing Resolution 1325 in UN peacekeeping because these countries do not have a significant number of women within their national forces. Not incidentally, these countries also lack national frameworks to encourage the increased recruitment of women into the national defense forces and police. As of March 2013, the following countries lead in numbers of female peacekeepers contributed to the UN: Ethiopia (360), South Africa (338), Ghana (269), Nigeria (263), Rwanda (231), and Bangladesh (224). Figure 1 shows the number and type of uniformed female peacekeepers in UN operations over the last three and a half years.

FEMALE FORCE COMMANDERS

Some member states are starting to pursue the promotion of women in their armed forces to

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### Table 1: Female heads of mission and deputy heads of mission, 1948–2013.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name (Nationality)</th>
<th>Position</th>
<th>UN Mission</th>
<th>Dates</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Kaarina IMMONEN (Finland)</td>
<td>DRSRG/RC/HC*</td>
<td>BINUCA/Central African Republic</td>
<td>2013–present</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jacqueline BADCOCK (United Kingdom)</td>
<td>DRSRG/RC/HC</td>
<td>UNAMI/Iraq</td>
<td>2012–present</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Karin LANDGREN (Sweden)</td>
<td>SRSG</td>
<td>UNMIL/Liberia</td>
<td>2012–present</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hilde JOHNSON (Norway)</td>
<td>SRSG</td>
<td>UNMISS/South Sudan</td>
<td>2011–present</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A. Mindaoudou SOULEYMANE (Niger)</td>
<td>SRSG ad interim &amp; DRSRG</td>
<td>UNAMID/AU-UN Hybrid Operation in Darfur</td>
<td>2011–present</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Margaret VOGT (Nigeria)</td>
<td>SRSG</td>
<td>BINUCA/Central African Republic</td>
<td>2011–present</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rosine SORI-COULIBALY (Burkina Faso)</td>
<td>DRSRG</td>
<td>BNUB/Burundi</td>
<td>2011–present</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lisa BUTTENHEIM (USA)</td>
<td>SRSG</td>
<td>UNFICYP/Cyprus</td>
<td>2010–present</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lise GRANDE (USA)</td>
<td>DRSRG</td>
<td>UNMIS/South Sudan</td>
<td>2011–2012</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Karin LANDGREN (Sweden)</td>
<td>SRSG</td>
<td>BNUB/Burundi</td>
<td>2011–2012</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ameerah HAQ (Bangladesh)</td>
<td>SRSG</td>
<td>UNMIT/Timor Leste</td>
<td>2010–2012</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Christine McNAB (Sweden)</td>
<td>DRSRG/RC/HC</td>
<td>UNAMI/Iraq</td>
<td>2009–2012</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Karin LANDGREN (Sweden)</td>
<td>RSG**</td>
<td>UNMIN/Nepal</td>
<td>2009–2011</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kim BOLDUC (Canada)</td>
<td>DRSRG/RC/HC</td>
<td>MINUSTAH/Haiti</td>
<td>2009–2010</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Karin LANDGREN (Sweden)</td>
<td>RSG</td>
<td>UNMIN/Nepal</td>
<td>2009–2011</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Leila ZERROUGI (Algeria)</td>
<td>DRSRG</td>
<td>MONUC-MONUSCO/Democratic Republic of the Congo</td>
<td>2008–2012</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ellen Margrethe LØJ (Denmark)</td>
<td>DRSRG</td>
<td>UNMIL/Liberia</td>
<td>2008–2012</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rima SALAH (Jordan)</td>
<td>DRSRG</td>
<td>MINURCAT/ Chad and CAR</td>
<td>2008–2010</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Karin LANDGREN (Sweden)</td>
<td>DRSRG</td>
<td>UNMIN/Nepal</td>
<td>2008–2009</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Aracelly SANTANA (Ecuador)</td>
<td>DRSRG</td>
<td>UNMIN/Nepal</td>
<td>2008–2008</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Henrietta Joy Abena Nyarko MENSA-BONSU (Ghana)</td>
<td>DRSRG</td>
<td>UNMIL/Liberia</td>
<td>2007–2011</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Marta RUEDAS (Spain)</td>
<td>DSC****/RC/HC</td>
<td>UNSCOL/Lebanon</td>
<td>2007–2010</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bintou KEITA (Guinea)</td>
<td>DERSG***</td>
<td>ONUB/Burundi</td>
<td>2007–2010</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ameerah HAQ (Bangladesh)</td>
<td>DRSRG</td>
<td>UNMIS/Sudan</td>
<td>2007–2010</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ameerah HAQ (Bangladesh)</td>
<td>DRSRG</td>
<td>UNAMA/Afghanistan</td>
<td>2004–2007</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Carolyn McASKIE (Canada)</td>
<td>SRSG</td>
<td>ONUB/Burundi</td>
<td>2004–2006</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sissel EKAAS (Norway)</td>
<td>DRSRG</td>
<td>UNMEE/Ethiopia &amp; Eritrea</td>
<td>2004–2005</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Angela KANE (Germany)</td>
<td>DRSRG</td>
<td>UNMEE/Ethiopia &amp; Eritrea</td>
<td>2003–2004</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Margareta WAHLSTROM (Sweden)</td>
<td>DRSRG</td>
<td>UNAMA/Afghanistan</td>
<td>2003–2004</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Heidi TAGLIAVINI (Switzerland)</td>
<td>SRSG</td>
<td>UNOMIG/Georgia</td>
<td>2002–2006</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lena SUNDH (Sweden)</td>
<td>DRSRG</td>
<td>MONUC/Democratic Republic of the Congo</td>
<td>2002–2004</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Roza OTUNBAYEVA (Kyrgyzstan)</td>
<td>DRSRG</td>
<td>UNOMIG/Georgia</td>
<td>2002–2004</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ann HERCUS (New Zealand)</td>
<td>SRSG</td>
<td>UNFICYP/Cyprus</td>
<td>1998–1999</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Elizabeth REHN (Finland)</td>
<td>SRSG</td>
<td>UNMIH/Bosnia and Herzegovina</td>
<td>1998–1999</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Angela KING (Jamaica)</td>
<td>SRSG</td>
<td>UNOMSA/South Africa</td>
<td>1992–1994</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Margaret Joan ANSTEE (United Kingdom)</td>
<td>SRSG</td>
<td>UNAVEM II/Angola</td>
<td>1992–1993</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

* DRSRG/RC/HC stands for Deputy Special Representative/Resident Coordinator/Humanitarian Coordinator
** RSG stands for Representative of the Secretary-General.
*** DERSG stands for Deputy Executive Representative of the Secretary-General.
*** DSC stands for Deputy Special Coordinator.
increase not only the number of women in missions, but also the number of women in senior positions in international operations. Norway, for example, has strengthened its recruitment and promotion of women internally. In 2011, two women, Lieutenant Colonel Ingrid Gjerde and Ann Clearance, led the Norwegian contingent in Afghanistan. In 2012, Norway actively championed the candidacy of the first female force commander for a UN peace operation. However, this female candidate was not selected.

GENDER COACHES IN THE ARMED FORCES

In 2003, Sweden launched “GenderForce,” an innovative program within the Swedish Armed Forces to support gender-equality goals within the work of military operations. GenderForce focused on improving gender mainstreaming in the military, and it aimed to account for women’s needs, experiences, and expertise in international conflicts and disasters.

One of the innovations of GenderForce was the Gender Coach program. Modeled on traditional mentoring programs, a small group of gender advisers were trained to be “gender coaches” supporting senior officials in their day-to-day work. During the one-year pilot, twelve senior officials were matched with twelve gender coaches. Participants in the programs included the chief of staff for the Swedish Army and the director of Armed Forces Training and Procurement. Top management was targeted because they have “the power and ability to influence structures and behaviors within the organization.”

Participants considered the program highly

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successful in increasing the integration of a gender perspective into their daily work.  

ALL-FEMALE FORMED POLICE UNITS

In recent years, UN member states have increased their contributions of female police, with some focusing on contributing all-female formed police units (FPUs). India deployed the first all-female FPU to Liberia in 2007. It was lauded for its performance and certainly raised the profile of female peacekeepers in general. Four more all-female FPUs have deployed since. Two Bangladeshi FPUs were deployed: one to Haiti, the other to the Democratic Republic of the Congo. A Samoan contingent was deployed to Timor Leste. Most recently, in January 2013, a Peruvian all-female FPU deployed to Haiti. One explanation for this trend is that civilian police forces often have higher rates of female participation than military institutions in many countries, meaning there is a larger pool of female police candidates than their military counterparts. Civilian security problems are more effectively addressed when the composition of the force reflects the population it serves.

FPUs are recruited as a unit from a single member state, consist of a minimum of 120 armed police, and are accompanied by 30 to 40 support staff. FPUs are trained to maintain public order and execute a range of tasks, including maintaining public order, protecting UN personnel and facilities, and supporting police operations that may require a formed response. The UN now has specific language on engaging women’s organizations in information gathering and analysis for all FPUs—both all-male and all-female contingents. However, the UN has not reported on whether and how all-male and all-female FPUs have engaged with women’s organizations.

Why Is Gender Equality in Peacekeeping Important?

Gender equality is a goal for both the internal composition of UN peacekeeping missions and for the work the mission does in the host nation. Therefore, the UN policies and guidelines to execute the mandate on women, peace, and security are both internally and externally focused.

The goal to increase the number of women in the composition of military and police contingents in UN peacekeeping is an internally focused gender-equality goal because it aims for equal representation of women within the UN operation. The goal to integrate a gender perspective into the work of the mission, including the military components of a UN peacekeeping operation, is an externally focused gender-equality goal because it aims for the promotion of gender equality in the host state where the mission is working—in the security sector, in the election process, and in postconflict reconstruction, for example.

Both the external and internal aims are on improving the mission’s ability to understand men’s and women’s experiences, needs, statuses, and priorities as they relate to the mission’s mandate. This is called integrating a “gender perspective.”

A gender perspective illuminates the experiences, needs, status, and priorities of men/boys and women/girls as they relate to the mission’s mandate. Using a gender perspective in the work of a mission is not the sole responsibility of a female gender adviser or of the women in a mission. For example, in 2009, the UNMIL/Liberia Office of the Gender Adviser and the Office of the Force Commander agreed on areas of collaboration, and this resulted in the appointment of a male military gender

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16 This is called integrating a “gender perspective.”

17 Author interview with Alex Rinaudo, special assistant to the UN police adviser Anne Marie Orler, New York, November 29, 2012. See also Red de Seguridad y Defensa de América Latina (REDSAL), Women in the Armed and Police Forces in Latin America: Resolution 1325 and Peace Operations, 2010, p.96.


21 Gender-relations and power differences can include men, women, boys, and girls. However, this discussion focuses mainly on men and women.
officer under direct supervision of the force commander.\textsuperscript{22} This illustrates that integrating a gender perspective can be made the responsibility of all mission personnel—men and women—and that a gender perspective can be adopted even in missions with low numbers of female uniformed personnel.

Using a gender perspective enhances the operational effectiveness of peacekeeping operations in several ways. One benefit is improved situational awareness, resulting in a more comprehensive and nuanced understanding of the area of operation, reducing uncertainty and helping to prevent unintended negative consequences.\textsuperscript{23}

Lessons learned from NATO, the UN, and member states show that information gathering and analysis is improved when the differential impact of armed conflict on women and men is taken into account. Attention to both men’s and women’s distinct experiences in conflicts reveals comprehensive information on the area of operation, including the identities of local power brokers; division of labor; access to resources; kinship and patronage networks; and community security threats, risks, interests, and needs.\textsuperscript{24} Such thorough information gathering about the impact of a peacekeeping operation on the local population—men and women—can increase the capacity of the mission to effectively accomplish its goals.

In addition, the presence of female peacekeepers can increase local communities’ acceptance of a UN force. For example, a study based on the missions in Namibia (UNTAG), South Africa (UNOMSA), and Rwanda (UNAMIR) found that “In all of these operations, women police peacekeepers were seen by locals as less threatening, more willing to listen, and better able to diffuse potentially violent situations.”\textsuperscript{25} Force acceptance and improved communication with the local population are vital to addressing the problem of sexual violence in conflict.\textsuperscript{26} Local women are also more likely to report incidents of sexual violence to female officers.\textsuperscript{27} Therefore, female interpreters are vital for interviewing survivors of sexual violence.

Another benefit of the participation of female peacekeepers revolves around the reduction in instances of sexual exploitation and abuse in peacekeeping operations. A 1995 study for the UN Division for the Advancement of Women found that the incidence of rape and use of prostitution fell significantly with even a token female presence.\textsuperscript{28} It is also important to recall that there has been, as yet, no indication that female peacekeepers have engaged in sexual exploitation and abuse in a UN mission.

Female peacekeepers can also improve the daily tactical level work of missions because they can perform certain security tasks better than their male counterparts. For example, female soldiers have a “comparative operational advantage” in sensitive situations such as female body searches, working with women’s prisons, providing escorts for victims and witnesses of sexual violence, and screening of female combatants at disarmament, demobilization, and reintegration (DDR) sites.\textsuperscript{29} Female police and soldiers can often access and interview more elements of a local population—the women, boys, and girls—especially in cultural contexts that are conservative and do not allow men outside the local community to interact with the community’s women. This increased access to the population by female officers expands the ability of peacekeepers to gather comprehensive information that can

\begin{thebibliography}{99}
\bibitem{22} UNIFEM and DPKO, “Addressing Conflict-Related Sexual Violence: An Analytical Inventory of Peacekeeping Practice,” June 2010, p.43.
\bibitem{24} See for example Swedish Defense Research Agency, \textit{Operational Effectiveness and UN Resolution 1325}; and UN DPKO, \textit{Mainstreaming a Gender Perspective}. The UN DPKO study examined five multi-dimensional operations, namely Namibia, Cambodia, Bosnia Herzegovina, El Salvador, and South Africa.
\bibitem{26} See UNIFEM and DPKO, “Addressing Conflict-Related Sexual Violence,” p.41.
\bibitem{29} UNIFEM and DPKO, “Addressing Conflict-Related Sexual Violence,” p.43.
\end{thebibliography}
contribute to overall mission effectiveness.30

These examples emphasize the important benefits of promoting gender equality and adopting a gender perspective for operational effectiveness overall. It is important to underscore that women-only tactics such as deploying all-female units are not necessarily the best way to achieve these goals.31 Institutionalizing all-female units can lead to tokenism of women in a peacekeeping mission and may give credence to the idea that men and women cannot work well together. Not only do surveys of female peacekeepers underscore their willingness and ability to work with their male counterparts, they also show that mixed (male and female) teams and units are more effective.32

What Is UN Policy, and How Is It Being Implemented?

In 2006, DPKO adopted the UN Policy Directive on Gender Equality in Peacekeeping Operations (see table 2 below). This elaborated the principles and requirements for implementing UN mandates on women, peace, and security in the work of all missions. It also examined the gaps in recruitment and retention of women and gave DPKO a mandate to “advance gender balance among DPKO headquarters and mission staff, including at senior management levels.”

In 2010, DPKO and DFS published “Guidelines for Integrating a Gender Perspective into the Work of the United Nations Military in Peacekeeping Operations” (hereafter DPKO/DFS Guidelines). These underlined the importance of uniformed female personnel and the operational necessity of employing a gender perspective in missions. The document was intended to provide a practical translation of the mandates on women, peace, and security, such as Resolution 1325 and Resolution 1888 (see box 1), and “to inform the force-generation goals in line with specific operational requirements for the selection and deployment of male and female military personnel, pre-deployment preparations and training of military personnel.”34

The DPKO/DFS Guidelines also laid out “military guidance checklists” for the strategic, operational, and tactical levels of a military component of a mission.35 In relation to strategic-

Table 2: The history of DPKO/DFS guidelines and policies on women, peace, and security, 2006–2010.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Policy and Guidelines</th>
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| 2006   | Gender Mainstreaming Policy Guidelines  
|        | Gender Equity in UN Peacekeeping Operations, A Policy Directive  
|        | Gender and Political Affairs Guidelines and Checklist for Desk Officers |
| 2007   | DPKO/DFS-DPA Joint Guidelines on Enhancing the Role of Women in Post-Conflict Electoral Processes |
| 2008   | Guidelines for Gender Adviser and Gender Focal Points |
| 2010   | Checklist for Senior Management  
|        | Military Guidelines  
|        | Gender Equality in Peacekeeping Operations  
|        | DPKO/DFS Guidelines for Integrating a Gender Perspective into the Work of the UN Military in Peacekeeping Operations |

31 Confidential author interviews with UN officials, New York, November–December 2012.
32 See for example, Bertolazzi, “Women with a Blue Helmet”; Swedish Defense Research Agency, Operational Effectiveness and UN Resolution 1325; Genderforce, Good and Bad Examples: Lessons Learned from Working with United Nations Resolution 1325 in International Missions (Stockholm, 2007); J.B. Bear and A. Woolley, “The Role of Gender in Team Collaboration and Performance,” Interdisciplinary Science Review 36, No. 2 (2011). This latter study found that (1) a higher ratio of women to men on a team raises the collective intelligence of a group, (2) groups with women show more balance in sharing speaking opportunities among its members, (3) when the gender mix is balanced or favoring women, the team outperforms homogeneous teams where the balance favors men, and (4) gender mixed teams also do better at constructive group processes.
level guidance on force generation, the guidelines called for, among other things, an initial assessment of the operational realities in the mission area, such as the presence of female ex-combatants that necessitate the deployment of female military peacekeepers; minimum requirements for female deployments; and a progress review of efforts by member states to improve the balance of male and female deployments.\textsuperscript{36} With regard to guidance on support and operational advice to TCCs, the guidelines suggested, among other considerations, that TCCs maintain sex-disaggregated data on the numbers of male and female military personnel within the various professional ranks of their national armed forces; appoint a gender focal point within each military contingent with clear terms of reference; and assess in repatriation surveys the operational impact of the deployment of female personnel, as well as the barriers to and opportunities for their enhanced deployment.\textsuperscript{37}

The DPKO/DFS Guidelines also call for missions to appoint military gender advisers and military gender focal points that would be “responsible for supporting the integration of a gender perspective into the work of the military component of a peacekeeping mission.” These personnel would be embedded in the military chain of command within a mission (see figure 2). In contrast, the

\textbf{Figure 2: Generic structure for military gender advisers and focal points.}\textsuperscript{38}

\textsuperscript{36} Ibid., p.16.
\textsuperscript{37} Ibid., p.17.
\textsuperscript{38} Excerpted from UN DPKO/DFS Guidelines, p.39.
mission’s gender adviser—a civilian—would provide “overall strategic guidance and direction to support the integration of a gender perspective into the work of various components of a peacekeeping mission.” The military gender adviser and the mission gender adviser are meant to coordinate their work in the mission.

Since the passage of Resolution 1325, some member states—Ireland, Finland, the Netherlands, Norway, South Africa, and Sweden—have also adopted policies and action plans that include the appointment of military gender advisers and gender focal points within their national forces. In 2012, Ireland took this initiative a step further when the Irish Defense Forces declared that henceforth the chief of staff to an Irish national contingent deployed on an international operation would also be the military gender adviser. This is significant because the chief of staff sits at the same table where operational plans are made and has direct and immediate access to all decision making.

**IMPLEMENTATION OF THE POLICY**

Since 2009, the UN has set goals for increasing the numbers of female uniformed personnel in missions and encouraged member states to contribute more of them. UN Police set a goal of increasing female police by 20 percent in UN peacekeeping, and Anne-Marie Orlé, the former UN Police division chief, repeatedly called on member states to meet this objective. The UN Office of Military Affairs (OMA), on the other hand, did not set a specific target, but its leadership encourages member states to contribute more female troops via correspondence and meetings with member states.

There is no overarching strategy that merges and guides both approaches to addressing the low participation of women in UN peacekeeping operations and methods for effectively integrating a gender perspective into field missions. What follows is an overview of the efforts of some of the offices of DPKO and DFS.

**DPKO/DFS Guidelines**

While several initiatives have taken place to implement the guidelines, military gender advisers have not yet been appointed. UN peacekeeping missions now have gender advisers, but they still do not have military gender advisers. In 2011, the OMA advised force commanders to appoint at headquarters a gender focal point, instead of a military gender adviser. In addition, force commanders and chief military observers received instructions in 2011 suggesting that a gender focal point be appointed before a full-time dedicated military gender adviser became available. National contingents have also been requested to appoint gender focal points, and several missions now have them. No additional resources were provided to hire military gender advisers. To date, no military gender advisers have been appointed at the operational level.

In late 2012, the Special Committee on Peacekeeping Operations (C-34) not only expressed concern at the overall low proportion of women in all categories at all levels of UN peacekeeping but requested “information from the Department of Peacekeeping Operations and in particular the Office of Military Affairs, on the implementation of and level of compliance with the Guidelines, and their impact on the work of the military component in the various peacekeeping missions.” In response, in January 2013, UN Women, UN Police, the DPKO Gender Unit, and OMA provided a briefing to the C-34 on the topic of gender and peacekeeping.

In early 2013, DPKO/DFS launched a project piloting the “Guidelines on Integrating a Gender Perspective into the Work of the United Nations Military” in UNIFIL aimed at assessing the obstacles and challenges of implementation of the guidelines and revising the training materials to

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39 Ibid., p. 39.
42 Author interview with Nadine Puechguirbal, senior gender adviser, DPKO, November 20, 2012; e-mail correspondence with Samuli Harju, associate gender expert, DPKO, December 20, 2012.
accompany UN policies to execute the women, peace, and security mandate. UNIFIL wrote the concept for the project that included consultations with local women and force headquarters, and the testing of training modules. Consultations with local women took place through the local gender working groups in southern Lebanon. The women discussed their perceptions of safety and the role of peacekeeping, including the deployment of women peacekeepers, and were asked for recommendations on how to improve interactions between peacekeepers and the local community. This study is the first of its kind, and a public report including lessons learned will be published this year.\(^44\)

**UN Police: The Global Effort Initiative**

The UN Police division’s Global Effort was launched in 2009 in order to increase the number of female police in UN Missions. It was born out of a series of in-country assessments and meetings with police-contributing countries, expert groups, focus groups, and senior female police officers. It has three goals:\(^45\)

1. To deploy 20 percent female police officers for UN Police globally. To achieve this, the division has asked member states to deploy the same proportion of women that they already have in their national civilian police forces.

2. To encourage member states to review their recruitment policies and criteria for deployment to identify any inequalities or barriers to entry for women, and to identify where their national criteria for recruitment to UN missions do not necessarily match the UN criteria for recruitment to missions.

3. To encourage more female police through motivation, recognition, and promotion of women in UN Police. To this end, UN Police launched the international network of female peacekeepers, and an international peacekeeping award. The network of female UN police officers focuses on increasing their professionalism through training and sharing expertise on international policing and issues affecting women. It also aims to develop a network of professional contacts among officers within and across peace operations, and establish links with national, regional, and international police networks.

UN Police is currently conducting several follow-up initiatives, including developing a website for the new “Network of Female Police,” which includes more mentoring for female police peacekeepers; addressing women’s specific needs for facilities and separate accommodations; and ensuring that women are not segregated in missions and have equal status on the job.\(^46\) The latter problem is seldom documented. Several interviewees stated that the way female uniformed personnel are treated in a field mission can range from “not being allowed to leave the base to go on patrols,” to female soldiers and police “being assigned to kitchen duties” instead of the work in their job description. Several interviewees mentioned hesitation in sending women out of the mission because “the women are our jewels” and “the situation was too dangerous to have women on patrols.” These practices are commonly known yet not openly discussed or addressed.\(^47\)

During 2010 and 2011, UN Police also piloted two training programs on integrating gender perspectives and increasing women’s representation in peacekeeping. The training covers gender mainstreaming in police peacekeeping, strategies to increase women in UN Police, best practices, improving recruitment for police, and addressing sexual and gender-based violence (SGBV), and sexual exploitation and abuse. UN Police is also aiming to strengthen specific skills that female police need to pass the UN Selection Assistance Test, including driving, shooting, and English and French language skills. To do this, UN Police has recently engaged in a project supported by the United States to train 150 female officers on the UN minimum requirements for language, driving, and firearms proficiency.\(^48\)

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\(^{44}\) Author e-mail correspondence with a UN official, March 10, 2013.

\(^{45}\) Author interview with Lea Angela Biason, gender adviser for UN Police, December 6, 2012.


\(^{47}\) Author interviews with UN officials, New York, November 20 and December 20, 2012.

Other UN Activities to Achieve Gender Balance and Integrate a Gender Perspective into Missions

In 2011, UN-INSTRAW conducted and produced one of the first surveys of female peacekeepers, “Women with a Blue Helmet.” The report focused on the issue of recruitment and retention of women to UN peacekeeping operations. Significantly, the report found that Member States continue to recommend men for vacancies, and cultural and institutional impediments persist despite mandates for a gender balance. This, coupled with a lack of accountability for the recruitment and hiring women at the senior management level, creates resistance among staff to discuss the issue. On the other hand, when positions are reserved for women, some male colleagues become resentful. The danger with posts reserved for women is that they can appear as tokens and face additional scrutiny that men may not encounter.49

DPKO, DFS, and the Department of Political Affairs are undertaking a year-long study of civilian staff, “Bridging the Civilian Gender Gap in Peace Operations,” which began in early 2013. In order to increase competence on how to prevent and respond to sexual and gender-based violence, UN Women is planning to launch an e-learning course on addressing SGBV in armed conflict.50 Another relevant project is a Police Reform Project in Bangladesh, implemented through a partnership between the UN Development Programme and the UK’s Department for International Development. The Police Reform Project aims to improve the effectiveness of the Bangladesh Police by promoting six key areas of access to justice—including the “Promotion of Gender-Sensitive Policing,” which focuses on increasing women’s participation in Bangladesh policing, training in gender awareness, and improved victim services.

Barriers to Increasing Women’s Participation in UN Peacekeeping

The UN and member states’ singular focus on counting the numbers of female uniformed personnel in peace operations obscures the equally important goal of integrating a gender perspective into the work of field missions. Both goals are hindered by three core issues: a lack of understanding about Resolution 1325 and the UN policy and guidelines on gender equality in peace operations; a gap in data and analysis about this set of issues; and, most importantly, the prevalence of social norms and biases that perpetuate gender inequality within the security sector.

LACK OF UNDERSTANDING ABOUT RESOLUTION 1325 AND UN POLICY ON GENDER EQUALITY

The UN’s policy on gender equality in peacekeeping is based on the goals and commitments laid out in Security Council Resolution 1325 on women, peace, and security (see box 1). A core finding of this study is that UN member states are aware of Resolution 1325 but most do not understand its full implications for UN peacekeeping beyond increasing women’s presence in missions. During many interviews conducted for this study there was a general sense of fatigue and lack of clarity about Resolution 1325. Most member states were aware of Resolution 1325 and the UN goal to promote gender equality in the peacekeeping missions, but awareness does not guarantee understanding or appropriate action. To paraphrase several interviewees, “after ten years of hearing about 1325, your eyes just glaze over.” Resolution 1325 has become “policy speak” that is difficult to translate into practical changes within field missions.

This lack of understanding has produced a situation where some UN member states feel that UN staff do not communicate effectively to them the purpose and goals of Resolution 1325 and how to implement it. It has also led member states to cite a lack of motivation to implement DPKO policies and guidelines on gender mainstreaming in peace operations. Some member states complained that the argument that women’s participation increased the operational effectiveness of missions has not been made strongly enough to warrant more robust action being taken on this issue. Conversely, many UN staff noted that the argument of equal representation has met with considerable resistance from some member states. Member states say that it is

50 Author interview with Eva Dalak, gender adviser, UN Integrated Training Services, New York, December 1, 2012.
the TCCs’ responsibility to decide on the deployment of all national troops.

Additionally, many member states questioned the basis on which the UN set its goals for increasing female uniformed personnel in missions. Only a few were aware that the policy involved more than simply increasing the numbers of female peacekeepers. There appears to be considerable lack of awareness among current member state officials that the 2010 DPKO/DFS Guidelines were the result of a series of consultations that took place between the UN staff and the member states during 2006.

**SOCIAL NORMS AND BIASES THAT PERPETUATE GENDER INEQUALITY**

Historically, whenever gender integration has taken place, whether in government or in military institutions, it has met with obstacles, derision, and bluster. Peacekeeping is no exception. A common thread found throughout this study is the prevalence of social norms and behaviors that perpetuate inequality between men and women and act as a barrier to women’s full participation in the security sector. While all countries lag on the number of women they contribute to UN peacekeeping operations, a few lead because of established national frameworks for gender integration in their armed forces. But the countries that are the most progressive in terms of gender equality in the armed forces today have not always been the most progressive on this issue. In order to establish such strong national frameworks for gender integration, the countries that lead today have had to directly address the prevalence of social norms and biases that perpetuate gender inequality in the past and present. Box 2 summarizes some of the positive developments in Liberia on this issue.

Another example is South Africa, which currently has one of the highest female-to-male peacekeeping ratios. However, simply adopting a policy directive to increase the recruitment of women into armed forces did not immediately lead to the acceptance of women in decision-making roles, women’s advancement to senior-level positions, or women’s increased access to training and education. As South Africa’s former deputy minister of defense, Nozizwe Madlala-Routledge, commented, “women who choose to join military forces have to combat both the external enemy and the patriarchal attitudes and actions within the military force itself. Whereas it was believed that the incorporation of women into the military would transform gender relations and roles … the reality is that militarism serves to reinforce and reproduce gender relations.”

Western countries are not immune to the challenges of transforming gender relations within their armed forces either. The Irish Defense Forces, for example, is one of the most progressive in terms of gender equality. It celebrated thirty years of gender integration in 2010 but has had its share of challenges. The Defense Amendment Act (1979), which entitled women to enlist in the Defense Forces, met with strong resistance from within the institution itself. A 2010 report chronicling the history of women in the Defense Forces documented the culture shock and discrimination women faced on many levels, including regarding equal pay and pregnancy policies, upon enlisting.

A previously confidential 1978 report on the enlistment of women in the Defense Forces stated that “the basic pay of members of the Women’s Service Corps should be less than those payable to men. We are aware that pregnancy is not a ground for termination of service…. Nevertheless, we recommend that pregnancy be … a reason for automatic termination.”

New female recruits also received segregated training in the early 1980s:

The military authorities initially drew up separate “female” training programs for female cadets and recruits. For women officers, this meant that instead of doing heavy weapons training on mortars, machine guns and anti-tank weapons, they were given an intensive course on dress and deportment—and in one case were instructed to walk up and down the drill shed in the Curragh Camp balancing books on their heads.

Due to the Irish Defense Forces’ ongoing work to increase female participation and retention for the past two decades, these biases have decreased over

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53 Ibid., p.1.
54 Ibid., pp.1–2.
Box 2: Transforming attitudes and national policy to promote gender equality in the Liberian National Police.

In UNMIL/Liberia, much has been made of the success of the first all-female formed police unit (FPU) deployed from India in 2007. Many have attributed the increased number of women joining the Liberian police and armed forces to the Indian FPU’s presence and ability. However, a significant part of Liberia’s success in this area was due to the fact that there was a clear mission mandate that laid the foundation to increase the participation of women in Liberia’s police force. UNMIL’s 2003 mandate called for the restructuring and support of the police, and gave special attention to addressing sexual violence against women and girls, among many other things (see Resolution 1509). Importantly, the mandate focused on supporting the police force not the military forces of Liberia.

In 2006, UNMIL’s Police Unit established the Liberian National Police Committee for National Recruitment of Women (LNP). Within this committee, UN Police worked with partners to recruit and retain women in the national police force. It was clear that the conflict took a significant toll on educational opportunities available for women. The lack of a high school education was identified as key barrier to recruiting more women to the police force. The committee created the Education Support Program (ESP) as a remedy. The ESP was a condensed version of a high school diploma that women could complete as a prerequisite for entering the police force. Women between the ages of 18 and 35, who completed at least ninth grade, were eligible to participate in a three-month academic program, followed by a three-month police training at the national police academy. The proportion of female police rose from 11 percent in 2006 to 15 percent in 2010.56

While ESP dramatically increased the number of women in the LNP, this has not led to the increased retention and promotion of women within the police force.57 When local women’s organizations were recently consulted about this discrepancy, it was pointed out that the new female recruits are not fully accepted and therefore are not moving through the ranks because of a lack of credibility and alliances with senior police officers, both men and women. The general feeling is that the new female recruits are lowering the standards of the LNP because they did not meet the same requirements as older officers to enter the force. Creating a mentoring program between the new recruits and senior officers could have offset both the lack of credibility and lack of alliances within the force. This is an unintended consequence that needs to be addressed, and could have been addressed sooner if consultation with local women’s groups had taken place earlier.58 The Liberian example shows that a combination of policy frameworks that support gender equality, active engagement with women’s organizations, and a concerted effort to increase women’s participation is required to meet and sustain the increased presence of women in the security sector.

Over the past decade the percentage of female applicants for the Irish Defense Forces’ General Service Recruitment Competitions has been around 6 percent. During the same period the percentage of female applicants for Cadetship Competitions has been approximately 20 percent. In order to increase female recruitment, the Defense Forces created recruitment campaigns targeted at young women using social media to stimulate interest in a military career. As of October 2012, the strength of the Defense Forces was 9,152 including 573, or approximately 6 percent, women. In 2011, Ireland adopted its first National Action Plan on women, peace, and security and the Defense Forces now integrates a gender perspective in its training programs. Gender awareness is incorporated into senior command, junior command, and staff courses. Newly commissioned officers complete a module in their platoon commanders peace support course in which gender awareness is a major component. Following the 2012 directive to make their chief of staff to a

57 Telephone interview with Comfort Lamptey, gender adviser, UNMIL, December 5, 2012.
58 Ibid.
mission also serve as the military gender adviser, the Defense Forces deployed a male military gender adviser to UNIFIL/Lebanon. Currently, there is a proposal to adopt a Defense Force Action Plan on Resolution 1325. Despite all these initiatives, female participation remains low.

Ireland is not the only country that is trying to attract more women into its armed forces and has hit a ceiling.59 Norway, which has one of the most aggressive campaigns to recruit and retain women in its armed forces, is struggling to reach its national goals. Though Norway has the ambitious goal of reaching 25 percent women in its armed forces by 2025, the proportion of women in Norway’s military is 12.4 percent overall as of 2012. Research conducted by the Norwegian Defense Department found three reasons why the military faces several challenges in retaining women. First, women consider the military as a springboard to other careers. Second, family relationships take priority. Third, women feel that the military has a male-dominated and exclusionary culture that is difficult to break through.60

Women in Senior Military Ranks

What are the possibilities of women reaching the highest rank in national forces, and when can women expect to command a force? While there is a dearth of data on this subject, it is well known that a lack of combat experience or a lack of experience leading a battalion in a conflict situation can restrict women’s advancement to leadership positions at home as well as in a UN peacekeeping mission.

In 2012, Norway was the only UN member state to put forward a senior female candidate for the leadership position of force commander in the military component of peace operations. Other member states may be stalled on women’s advancement in the military components of peacekeeping because, even when access to several branches of the armed forces has been allowed, there are barriers for women to reach the highest ranks. For example, in Peru, only arms branch officers are eligible for the ranks for major general, vice-admiral, and lieutenant general. Women, however, can only enter the specialties of engineering and communications in the army; surface war and naval aviation in the navy; and transport pilot in the air force, limiting their ability to qualify for high-ranking positions.61 The Women in the Armed and Police Forces in Latin America study includes estimated projections of women officers in the command corps of armies and the number of years that women will have to comply to reach the highest ranks allowed. For example, the report shows that in 2009 the highest rank held by women in Chile was lieutenant. The highest reachable rank according to seniority criteria in Chile is brigade general. It would take a woman lieutenant until 2035 to be considered for brigade general, factoring in multiple issues influencing promotion such as qualifications, course approvals, available vacancies, achieved merits, disciplinary behavior, etc.62 What this means for peacekeeping operations is that the UN would probably not see a female candidate for force commander from Chile for a few decades. This could be true for many member states, but without accurate and timely information on women in national forces this issue cannot be adequately discussed or addressed.

Measuring Gender Equality

Metrics to monitor and evaluate social norms that perpetuate gender inequalities have been developed since the 1970s and could be modified for use in today’s security sectors. One example is the Attitudes Toward Women Scale, which was developed in 1972 by Dr. Janet T. Spence and Dr. Robert Helmreich at the University of Texas. It was designed to reveal and better understand beliefs about women’s rights and roles in comparison to men’s. It attempts to cover all major areas of activity in which the normative expectations could, in principle, be the same for men and women.63 The Attitudes Toward Women As Managers Scale (ATWAM) was developed in 1977 by T.T. Herbert and E.B. Yost and has been used globally to compare men’s attitudes toward female managers

59 Author interviews with UN officials, New York, November 20–December 17, 2012.
60 Author interview with Paal Krokeide, Permanent Mission of Norway to the UN, December 19, 2012.
61 REDSAL, Women in the Armed and Police Forces in Latin America, p.74.
62 REDSAL, Women in the Armed and Police Forces in Latin America, p.77.
and leadership within the private sector. The Gender-Equitable Men Scale (GEM) is another metric that measures men’s attitudes about equality between the sexes.

While these scales have been used with some regularity in the health sector and in the private sector, none of these metrics have been used in a UN peacekeeping mission. A modified version of the GEM scale or the ATWAM scale could be used in the security sector to get a baseline on biases and behaviors of male and female peacekeepers, chiefs of staff, and force commanders about the role of female peacekeepers and female leadership during the life a mission. Establishing a baseline on the social norms and biases in peacekeeping missions would fill a crucial gap in understanding the prevalence of gender inequality and its impact on the UN’s goals for increasing the numbers of women in peacekeeping and integrating a gender perspective into the work of a mission. Taking such a baseline in national settings would also provide much needed information about the barriers to entry and advancement in national forces that women face.

MISSING DATA AND ANALYSIS ON FEMALE UNIFORMED PERSONNEL

There is a significant gap in data and analysis on national legislation and policies that allow women to fully participate in their national armed forces and, by extension, a lack of information about female uniformed personnel available for UN peacekeeping. This section briefly discusses these issues in relation to security sector reform and recruitment, retention, and advancement of women in national forces, including at the very senior level. The lack of comprehensive information is a substantial barrier to developing strategies aimed at increasing the number of uniformed women in UN peacekeeping.

Gender and Security Sector Reform

While some SSR efforts have examined how military structures mainstream gender in national security institutions, these studies do not systematically examine how female uniformed personnel are integrated within peacekeeping operations, nor do they examine the operational effects of female uniformed personnel in peacekeeping missions. The only peacekeeping-focused study to date was produced in 2010 by Red de Seguridad y Defensa de América Latina (REDSAL) and examines this issue in Argentina, Bolivia, Brazil, Chile, Colombia, Ecuador, El Salvador, Guatemala, Honduras, Paraguay, Peru, and Uruguay. It could serve as a model for similar studies in other regions. While the gender and SSR literature does not directly address peacekeeping, it contains useful insights for increasing female peacekeepers. For example, a 2002 US study, “Men, Women, and Police Excessive Force: A Tale of Two Genders,” indicates differences in the way male and female police behave, especially in potentially violent situations. The impact of this difference is quantifiable: the average male police officer in the US costs approximately 2.5 times more than the average female officer in terms of compensation payments for the use of excessive force.

Recruitment, Retention, and Advancement of Women in National Forces

National policies in this area vary widely: some countries have no specific policies to recruit women (e.g., Mali) others have very active recruitment efforts (e.g., Canada), while some have ceilings on the proportion of women that can serve in their national forces (e.g., Turkey and Greece). Within NATO, members annually submit national briefs on women in their armed forces to the Committee on Gender Perspectives in the NATO Forces. These briefs provide yearly updates on

66 See, for example, Kristin Valasek and Miranda Gaanderse, eds., The Security Sector and Gender in West Africa: A Survey of Police, Defence, Justice and Penal Services in ECOWAS States (Geneva Centre for the Democratic Control of Armed Forces, 2013); Helena Carreiras, Gender and the Military: Women in the Armed Forces of Western Democracies (London: Routledge, 2006); and Barton C. Hacker and Margaret Vining, eds., Companion to Women’s Military History (Leiden: Brill, 2012).
67 REDSAL, Women in the Armed and Police Forces in Latin America.
68 Kim Lonsay et al., “Men, Women, and Police Excessive Force.”
69 See the Committee on Gender Perspectives in NATO Forces, available at www.nato.int/cps/en/natolive/topics_50327.htm and Carreiras, Gender and the Military, p.118.
statistics on female troops, but do not provide analysis on gender integration in missions, nor do they report on gender and operational effectiveness in international operations.

The consequent lack of comprehensive sex-aggregated data on representation and performance makes it difficult to do cross-regional comparisons or produce timely and accurate information on this global issue. While almost all member states interviewed acknowledged the difficulty in recruiting and retaining women in their national forces, few have conducted sex-disaggregated surveys of their labor pools to understand why women may or may not be attracted to joining the national defense forces. Interviewees cited family responsibilities as the number one barrier to entry and retention for women in both the national security forces of member states and in UN peacekeeping operations. However, there is a lack of information about exactly why and how family concerns are a barrier for women.\(^\text{70}\)

Two exceptions are Ireland and Norway, whose armed forces have conducted surveys on the recruitment and retention of women, and have undertaken recruitment campaigns specifically targeted at young women.\(^\text{71}\) For example, in 2011, the Irish National Action Plan was adopted to address gender integration in the armed forces. This built on an earlier study on the recruitment and retention of women in the Irish Defense Forces conducted in 2006. Ireland has a stated policy of increasing the number of female members of the Defense Forces (in all services) from approximately 8 percent to 20 percent. Two of the measures undertaken to reach this goal were targeted campaigns using social media launched through Facebook. One campaign targeted women between the ages of 17 and 27 for the Officer Cadetship Competition, and the other targeted women between the ages of 17 and 24 for the General Service Recruitment Competition.\(^\text{72}\)

Similarly, in 2006, Norway set a target of achieving 20 percent women in its armed forces by 2020 (this went beyond the 15 percent target set by the Defense Committee of the Norwegian Parliament). According to the Norwegian Ministry of Defense, there have been approximately 200 different measures taken to increase the proportion of women in the national force, including creating a network of potential female applicants, creating differentiated admissions requirements within various functions and roles, more nuanced requirements for jobs, awareness raising, mentoring for female military staff with leadership potential, research, improved family policies, and promotion of the military that appeals to both sexes.\(^\text{73}\)

Some interviewees for this study suggested that women experience higher opportunity costs for participating in UN peacekeeping operations in part because of the professional advancement they would gain by staying in their home country and using their military service as a springboard to other opportunities outside the military. A leave of absence also threatens the social benefits many women in Western countries enjoy, such as childcare benefits, healthcare benefits, and maternity leave and pay. If they leave for a year to go on a mission, they may forfeit many, if not all of these benefits. On the other hand, many interviewees also noted that while women from non-Western countries may be attracted to peacekeeping because of the UN allowances (approximately $1,000 per month) they “may not have support for someone else to take care of their families for a year-long assignment,” or “have no job security” and hence “won’t have their same job when they return [home].”\(^\text{74}\) The lack of experience with firearms and manual transmission vehicles can be another barrier to entry for women in UN peacekeeping.

The Way Forward

ENTRY POINTS FOR CHANGE: MEN AS ALLIES

One of the most significant findings of this study is the significant proportion of men interviewed who said that they support the goals of gender equality in peacekeeping and in their individual work with peacekeeping missions. These men were military

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\(^\text{70}\) Author’s confidential interviews with UN officials, New York, November 11–December 20, 2012.
\(^\text{71}\) UK Home Office, Assessment of Women in the Police Service.
\(^\text{73}\) Author interview with Paal Krokeide, Permanent Mission of Norway, December 19, 2012.
\(^\text{74}\) Author’s confidential interviews with UN officials, New York, November 11–December 20, 2012. See also WIIS, Women in United Nations Peace Operations.
and political advisers, senior-level officers at the UN, former force commanders, and chiefs of staff of missions. This is significant because leaders, especially political and military leaders, play a crucial role in promoting the goals of the UN system, and in generating the political will necessary to execute those goals. Their understanding of gender equality varied, but they all had a commitment to the promotion of equality between men and women and the promotion of women to senior-level positions because they felt gender equality in these areas improved the quality and effectiveness of their own work. While these men in particular were quick to champion their female co-workers and senior leaders, they did not think of themselves as “public” or official advocates of gender equality in peacekeeping. Several of the men pointed to specific instances in their work in peacekeeping missions where they felt their female staff officers were invaluable in implementing quick impact projects and liaising with local communities. Strikingly, all these men seemed unaware that there were other men, in senior staff or military positions, who felt the same way. Instead these men act alone and may not consider reaching out to their male counterparts on the issue of gender equality in peacekeeping operations. This represents a significant missed opportunity.

By definition, gender roles and expectations change over time. Because social norms and behaviors change, it is possible to address negative social norms and behaviors that perpetuate inequality between men and women in peacekeeping by engaging men in the security sector.

Former secretary-general Kofi Annan and current secretary-general Ban Ki-moon have both called for the engagement of men to promote gender equality and end violence against women. In Annan’s words,

Men, through their roles in the home, the community and at the national level, have the potential to bring about change in attitudes, roles, relationships and access to resources and decision making which are critical for equality between women and men.... Men should therefore be actively involved in developing and implementing legislation and policies to foster gender equality, and in providing role models to promote gender equality in the family, the workplace and in society at large.76

For Secretary-General Ban, “Men have a crucial role to play in ending such violence—as fathers, friends, decision makers, and community and opinion leaders.”77

The UN has partnered with a number of men’s organizations that have come together to end violence against women and to promote gender equality globally in the MenEngage Alliance.78 Furthermore, in 2008, Secretary-General Ban launched the UNiTE campaign, which also brings together civil society organizations and UN agencies to end sexual violence against women. As part of this campaign, the secretary-general launched the Network of Men Leaders to involve male leaders in the campaign to end sexual violence against women. Both the MenEngage Alliance and UNiTE focus on engaging men and boys in the health sector and on protection issues, not on engaging men in security institutions or promoting women’s participation in decision making in the security sector.

Despite these efforts, there has been no UN strategy or campaign focused on engaging men in promoting gender equality in peacekeeping. This represents an unexplored opportunity for the MenEngage Alliance, the UN Network of Men Leaders, and DPKO/DFS. Men’s organizations that promote gender equality can work with military institutions to increase women’s participation in UN peacekeeping. For example, while military organizations and other security sector institutions have not engaged much with men’s groups, the White Ribbon Campaign, a member of the MenEngage Alliance, is in ongoing discussions with the Swiss police about gender and security sector reform.79

75 Author’s confidential interviews with UN officials, New York, November 20 and December 17, 2012.
While this concept may be new to DPKO/DFS, other UN agencies have funded programs to track and address men’s gender-equitable behaviors in military institutions in the context of reproductive health and combatting the spread of HIV/AIDS. Though these programs are health-related, they set a precedent for working with military institutions on directly addressing behaviors and norms that perpetuate gender inequality that can be of use in peacekeeping. For example, the UN Population Fund (UNFPA) has conducted programs on raising awareness about sexual and domestic violence, reproductive rights, and HIV/AIDS with military and police institutions in twelve countries: Armenia, Benin, Botswana, Ecuador, Madagascar, Mongolia, Namibia, Nicaragua, Paraguay, Romania, Turkey, and Ukraine. These programs were able to reach a remarkable number of soldiers, and resulted in positive behavior changes. For example, in 2002, UNFPA, the Turkish Ministry of Health, and the Gulhane Medical Military Academy within the Turkish Armed Forces launched a project on sexual and reproductive health and gender equality that reached 2 million soldiers. The success of the project led the Turkish Armed Forces to institutionalize the training program and extend it to the rest of its armed forces. In another project, the UNFPA worked with the Turkish police and reached 40,000 officers to improve their understanding about domestic violence and to help more survivors come forward for assistance. In one region, Denizli, the number of survivors seeking assistance from the police doubled in less than two years largely because of this program.

A Strategy for Change

The UN has a number of policies to increase women’s participation in peacekeeping, but this is not the same as having a clear strategy supported by strong political will to achieve it. Without a strategy and strong leadership, the UN’s activities in this area will remain uncoordinated and insufficient to achieve its goals.

The policy guidance outlined in the 2010 DPKO/DFS Guidelines must be operationalized through a comprehensive strategic plan backed by political will within the UN Secretariat, UN Women, and key member states. A comprehensive strategy would lay out a clear vision and course of action to not only increase the numbers of women in peace operations, but to integrate a gender perspective in the daily work of UN field missions. It would address the social biases and norms that perpetuate gender inequality and act as barriers to these objectives.

Part of the strategy should involve identifying priorities for action on female recruitment, retention, and advancement in UN peacekeeping, and the integration of a gender perspective in operations. In keeping with the planning frameworks that the UN and member states already employ, it is recommended that DPKO/DFS use a gender-sensitive, results-based management framework to operationalize the existing policy.

A gender-sensitive, results-based management framework incorporates both gender-sensitive and sex-specific measures to ensure that gender issues are addressed effectively. Sex-specific activities target men or women to address inequality. Gender sensitivity refers to the fact that women and men are different and have different roles and experiences, and therefore different needs, priorities, and status. Therefore, to plan for equal outcomes, a gender-sensitive strategy must address the needs and interests of both women and men; make sure that women and men are represented in decision-making bodies; include measures to promote gender equality at each phase of the plan; and identify the data that needs to be collected—both sex-disaggregated data and gender analyses.

81 UNFPA, Partnering With Men to End Gender-Based Violence, p.22.
Recommendations

1. Create a gender-sensitive force generation strategy for UN peacekeeping with sex-specific measures to address the recruitment, retention, and advancement of female uniformed personnel in missions.

DPKO should develop and publish a long-term strategic plan that identifies priorities for action on female recruitment, retention, and advancement. The strategy should operationalize the 2010 “DPKO/DFS Guidelines on Integrating a Gender Perspective into the Work of the United Nations Military Peacekeeping Operations,” and set out the actions that will be undertaken to deliver improvements in these areas, including research, training, and outreach to member states.

2. Encourage further research into the barriers to recruitment, retention, and advancement of women in national security forces and UN peacekeeping operations.

A sound strategy must be based on reliable data. Member states should close the existing data gap by conducting or commissioning regional studies on gender equality in the armed forces. The REDSAL study on women in the armed forces and police in Latin America is a good model.

To better understand the barriers to advancement for female uniformed personnel to senior leadership positions, it is important to track the candidacy and appointment of women candidates. DPKO should track how many mid-to-senior ranking officers (from lieutenant colonel upward) are offered posts of commander, chief of staff, deputy chief of staff, military observer, and staff officer, to see how many women are selected and to what position. If women are not being selected for higher-level positions, then, in a spirit of transparency and accountability, DPKO should examine the reasons why.

3. Establish a gender-coaching program for the UN Military and Police Advisory Committee.

Male leaders, political and military, are crucial to the promotion of gender equality within the UN and among member states. The Military and Police Advisory Committee (MPAC), a networking group of military and police advisers to UN missions, should be leveraged to create an active network of male allies to promote the UN policy on gender equality in peacekeeping. Following the Swedish model of employing gender coaches, handpicked MPAC members could be paired with handpicked gender advisers specially trained as “gender coaches” to improve information sharing and implementation of the UN’s policy directives for peacekeeping missions. With the support of gender coaches, MPAC is uniquely suited to closely examine, document, and integrate gender perspectives in peacekeeping operations. MPAC can also be leveraged to increase consultation and dialogue on the issues among member states and DPKO/DFS.

4. Appoint full-time military gender advisers at force headquarters and appoint the chief of staff of a national contingent as the military gender focal point in field missions.

DPKO should implement the UN policy to have a military gender adviser in the chain of command in an ongoing peacekeeping operation. The operational level of field missions would benefit from a full-time military gender adviser to assist with integrating a gender perspective into the work of the operation. Following the Irish example, the chief of staff of every national contingent in a UN peacekeeping mission could be appointed as the military gender focal point. This does not refer to the chief of staff of the entire military component at force headquarters but rather to national contingents at the tactical level. This would entail providing the chiefs of staff with a clear job description of the military gender focal point position and how it relates to the mission gender adviser and the military gender adviser counterpart. It also requires an investment in training—excellent training for such posts is now available. The Swedish Armed Forces International Training Center in Stockholm holds an annual, NATO-accredited military gender adviser/field adviser course, which is open to all states. NATO now has online courses for military gender advisers and focal points. Additionally, DPKO has just tested training modules on its guidelines
for UN military gender advisers and focal points in UNIFIL, which will be made available to other missions and to member states once they are finalized. Several other member states also have their own military gender adviser courses that could be opened to others.

5. Increase understanding about the benefits of integrating a gender perspective into UN peacekeeping through a comprehensive study and an outreach initiative.

More can be done to demonstrate how to use Resolution 1325 as a tool to enhance operational effectiveness. A comprehensive multicountry study should be conducted to get a conclusive baseline on how the inclusion of a gender perspective in a mission enhances its operational effectiveness. Include analysis on the tasks male and female peacekeepers conduct that enhance operational effectiveness. The resulting study can provide the platform for an outreach initiative, which could help clarify operational capability gaps that can be addressed by implementing Resolution 1325. Such an analysis could identify best practices and lessons learned from the process of integrating the goals of Resolution 1325 into military components of peace operations. It could illuminate whether military and police contingents in missions have an awareness of the different experiences of local women and men, and whether they can adapt to those differences. It could help track not only the percentage of female representation in the mission, but also the percentage and number of female staff among the senior military leader-

ship. Finally, such a study could track whether the mission is regularly consulting with local women’s organizations.82

6. DPKO/DFS should conduct a baseline study on the social norms that perpetuate inequality between men and women in UN peacekeeping operations.

A baseline on social norms and attitudes about gender roles that exist at the mission level needs to be taken. Having a baseline on the norms that perpetuate inequality between men and women can be the starting point for member states to reform these biases through training, communication, and outreach activities. Metrics and programs that focus on constructive men’s engagement exist in the health and private sectors and could be applied to the security sector with great effect. For example, the Attitudes Toward Women As Managers Scale could be used to understand men’s attitudes toward female officers and leadership within a mission. The Gender-Equitable Men Scale could also be used to track men’s social norms that promote gender inequality in peacekeeping missions and to measure if these norms change after an intervention. Either of these tools could be used at the beginning and end of a year-long tour of duty in a single mission with national contingents, or in multiple missions over several years to illuminate and directly address challenges to the condition and position of female uniformed personnel within UN peacekeeping.

82 See, for example, the excellent matrix and analysis provided in Swedish Defense Research Agency, Operational Effectiveness and UN Resolution 1325, p.116.
Annex

Definitions of Key Gender Terms

It should be noted that different organizations and bodies have different working definitions of the terms below, and understandings of how the terms relate. As such, the following definitions should be taken as a guide only. They are excerpted from www.peacewomen.org.

**Gender:** The political, social, and cultural significance attached to biological differences between men and women, boys and girls. A focus on gender not only reveals information about women and men’s different experiences, it also sheds light on ingrained assumptions and stereotypes about men and women, the values and qualities associated with each, and the ways in which power relationships can change. The UN secretary-general defines the term in his 2002 report *Women, Peace and Security* as “the socially constructed roles as ascribed to women and men, as opposed to biological and physical characteristics. Gender roles vary according to socioeconomic, political and cultural contexts, and are affected by other factors, including age, race, class and ethnicity. Gender roles are learned and are changeable.”

**Gender Analysis:** The variety of methods used to understand the relationships between men and women, their access to resources, and the relative constraints they face. Gender analysis recognizes that gender, and its relationship with race, ethnicity, culture, class, age, disability, and/or other status, is important to understanding the different patterns of involvement, behavior and activities that women and men have in economic, social, and legal structures (definition used by the Canadian International Development Agency).

**Gender-Based Violence (GBV):** An umbrella term for any harmful act that is perpetrated against a person’s will based on socially-ascribed (gender) differences between males and females. Acts of GBV violate a number of human rights principles enshrined in international instruments. Globally, GBV has a disproportionate impact on women and girls, due to their subordinate status in society and their increased vulnerability to violence. GBV varies across cultures, countries, and regions. Examples include sexual violence and domestic violence (definition used by IASC Guidelines for Gender-based Violence Interventions in Humanitarian Settings, 2005).

**Gender Balance:** Refers to the degree to which men and women hold the full range of positions in a society or organization. This is more accurately described as a “sex ratio.” The long-term objective, as defined by the UN General Assembly, is to achieve a 50:50 gender balance.

**Gender Equality:** Refers to equal rights, responsibilities, and opportunities for women and men as well as according equal consideration to the interests, needs, and priorities of women and men. Gender equality does not imply a goal of non-differentiation between the sexes, but rather the elimination of adverse discrimination based on sex (e.g., lower remuneration for women doing the same work as men). Gender equality exists when both sexes are able to share equally in the distribution of power and influence; have equal opportunities for financial independence; enjoy equal access to education and the opportunity to develop personal ambitions, interests, and talents; share domestic responsibilities; and are free from coercion, intimidation, and GBV at work and at home (definition used by the UN Population Fund).

**Gender Mainstreaming:** According to the UN Economic and Social Council (1997), this refers to “The process of assessing the implications for women and men of any planned action, including legislation, policies or programs, in any area and at all levels. It is a strategy for making the concerns and experiences of women as well as of men an integral part of the design, implementation, monitoring, and evaluation of policies and programs in all political, economic, and societal spheres, so that women and men benefit equally, and inequality is not perpetuated. The ultimate goal of mainstreaming is to achieve gender equality.” Mainstreaming is not achieved by adding a “women/gender equality component” to an existing activity, or by simply increasing women's
participation. It means bringing the experience, knowledge and interests of women and men to bear on the development of an agenda or program.

**Gender Perspective:** A gender perspective is an analytical tool used to understand the power relationships between men/boys and women/girls, power relations among women/girls, and power relations among men/boys. A gender perspective sheds light on who has access to and control of resources, who participates fully in decision making in a society, what the legal status of men and women is, and what the beliefs and expectations are of how men and women live their daily lives.

**Sexual Violence:** This term encompasses forced prostitution; sexual slavery; forced impregnation; forced maternity; forced termination of pregnancy; enforced sterilization; indecent assault; trafficking; and inappropriate medical examinations and strip searches. Sexual violence may be considered a method of warfare when used systematically to torture, injure, extract information, degrade, threaten, intimidate, or punish in relation to armed conflict. According to UN Special Rapporteur Gay J. McDougall, sexual violence describes “any violence, physical or psychological, carried out through sexual means or by targeting sexuality.”

**Violence Against Women:** Violence that results in, or is likely to result in, physical, sexual, or psychological harm or suffering to women, including threats of such acts, coercion, or arbitrary deprivation of liberty, whether in public or private life (see the UN General Assembly Declaration on the Elimination of Violence Against Women, 1993).
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