Gender and Peacekeeping:
A Process of Norm Adaptation in the United Nations Bureaucracy

Dissertation
of the University of St. Gallen,
School of Management,
Economics, Law, Social Sciences
and International Affairs
to obtain the title of
Doctor of Philosophy in International
Affairs and Political Economy

submitted by

Ulrike Baumgärtner

from

Germany

Approved on the application of

Prof. Dirk Lehmkuhl, PhD

and

PD Dr. Julia Nentwich

Dissertation no. 4204

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The University of St. Gallen, School of Management, Economics, Law, Social Sciences and International Affairs hereby consents to the printing of the present dissertation, without hereby expressing any opinion on the views herein expressed.

St. Gallen, October 29, 2013

The President:

Prof. Dr. Thomas Bieger
I dedicate this dissertation and the academic title to Heiko Baumgartner. This academic work would not exist without him. From the beginning, he believed in me and this project and contributed to its refinement with countless advices and discussions. His knowledge and academic eagerness inspired me beyond his death.

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Abbreviations

ASG  Assistant-Secretary-General
CDU  Code and Discipline Unit
CSW  Commission on the Status of Women
DDR  Disarmament, Democratization, and Reintegration
DRC  Democratic Republic of the Congo
DFS  Department of Field Support
DAW  Division for the Advancement of Women
DPA  United Nations Department of Political Affairs
DPKO  United Nations Department for Peacekeeping Operations
DSRSG  Deputy Special Representative of the Secretary General
ECOSOC  Economic and Social Council
ECOWAS  Economic Community of West African States
FAS  Femmes Africa Solidarité
GA  General Assembly
GJC  Global Action to Prevent War, Global Justice Center
GM  Gender Mainstreaming
GBV  Gender-Based Violence
GRP  Gender Resource Package
GU  Gender Unit
HDR  Human Development Report
IANSA  International Action Network on Small Arms
ICRC  International Committee of the Red Cross
IMF  International Monetary Fund
INSTRAW  International Research and Training Institute for the Advancement of Women
IOS  International Organizations
IR  International Relations (theory)
MFC  Military Force Commander
MINURCA  United Nations Mission in the Central African Republic
MINURCAT  United Nations Mission in the Central African Republic and Chad
MINUSDO  United Nations Mission for the Referendum in Western Sahara
MINUSTAH  United Nations Stabilization Mission in Haiti
MONUA  United Nations Mission in Angola
MONUC  United Nations Organizations Mission in the Democratic Republic of
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Abbreviation</th>
<th>Full Name</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>MONUSCO</td>
<td>United Nations Organization Stabilization Mission in the Democratic Republic of the Congo</td>
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<tr>
<td>MS</td>
<td>Member States</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NATO</td>
<td>North Atlantic Treaty Organization</td>
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<tr>
<td>NGO</td>
<td>Non-governmental Organization</td>
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<tr>
<td>OCHA</td>
<td>United Nations Office for the Coordination of Humanitarian Affairs</td>
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<tr>
<td>OHCHR</td>
<td>United Nations Office of the High Commissioner for Human Rights</td>
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<tr>
<td>OMA</td>
<td>Office of Military Affairs</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ONUB</td>
<td>United Nations Operation in Burundi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>OROLSI</td>
<td>Office of Rule of Law and Security Institutions</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>OSAGI</td>
<td>Office of the Secretary-General’s Special Advisor on Gender Issues</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PC</td>
<td>Police Commissioner</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SC</td>
<td>Security Council</td>
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<tr>
<td>SC-Res.</td>
<td>Security Council Resolution</td>
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<tr>
<td>SEA</td>
<td>Sexual Exploitation and Abuse</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SG</td>
<td>Secretary General of the United Nations</td>
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<tr>
<td>SPA</td>
<td>Office for Special Political Affairs</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SRSG</td>
<td>Special Representative of the Secretary General</td>
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<tr>
<td>SSR</td>
<td>Security Sector Reform</td>
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<tr>
<td>TAN</td>
<td>Transnational Advocacy Network</td>
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<tr>
<td>UK</td>
<td>The United Kingdom</td>
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<tr>
<td>UN</td>
<td>United Nations</td>
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<tr>
<td>UNAMSIL</td>
<td>United Nations Mission in Sierra Leone</td>
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<td>UNDP</td>
<td>United Nations Development Program</td>
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<tr>
<td>UNEF</td>
<td>United Nations Emergency Force in Egypt</td>
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<tr>
<td>UNFICYP</td>
<td>United Nations Peacekeeping Force in Cyprus</td>
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<tr>
<td>UNHCR</td>
<td>United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees</td>
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<td>UNIFEM</td>
<td>United Nations Development Fund for Women</td>
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<tr>
<td>UNMEE</td>
<td>United Nations Mission in Ethiopia and Eritrea</td>
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<tr>
<td>UNMIBH</td>
<td>United Nations Mission in Bosnia-Herzegovina</td>
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<td>UNMIK</td>
<td>United Nations Interim Administration Mission in Kosovo</td>
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<tr>
<td>UNMIL</td>
<td>United Nations Mission in Liberia</td>
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<tr>
<td>UNMIS</td>
<td>United Nations Mission in Sudan</td>
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<tr>
<td>UNMISET</td>
<td>United Nations Mission of Support in East-Timor</td>
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<tr>
<td>UNOCI</td>
<td>United Nations Mission in Côte d’Ivoire</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Acronym</td>
<td>Description</td>
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<tr>
<td>---------</td>
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<tr>
<td>UNPBC</td>
<td>UN Peacebuilding Commission</td>
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<tr>
<td>UNPOL</td>
<td>United Nations Police</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>UNTAET</td>
<td>United Nations Transitional Administration in East-Timor</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>UNTAG</td>
<td>UN Transitional Assistance Group in Namibia</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>USA</td>
<td>The United States of America</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>USG</td>
<td>Under-Secretary-General</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>YiR</td>
<td>Year in Review</td>
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Abstract

Proposals to realize gender equality in United Nations (UN) peacekeeping vary significantly. There is neither a coherent standard about the responsible persons for norm realization; nor does a common view exist about the prior gender-related activities in this context. This empirical result is puzzling for linear approaches on norm development in International Relations. They highlight an incremental adjustment of the policies towards norm consistent behavior.

Taking a constructivist perspective this dissertation assumes that the culture of the uniformed component and the gender units, which are considered as organizational subunits of the UN peacekeeping bureaucracy, accounts for this empirical finding. The respective norm interpretations and norm framings are shaped by pre-existing beliefs about underlying security problems and appropriate peacekeeping behavior to solve them.

The discourse analysis of interview transcripts, documents on introducing gender equality as emergent norm in UN peacekeeping, general UN peacekeeping strategy papers as well as reports on multi-dimensional field missions supports the basic assumption that organizational culture matters. This dissertation investigates the discourse on gender and UN peacekeeping in a long-term study that captures the first ten years of the norm’s emergence in that context. It reveals an interactive process of converging norm interpretations and norm framings.

In doing so, this dissertation sheds light on a neglected research object: the internal process of norm adaptation in an international bureaucracy. It contributes to the literature on norm development by offering a different dynamic than the pre-dominant argument that successful framing resonates with the relevant audience group. Here, both the relevant audience group, namely the uniformed UN personnel, and the former norm entrepreneurs, namely the gender advisers, mutually adapt interpretations and framings of gender equality in their working context.
Zusammenfassung

Die Bandbreite der Vorschläge, wie Geschlechtergleichstellung im Bereich der Friedenssicherung der Vereinten Nationen (VN) umgesetzt werden kann, ist groß. Es gibt weder standardisierte Regelungen, welcher Personenkreis für die Umsetzung der Norm verantwortlich ist, noch gibt es einheitliche Verfahren, welche die wesentlichen Aktivitäten festlegen. Das empirische Ergebnis dieser Arbeit kann mit bestehenden Theorieansätzen der Internationalen Beziehungen, die ein lineares Verständnis von Normentwicklung haben, nicht erklärt werden. Die Politikveränderungen des untersuchten Falls zeigen keine einheitliche Anpassung an die Norm.

Im Sinne eines konstruktivistischen Ansatzes geht diese Dissertation davon aus, dass die Kultur der uniformierten Einheiten und der Gleichstellungsabteilungen für die unterschiedliche Umsetzung der Norm verantwortlich ist. Die beiden Gruppen werden in dieser Dissertation als Organisationen begriffen, die als Untereinheiten der VN Verwaltung zur Friedenssicherung fungieren. Die jeweiligen Interpretationen und Rahmensetzungen (Framings) der Norm werden durch bestehende Wahrnehmungen bezüglich des zugrundeliegenden Sicherheitsproblems und Vorstellungen angemessenen Verhaltens zur Friedenssicherung geprägt.

Die Diskursanalyse von Interviewtranskripten, Dokumenten zur Einführung von Gendermainstreaming in der VN Friedenssicherung, allgemeinen Strategiepapieren sowie der Reporte über multi-dimensionale Friedensmissionen bestätigt die Anfangsvermutung über die entscheidende Wirkung der Organisationskultur. Eine Langzeitstudie über die ersten zehn Jahre der Gleichstellungsnorm im Bereich der VN Friedenssicherung macht deutlich, dass sich die Norminterpretationen und Framings in einem interaktiven Prozess angleichen.

1. Introduction

“Women, Peace, and Security” has become an important issue in United Nations (UN) peacekeeping. Today decision-makers acknowledge the relevance of “women’s issues” and gender relations for international security policies. In 2000 the unanimous adoption of Security Council Resolution (SC-Res.) 1325 set the starting point (e.g. Barnes 2011; Cohn 2008; Rehn and Johnson Sirleaf 2002) for the increasing recognition of gender equality in UN peacekeeping.¹ SC-Res. 1325 is the only resolution, which is annually debated in a special session of the Security Council (SC) of the UN; the Department for Peacekeeping Operations (DPKO) put regular information about gender and peacekeeping on its website and it publishes advertisements to attract more women to join UN peacekeeping.² All mandates of current multi-dimensional UN peacekeeping missions refer to SC-Res.1325 and gender equality (see Chapter 3.3).³

This overwhelming prominence of gender equality as an emergent norm in the context of international security gave rise to the basic question that motivates this dissertation: How is gender equality put into practice in the context of UN peacekeeping?

The motivation driving this dissertation has been fuelled by empirical curiosity. At the same time, it has a substantial theoretical dimension as the answer may contribute to a deeper understanding of norm adaptation processes in international bureaucracies. In addition, the question is related to the research agendas of several academic disciplines.

Even though the crucial role of the UN peacekeeping bureaucracy for maintaining international peace and security is widely accepted, international bureaucracies barely figure as research objects (Benner et al. 2011: 53; Roscher 2009: 138f.).⁴ Scholars in this field of International Relations (IR)⁵ theory most commonly focus on the implementation of international norms in national policies. They investigate the dynamics of norm development from the emergence of a norm to its internalization

¹ For critical reflections on the seriousness of member states engagement in “Women, Peace, and Security” see (Puechguirbal 2010; Willett 2010).
³ In general “multi-dimensional” and “complex” UN peacekeeping missions are used synonymously in the literature. In this dissertation I only use “multi-dimensional” to describe the particular type of UN peacekeeping.
⁴ For a considerable exception see (Barnett and Finnemore 2004).
⁵ In this dissertation, I follow the common distinction between International Relations (with capital letters) as academic discipline and international relations (with small letters) as social phenomenon.
(e.g. Finnemore and Sikkink 1998; Krook and True 2010), they emphasize the influence of non-governmental organizations (NGOs) (e.g. Keck and Sikkink 1998; Risse et al. 1999; True 2003), and they point to the important role frames play as interpretation of a norm that bears varying meanings (e.g. Joachim 2003; Payne 2001; Wiener 2008).

This dissertation takes a constructivist perspective. Seeking to understand the structural and discursive norm-driven changes in the UN peacekeeping bureaucracy, it focuses on the organizational subunits’ interpretation of gender equality.6 To this end, insights from sociological approaches on normative policy changes as well as gendered organizational studies are drawn to complement IR approaches on norm development processes.

This introduction prepares the ground for what is to come. It starts with a short description of IR approaches to study international norms. Empirical observations how gender equality is put into UN peacekeeping practice reveal a puzzle for linear approaches on norm development. Thus, the research question is embedded in reflexive approaches and opens space for further aspects that influence the norm adaptation process. The second part clarifies key concepts and exposes the assumptions made in this dissertation. Finally, aims and arguments are outlined and a general overview of the dissertation project is given.

1.1 Puzzle and Research Question

Studying norms is fundamental for IR theory since the beginning of the discipline. In the 1990s scholars focused on conditions and mechanisms to study the development and the impact of international norms on political action (Finnemore and Sikkink 1998: 887). Most commonly, they perceive norm development as incremental adjustment of regulative rules or constitutive features of identity that constrain political action towards new ideas and collective expectations.7 International human rights norms and networks, for example, played an important role in changing domestic human rights practices, such as the transition to electoral rule in Chile (Risse et al. 1999: 172-204). Central and Eastern European countries conformed to Western

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6 For cultural approaches on norm construction see (Katzenstein 1996; Legro 1997). For studies on UN peacekeeping that highlight gender cultures see (Carreiras 2010; Higate and Henry 2004; Patel and Tripodi 2007; Whitworth 2004).

7 The distinction between the regulative and constitutive quality of norms is borrowed from Peter Katzenstein (1996). For further elaborations see Chapter 2.1.
liberal principles of social and political order to gain international legitimacy and membership in the European Union (Schimmelfennig 2000). Such a linear understanding of norm development does not question the very meaning of the norm. These models and theories are based on a concept of stable norms. They define norms as “things” rather than as “processes” (Krook and True 2010: 2; Wiener 2004: 191). Hence, empirical studies document the increase in implementing new rules or the extent of adopting new constitutive features of political order in accordance with the emergent norm.

The realization of gender equality in the UN peacekeeping context shows a different picture. There are neither a growing number of gender-sensitive rules nor does the UN peacekeeping bureaucracy show a systematic integration of gender-related aspects that shift its constitutive features. Instead the range of concrete activities that are proposed to realize gender equality varies significantly and even shows contradictions. They rather depend on committed individuals than on gender-prone structures. A basic claim of SC-Res. 1325 is, for instance, the increase of the number of women at all levels of decision-making (S/Res/1325/2000: paragraph 1+3). In order to do so, some call for a quota system to ensure women's appointments. Others regard the number of women as non-essential because women do not per se support gender mainstreaming. And again other voices highlight that men, particularly senior military staff members, are the most crucial persons to convince when it comes to gender equality in UN peacekeeping. These perceptions show that there are contradictory opinions on who should promote the realization of the new norm.

Similar variations exist with regard to the priority settings of gender-related activities. Under-Secretary-General (USG) Malcorra underlines the zero tolerance policy against sexual exploitation and abuse as well as the need to take the women’s perspective into account when planning the sanitary facilities in field missions. In the mission’s mandate of the UN mission in Côte d’Ivoire (UNOCI) the Security Council “requests the Secretary-General to give special attention to the gender and child-protection components within the staff of UNOCI.” And the Independent Experts’ Assessment on the Impact of Armed Conflict on Women and Women’s Role in Peace-building

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8 Cf. interviewee 7, p.14; Interviewee 12, p.6.
9 See interviewee 9, p.8.
10 See interviewee 8, p.5.
11 Interview with Susana Malcorra, the Under-Secretary General for Field Support, in “Review of the Year 2010”, p.15.
deplores that the range of tasks and responsibilities of gender advisers and gender units in field missions exceeds their authority and their resources. It therefore calls for an “institutional response” at headquarter level in the Department for Peacekeeping Operations to support the gender specialists (Rehn and Johnson Sirleaf 2002: 66).

These variations in realizing gender equality in concrete UN peacekeeping practice suggest that decision-makers at different levels put their own version of gender equality into practice (see also Willett 2010: 142). Such a lack of operational coherence bears the risk that only already planned activities are realized and put in relation to gender equality. A fundamental re-thinking and questioning of existing practices does not take place (cf. Whitworth 2004: 123).

Thus, there is neither a unanimous understanding of who should be responsible in the first place to realize gender equality in the UN peacekeeping bureaucracy. Nor does a standard operating procedure exists, which clarifies the first priorities in realizing the norm (see also Chapter 3.4). Such fundamental variations in realizing a norm is puzzling for linear models of norm development.

More recent approaches to studying international norms focus on processes of norm development and norm adaptation. They take a reflexive perspective and underline the individual interpretation of emergent norms as crucial aspect for its realization. They take the dynamic character of norms as a point of departure in explaining normative impacts on international politics (cf. Krook and True 2010; Sandholtz 2008; Van Kersbergen and Verbeek 2007; Wiener 2004). In doing so, reflexive approaches are open for further aspects that influence the norm adaptation process after the initial recognition of an emergent norm. Such an understanding seems more promising for studying the norm adaptation process of gender equality in the UN peacekeeping bureaucracy in the period of the year 2000 until 2010.

Putting the basic question of this dissertation in the context of reflexive approaches on norm development the overarching research question is:

What affects the realization of gender equality in the UN peacekeeping bureaucracy?
1.2 Key Concepts

This section seeks to familiarize the reader with a number of important terms and concepts. It begins by defining the notions of gender, gender mainstreaming, and gender equality in the context of international security and UN peacekeeping. It takes up various different concepts used in the academic literature on norm adoption, norm implementation, and norm adaptation. Finally, on a methodological level it clarifies the role of discourses and the importance of discursive approaches in this dissertation.

1.2.1 Gender, Gender Mainstreaming, and Gender Equality

In trying to put gender equality in UN peacekeeping practice, the term “gender” is often misunderstood and equated with “women” (Hudson 2010: 7). However, as scholars and practitioners agree “gender” is socially constructed. It differs from sex as biological category and addresses the constructed characteristics of masculinity and femininity in a given social context as well as the social practices that translate the notion into everyday life (e.g. Nentwich and Kelan 2013: 3; Tickner 2002: 288, fn.2; West and Zimmermann 1987).

Gender refers to the relation of men and women, that highlights unequal power distributions, unequal access to the public sphere, and unequal participation in war and peace. In general, women are associated with peace, nurturance, and passivity whereas men are associated with war, violence, and agency (e.g. Peterson 1992: 45+48). In the hierarchical relationship of the described gender order, “everything connected with female” is systematically devalued (cf. Gherardi 1995: 9). The constructivist perspective of this dissertation underlines that gender “is no longer something individuals ‘have’ (Nentwich 2006: 503); it is something individuals do (cf. Scott 1988; West and Zimmermann 1987: 126).

Many empirical studies focus on statistical numbers of women in UN peacekeeping missions as measurement of how SC-Res. 1325 has been realized. This dissertation goes further as it takes a constructivist perspective. It documents the hierarchical position of women and the gender order in the UN peacekeeping bureaucracy, it describes the attributes of a “masculine” and a “feminine” peacekeeping culture and it uses discursive approaches to understand the decision-makers’ interpretation of gender equality that shapes the concrete activities that are proposed to realize it.

“Gender mainstreaming” is a political initiative that describes efforts to make gender differences visible. In 1997, the Economic and Social Council (ECOSOC) of the UN
firstly formulated this as: “cross-sectoral theme [of] ‘Mainstreaming the gender perspective into all policies and programmes in the United Nations system’ (E/1997/66: paragraph 1).”

Thus, gender mainstreaming cannot be equated with women’s empowerment. It rather takes a neutral position that highlights women’s as well as men’s concerns in all political, economic and societal spheres. In 2000 the Department for Peacekeeping Operations launched a document “Mainstreaming a Gender Perspective in Multidimensional Peace Operations”, which also highlights this neutral approach.

“Gender mainstreaming refers to the process of assessing the implications for men and for women of any planned action, including legislation, policies or programmes, in all areas and at all levels. It is a strategy for making women’s as well as men’s concerns and experiences an integral dimension of the design, implementation, monitoring and evaluation of policies and programmes in all political, economic and societal spheres so that women and men benefit equally and inequality is not perpetuated. The ultimate goal is to achieve gender equality” (DPKO 2000: 6).

Gender mainstreaming is a political strategy to foster gender equality. Its implementation includes the transformation of structures and processes in organizations and political entities by questioning the status quo (Bendl and Schmidt 2012: 1).

Traditionally UN peacekeeping is dominated by military-oriented conflict resolution that highlights a masculine and male-bonded culture. Senior decision-makers have a military background and are male. Civilian peacekeeping activities, such as communication with the local population, are not seen as first priorities of securing a post-conflict environment and are rather devalued as feminine tasks. In this context gender mainstreaming can be equated with women’s empowerment as equality between men and women is only reached when the latter are no longer in a subordinated position. Yet the possibilities for male peacekeepers to take paternal leaves or to take the family with them in peacekeeping missions are also measures that transform structures and processes and are thus part of gender mainstreaming in UN peacekeeping.

Finally, “Gender equality refers to the equal rights, responsibilities and opportunities of women and men and girls and boys” (DPKO 2000: 6).

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It is therefore a vision for overcoming the patriarchal relationship of dominant men and subordinated women. As further elaborated on in Chapter 2.2.3, gender equality may be attained by equal or by different treatment of men and women. Gender equality directs to overcome structural imbalances and does not propose to equalize men and women. This is another common misunderstanding. Gender equality is the ultimate aim of the political initiative of gender mainstreaming. It is the international norm that has been recognized by UN member states by adopting SC-Res. 1325. Thus gender equality is the core concept for the further analysis in this dissertation.

1.2.2 Norm Adoption, Implementation and Adaptation

In the beginning of this introduction, I referred to the unanimous adoption of SC-Res. 1325. This means the member states present agreed on the importance of the issue as well as on the concrete wording in the resolution. The final formulations reflect the compromise of political interests negotiated before (cf. Cohn 2008; Shepherd 2008). Yet, once written black on white the addressees and priorities are not re-defined anymore. In other cases, the number of member states that adopt a norm is crucial. Only if one-third of the total states adopt a norm, “a critical mass” and a tipping point for norm emergence has been reached (Finnemore and Sikkink 1998: 901).

In the aftermath of the formal adoption, member states as well as UN agencies take further efforts to adopt the described measures in their policy programs and formulate action plans. In addressing norm adoption or norm compliance, which is a more common notion in legal studies, NGOs and academia study how extensively an agreement is fulfilled. This might result in re-defining existing interests or discover new ones (Chayes and Handler Chayes 1993: 176+180; cf. Checkel 2001: 555ff.). Yet, the bulk of compliance literature does not focus on qualitative features of how compliance takes place. In this regard, organizational theory provides helpful insights how organizational change may foster a rule-abiding culture (Dickinson 2010: 2).

This dissertation assumes (as most scholars in the field) that norm adoption precedes norm implementation (e.g. Locher 2007: 67; Risse et al. 1999: 1-38). Strictly speaking, norm implementation refers to identifiable changes in the behavior corresponding to the norm, such as changes in the national jurisdiction (see also Bush 2011; Finnemore 1994; Goertz and Diehl 1992: 646; True and Mintrom 2001).

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15 E.g. interviewee 4, p.11.
16 For a considerable exception see (Wiener 2004).
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Constructivist scholars highlight that norm implementation additionally involves redefinitions of the political identity. These studies often capture the ongoing process of internalizing the constitutive beliefs and practices of an adopted norm as socialization (e.g. Finnemore and Sikkink 1998: 902; Schimmelfennig 2000: 111). Others even equate norm implementation with norm internalization (Locher 2007: 65). That means the conformance with the norm is almost automatic and it has a taken-for-granted quality (Finnemore and Sikkink 1998: 904).

For the purpose of this dissertation the concept of norm socialization and internalization has not been proven useful as it refers to changes in states. Thus, norm implementation in this dissertation is limited to the formulation of national action plans to put SC-Res. 1325 and gender equality into UN peacekeeping practice (see e.g. Barnes 2008).

As the focus of this dissertation is put on the UN peacekeeping bureaucracy and its organizational subunits, the concept of norm adaptation, used in studies on international organizations, seems more fruitful. According to Ernst Haas’ definition, “[a]daptation […] is the ability to change one’s behavior so as to meet challenges in the form of new demands without having to reevaluate one’s entire program and the reasoning on which that program depends for its legitimacy” (1990: 33f.).

In this regard,

“Successful adaptation may also call for adding new purposes or dropping old ones […] [but] [a]daptation does not require new consensual knowledge [about cause-effect-links]” (1990: 36).

The re-definition of consensual knowledge about cause-effect-links reserves Haas for organizational learning.

Thus, the concept of adaptation captures changes in the organizational behavior as well as changes in the internal structure to add new purposes, such as the integration of gender units to foster gender equality, or to drop old ones. Successful adaptation implies further the willingness to reconsider the tie between means and ends, which might appear in discursive changes in organizational guidelines and strategies (cf. Haas 1990: 6). At the same time, different opinions about the definition of the most important problem an organization has to address as well as the definition about the appropriate solution co-exist. There is not (yet) consensual knowledge about causes and effects.

As there is no consensual knowledge about the priority features of international security problems and appropriate UN peacekeeping measures to provide suitable
solutions this dissertation refers to norm adaptation instead of learning (see also Chapter 2.2.2).17

1.2.3 Discourses and Discursive Construction of Frames

A discourse captures the meaning and interpretation of written and oral language, of symbols, organizational artifacts etc. On the one hand, language represents social relations in an organization or internal procedures. On the other hand, language has a constitutive effect on collective identities and knowledge production (e.g. Ahl 2004: 64; Scott 1988: 34). The attention towards language and processes allows overcoming simplistic models about policy changes. Studying the discursive construction of meanings reveal the complex and perpetuated interpretations of the norm (cf. Scott 1988).

Most commonly reflexive theoretical approaches ground the empirical analysis on discourses (e.g. Krook and True 2010; Lombardo and Meier 2008; Wiener 2008).18 Language reveals the individual interpretation of a norm. Variations in realizing a norm might relate to different meanings actors attach to it.

The analysis of this dissertation concentrates on written and oral language. Both aspects of language described by Helene Ahl, Joan Scott and others are important for understanding the process of adapting gender equality in the UN peacekeeping bureaucracy. The social relations and internal procedures in the international bureaucracy to put the emergent norm into UN peacekeeping practice are captured in Chapter 3. Interview transcripts, organizational guidelines and mission reports serve as empirical source to study the interpretation of different actors that are responsible for realizing the norm in their working context. This discourse focuses on gender equality in UN peacekeeping. It reveals internal dynamics of adapting a contested norm as the uniformed personnel and gender advisers attach different meanings to gender equality and prefer different activities to realize it in the peacekeeping context.

The meaning making of gender equality in concrete UN peacekeeping situations is fuelled by the socialization background and the respective culture of the organizational subunits. At the same time decision-makers are influenced by the overall understanding of UN peacekeeping itself. As the description of the evolution of UN peacekeeping in Chapter 3.1 documents the self-image and the definition of priority

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17 For a different conceptualization see (Benner, Mergenthaler, and Rotmann 2011).
18 For previous studies that made discourse analysis fruitful for IR see (George 1990; Milliken 1999; Payne 2001). Further elaborations on “grounded theory” are outlined in Chapter 2.4. See fundamentally (Glaser and Strauss 1967).
activities has considerably changed in the last six decades. Here four key documents are analyzed to reveal the discourse on UN peacekeeping. The shift towards multi-dimensional peacekeeping systematically integrates a broad range of actors: a military, police, and civilian component. In doing so, the diversity of tasks and roles in the process of (post-) conflict engagement becomes more complex and herewith the interpretation of gender equality.

A second discourse external to the peacekeeping bureaucracy condenses the web of meaning making on gender and peacekeeping. The definition of what security is and who is at center stage of international security policies has equally changed. Chapter 3.2.2 outlines the changing security discourse. Human security that focuses on the well-being of individuals has become the core priority of security policies and (post-) conflict resolution. Traditional military measures to secure a national territory and a national population from external threats are less important for today’s UN peacekeeping engagements. The human security discourse builds a fertile ground to integrate a gender perspective as physical and psychological harm on the civilian population, which most commonly means sexual violence, are defined as security problem. This discursive development opens a window of opportunity for the official recognition of a relationship between women, peace, and security, which is spelled out in the SC-Res.1325.

The changing UN peacekeeping discourse, the changing security discourse, and the discourse on gender and peacekeeping in the UN bureaucracy are crucial aspects to understand the norm adaptation process studied in this dissertation. The discursive constructions of the very nature of UN peacekeeping and international security re-enforce the structural organizational changes, such as changing staff and the establishment of new subunits in the UN peacekeeping bureaucracy. In this regard, language has a structuring component (see also Ahl 2004: 64; George and Campbell 1990; Milliken 1999; Weldes 1998: 217). As a result, changes in the discursive construction of meanings imply changes in political practices. Powerful slogans, such as “the private is political” or “zero tolerance for sexual exploitation and abuse of local women by UN peacekeepers” have changed reality by changing the way we think about the world (cf. True 2003: 374).

Aiming at reconstructing the meaning making process of gender equality in the internal subunits of the UN peacekeeping bureaucracy this dissertation draws on framing as discursive approach.

Scholars that take a constructivist perspective on international norms underline the importance of language as medium for transmitting new knowledge and expectations
for appropriate behavior in line with distinct constructions of meaning. So does this dissertation. IR theory draws insights from organization studies to explain foreign policy changes (see also Barnett 1999; Milliken 1999: 240). The concept of framing is made fruitful for understanding international policy changes.

Frames as such are communicative acts. They are specific metaphors, symbolic representations and cognitive cues to create a shared understanding of the world, situate events, interpret problems and suggest possible solutions (Barnett 1999: 15; Joachim 2003: 251; Payne 2001: 39; Zald 1996: 262). Thus, language is perceived as the predominant medium of social meaning. Written texts or spoken language reveal how people understand their world.

In contrast to the above outlined dimensions and structuring effects of external and internal discourses on UN peacekeeping, international security, and gender and peacekeeping, the concept of framing implies agency. It points out that rational actors stand behind discourses, which actively construct the meaning of certain norms. Frames are strategically developed to achieve a specific aim (e.g. Benford and Snow 2000: 624; Payne 2001: 43; see also Price 1998: 628). The conscious strategic effort of a group of people to achieve a new shared understanding of the world seeks to legitimate and motivate new collective action (see also Barnett 1999; Klotz 1995; McAdam et al. 1996b: 6). Mobilization and legitimatization of political action are therefore crucial aims of strategic framing.

Most prominently, scholars highlight the role of transnational advocacy networks (TANs) and norm entrepreneurs in strategic framing processes.19 As described in Chapter 3.2.3 TANs and individual norm entrepreneurs provide new interpretations of existing norms, including new understandings of underlying problems and appropriate solutions in a given situation (Payne 2001: 39; see also Sandholtz 2008).

Methodological clarifications how the meaning making process of gender equality in the UN peacekeeping bureaucracy is pursuit in this dissertation follow in Chapter 2.4.

1.3 Aims and Arguments

This dissertation pursues two aims. From a practical perspective it emphasizes that the very understanding of gender equality varies significantly. Thus, a political strategy to realize the norm in a particular working context must not stop at emphasizing the importance of the issue in public speeches. Instead decision-makers should be aware

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19 Keck and Sikkink incorporate economic actors and firms as well as scientists and experts in TANs (1998: 1), whereas Haas concentrates on the “epistemic community” that establishes new knowledge and grafts better arguments for policy changes (1992).
of variations in interpreting gender equality and provide concrete translations with regard to the specific context. At the same time, they should recognize that norm interpretation is a never-ending social endeavor. Thus, the different actors involved constantly exchange opinions and experiences on how to realize the norm. Furthermore, the structure of the political entity and its self-perception may change throughout the process of norm adaptation. Again, this might result in re-defining the norm.

From a theoretical perspective this dissertation contributes to the study of UN peacekeeping as an international bureaucracy and attempts to deepen the knowledge on norm adaptation processes. It takes a gender-sensitive approach and highlights that the organizational culture of the bureaucratic subunits is a driving force for political change (cf. Cortell and Davis 2000; Katzenstein 1996; Krook and True 2010; Legro 1997).

Internal dynamics of negotiating contested meanings of gender equality are influenced by normative shifts concerning the nature of UN peacekeeping and international security in the external environment of the UN peacekeeping bureaucracy (cf. Brunsson 1989; DiMaggio and Powell 1983; March and Olsen 1984; Paris 2003).

The basic assumption of this dissertation is that the meaning of a norm is subject to permanent interpretation processes. Entrepreneurs that lobby for the norm’s recognition, promote a re-thinking of appropriate behavior, and call for fundamental changes stand at the one side of the meaning making process. Potential norm-followers, which try to integrate the new norm as smoothly as possible in the existing procedures and activities without fundamental changes of the structure and processes of UN peacekeeping stand at the other side. The respective definition of gender equality documented in certain organizational guidelines and reports in certain years is the result of a negotiation process between contested meanings. The norm gender equality is socially constructed. The focus on the (re-)construction process in this dissertation results from the constructivist perspective. Other IR studies treat norms as “stable things” that interfere between actors’ interests and political outcomes (Krook and True 2010: 2; Wiener 2004: 191).


21 Cf. the Special Issue in International Peacekeeping on “The Distinctive Role of Culture in Peacekeeping”, 17:4 (2010).

22 For studies that similarly underline contested meanings of norms and its permanent re-definition in the process of norm adaptation see (Ansari, Fiss and Zajac 2010; Chiewroth 2008; Krook and True 2010; Van Kersbergen and Verbeek 2007; Wiener 2004).
Figure 1 illustrates the main argument of this dissertation that the cultural diversity of the multi-dimensional UN peacekeeping bureaucracy, which is fueled by the decentralized structure of the UN in general, helps to understand the broad variety of measures proposed to put gender equality into practice. Thus, it is argued that the structural changes, which result from implementing SC-Res. 1325 in the UN peacekeeping bureaucracy, affect the norm adaptation process as well as the diverse organizational cultures that shape a different interpretation of gender equality. The internal adaptation process in the UN peacekeeping bureaucracy is further influenced by normative shifts in its environment.

**Figure 1: Argument**

In a long-term perspective gender equality entered the international security arena and the UN peacekeeping context after intensive lobbying by the NGO Working Group on Women, Peace, and Security. The NGO Working Group is an alliance of different women’s NGOs that has been serving as predominant norm entrepreneur in the beginning phase of norm emergence. Their norm interpretations reveal their socialization background as feminist activists in the women’s movement and in academia (see Chap.3.2.3). They managed, however, to frame gender equality in a way that resonates within the military-dominated context of UN peacekeeping. Herewith
they initiated a re-definition of UN peacekeeping and suggested alternative modes of action\textsuperscript{23} (cf. Finnemore and Sikkink 1998: 897; Zald 1996: 262). Referring to human security as latest development in re-defining international security and UN peacekeeping towards multi-dimensional missions they used a general shift in UN peacekeeping for gaining acceptance for a gendered perspective on security (cf. Hudson 2005; see also Chapter 3.2.2).

One of the first steps to integrate gender equality in the UN peacekeeping bureaucracy was to establish gender offices with particular “gender experts” (Rehn and Johnson Sirleaf 2002: 65). Due to this specialized qualification the usual regional proportion to recruit international civil servants is skipped (cf. Smith 2006: 104). The majority of gender experts in the UN peacekeeping bureaucracy are young European academics and often former NGO staff.\textsuperscript{24} Herewith the decentralized structure of the UN peacekeeping bureaucracy is further broadened as former norm entrepreneurs incrementally become part of the norm addressee itself (cf. Joachim 2003: 250). Nevertheless, the interpretation of gender equality according to the military-oriented UN peacekeeping components still exists in the bureaucracy. Thus, divergent understandings of gender equality in UN peacekeeping co-exist and varying proposals to realize gender equality are favored by gender experts (formerly international feminist movement) on the one side and uniformed staff on the other side (cf. Barnes and 'Funmi 2011: 8). This indicates the empirically observed broad variety of gender-related measures.

1.4 Outline

The remainder of this dissertation is structured into four parts. Chapter 2 reviews the relevant field of literature and exposes the methodological reflections of the investigation. This dissertation contributes to International Relations approaches on norm development and norm adaptation processes in an international bureaucracy. Traditional linear approaches on norm development as well as the idea of contested meanings are presented in Chapter 2.1. Sociological approaches provide fruitful insights to understand norm adaptation processes in an international bureaucracy. Thus, Chapter 2.2 describes dynamics of policy changes “from inside-out” and policy changes “from outside-in” as well as cultural approaches. Taking a gender perspective on norm adaptation in the UN peacekeeping bureaucracy the literature review

\textsuperscript{23} “Action” and “behavior” refers both to meaningful action and is used synonymously in this dissertation. For critical reflections on this point see (Czarniawska 2004).

\textsuperscript{24} This information is derived from 20 qualitative interviews with experts on UN peacekeeping in 2009.
concludes with an outline of liberal feminism and standpoint theory as two poles of the equality versus difference paradigm. The methodological considerations in Chapter 2.4 concentrate on elaborations on qualitative single case studies, theory refinement based on grounded theory and reflections on the data collection and analysis in Chapter 4. Chapter 3 tells the story of how the politics of gender equality came to UN peacekeeping. It describes the historical evolution of UN peacekeeping from traditional missions of neutral observation of peace agreements towards complex endeavors to foster sustainable and democratic post-conflict orders. It further sketches out on how the awareness of a gender perspective has been evolving in the UN architecture in general and on how it enters the field of international security. As first empirical part of this dissertation, Chapter 3.3 documents the structural changes in the UN peacekeeping bureaucracy towards gender equality, which can be observed between 2000 and 2010. Preliminary findings of strong rhetorical commitment but weak procedural coherence in putting gender equality into UN peacekeeping practice conclude the third chapter. Chapter 4 documents the analysis of discursive changes of interpreting gender equality in the organizational subunits of the UN peacekeeping bureaucracy. Chapter 4.1 provides insights of individual norm interpretation of the uniformed personnel and gender advisers. Chapter 4.2 summarizes the divergent proposals of how gender equality is framed and how it should be put into UN peacekeeping practice. The two preceding sections serve as interpretation templates for the comprehensive data analysis in Chapter 4.3. Here, all UN documents that are issued between 2000 and 2010 and that address UN peacekeeping are analyzed. In order to provide a comprehensive picture of the discourse on gender equality in complex UN peacekeeping, the analysis includes both documents that explicitly address gender mainstreaming and general strategy documents on UN peacekeeping that are launched by the Department for Peacekeeping Operations. Furthermore, the perspective of the field level of concrete missions is integrated by analyzing the regular mission reports of the Secretary General. This chapter concludes with the findings that the studied norm adaptation process reveals a tendency towards and interactive interpretation of the norm. That means the analysis does not show a development of norm interpretation towards the version of gender equality proposed by the uniformed component as most relevant audience group. Instead, both the uniformed staff and the gender advisers take over opinions and arguments of the other group.
The final conclusions of this dissertation summarize the findings with regard to the research question; with regard to a refinement of existing theoretical approaches on norm development processes; and with regard to potential new research projects.
2. Literature Review and Methodological Reflections

“Scientific investigation, like any other social practice, constructs a world” (Locher and Prügl 2001: 119; see also Tickner 2005: 2). This dissertation follows the assumption that any theory takes actively part in the construction of the social world we seek to understand. The aim of theoretical approaches is to reduce its complexity. They provide answers to research questions by highlighting certain aspects and neglect others. In doing so, different dimensions and pictures of the research object become visible.

The following chapter presents three theoretical perspectives on the norm adaptation process of gender equality in the UN peacekeeping bureaucracy. It begins with norm development approaches of International Relations (IR) theory. Martha Finnemore and Kathryn Sikkink’s norm life cycle is a crucial starting point that helps to describe the process of norm emergence, norm cascade, and internalization (1998). They highlight increasing institutionalization of the norm in international rules and organizations.

According to these scholars norm adaptation is a linear process. The degree of integration in rules and organizational structures influences the degree of norm internalization -the final stage of norm development which means the norm is so widely accepted that conformance is almost automatic. The mutual dependency of agents and structures is fundamental in constructivist IR studies. Thus the second part of IR perspectives documents the role of agents and structures outside the UN peacekeeping bureaucracy in the norm adaptation process. Norm entrepreneurs, on the one hand, and overall discourses on human security and multi-dimensional peacekeeping, on the other hand, affect the structural and discursive changes towards gender equality in the UN peacekeeping bureaucracy. The third part of IR perspectives takes up reflexive norm development approaches and highlight particular meanings of norms. In any stage of a norm adaptation process debates on different interpretations and different ways of applying to the norm persist.

The meaning making process of gender equality in the context of UN peacekeeping is of particular interest in this dissertation. In order to gain further insights the focus of investigation is put on the organizational subunits of the international bureaucracy and theirs individual norm interpretations. Sociological perspectives that are based on organization theory provide complementary answers to IR theory regarding the question of what affects the norm adaptation process. Chapter 2.2 concentrates on sociological approaches that are well-established in studying international politics,

25 Here the notions “agent” and “actor” are used interchangeably.
namely the “new institutionalism” (e.g. March and Olsen 1984) and “organizational learning” (e.g. Haas 1990). Reflexive norm development approaches underline that organizational cultures influence the individual interpretations of a norm and herewith the norm adaptation process (e.g. Chwieroth 2008; Legro 1997). That is why the third part of sociological perspectives outlines studies that investigate gender cultures in UN peacekeeping.

All of these theoretical approaches rely on rather abstract concepts and general ideas on what dimensions are central in norm adaptation processes and what aspects influence the dynamics of such processes. The research question of this dissertation, however, asks what affects the realization of gender equality in a specific context. This involves the interpretation of the norm by different organizational subunits as well as concrete UN practices that are drawn from that interpretation. The “Equality-versus-Difference-Debate” in feminist theoretical perspectives provides a valuable basis for analyzing the broad range of activities that are proposed to translate gender equality into UN peacekeeping practice. The binary positions help to systematize the discourse analysis of UN documents (see Chapter 4).

This dissertation seeks to challenge gender-blind social science by systematically integrating a gender perspective in the literature review of this chapter. Feminist accounts and gender perspectives remained marginal in traditional IR theory. Although several scholars called for the recognition of gender as prime element in understanding the theory and practice of international relations (e.g. Grant and Newland 1991: 2; Tickner 1991: 28), mainstream IR theory persists in being gender-blind (see also Finnemore and Sikkink 1998: fn.34). Women, women’s issues, or the perspective of men are not recognized as valuable research object. Feminist scholars criticized this ignorance by focusing on add-on feminist questions to IR. The following titles of seminal works illustrate this proceeding: “Gender and International Relations” (Grant and Newland 1991); “Feminist (Re)Visions of International Relations Theory” (Peterson 1992); “Feminism and International Relations” (Whitworth 1994).26 This dissertation follows Birgit Locher and Elisabeth Prügl in emphasizing common grounds of feminism and constructivism. Such a perspective concentrates on combining forces in understanding social phenomena instead of highlighting the pitfalls (Locher and Prügl 2001: 111).

Similarly to traditional IR theory, mainstream organization theory is “malestream”, which means organizational knowledge is implicitly male gendered but gender is not considered as crucial category for research (Gherardi 2003: 210f.). Traditional claims of organizational theories being gender neutral are undermined by implicit assumptions that managers and workers are male and women are at home caring for the children. Even most academic writers addressed women in organizations as anomalies if in managerial positions (Calás and Smircich 2006: 291). Again, feminist scholars criticize this implicit perpetuation of male domination and gender-based social inequality and highlight the interconnectedness between culture, gender, and power (e.g. Acker 1992: 252; Calás and Smircich 2006: 285; Gherardi 1995: 17). Gender-sensitive approaches argue that considerable errors have been made in interpreting how organizations operate without considering the gender dimension (e.g. Mills and Tancred 1992: 1).

This chapter seeks to highlight prominent theoretical arguments and translates them to the UN peacekeeping bureaucracy and the research question of this dissertation. It includes methodological reflections that concentrate on elaborations on qualitative single case studies, theory refinement based on grounded theory and reflections on the data collection and analysis. The chapter does not claim to present a comprehensive concluding review of the different strands of theoretical perspectives in the different academic disciplines.

**2.1 International Relations Perspectives**

There is a broad range of approaches that study norms in international politics. Their underlying epistemological premises vary between positivist studies that consider norms as given causal factor for political change (e.g. Goldstein and Keohane 1993; Schimmelfennig 2000; Yee 1996) and post-positivist studies that highlight the inter-subjective character of socially constructed norms (e.g. Katzenstein 1996; Prügl 1998; Wendt 1999).

Despite these variations the very definition of norms is rather similar: “We define norms as implicit prescriptions accepted as valid by a particular society to govern relationships within it or by more than one society to govern relations with one another” (Goldstein and Keohane 1993: fn33).

“Norms […] either define (or constitute) identities or prescribe (or regulate) behavior, or they do both” (Katzenstein 1996: 5).
Since the 1990s IR theory has regarded constitutive elements of identity formation and regulative elements of appropriate behavior as central aspects of norms. Beyond the initial divide between rationalist and reflexive approaches, IR scholars proposed social constructivism as a middle ground (e.g. Adler 1997; Locher and Prügl 2001; Wendt 1992).27

For the purpose of this dissertation, Martha Finnemore and Kathryn Sikkink’s heuristic model of norm development represents the fundamental starting point for understanding normative policy changes (1998). Yet, the three-stage-model does not provide satisfactory answers for the variation in realizing gender equality in UN peacekeeping. The argument that domestic actors shape international norms and the argument that the meanings of norms are contested indicate further understandings of the question at hand.

### 2.1.1 Linear Norm Development Approaches

The basic questions of Martha Finnemore and Kathryn Sikkink’s contribution on “International Norm Dynamics and Political Change” tackle both rationalist and reflexive research programs: “How do we know norms make a difference?” and “Where do norms come from?” (1998: 888). The former touches on the age old question: “Do norms matter?” Regime theorists and scholars of international institutions are concerned with as alternative to material resources as a cause of political change (e.g. Hasenclever et al. 1997; Simmons and Martin 2002). The latter refers to the idea that social reality is constructed. Norms are not unexplained sources of exogenously given preferences of states but intersubjective understandings of interests and the perceived meanings of behavior. Thus, norms and ideas have constitutive effects on social reality (e.g. Adler 2002; Florini 1996).

The norm life cycle consists of three stages. “Change at each stage […] is characterized by different actors, and mechanisms of influence” (Finnemore and Sikkink 1998: 895). In the first stage of norm emergence, norm entrepreneurs call attention to issues and seek to persuade a critical mass of the appropriateness of a norm. Secondly, norm cascade is the stage where norm acceptance has reached a certain level and the process of socialization begins. States as well as networks and international organizations act as agents of socialization by pressuring targeted actors to adopt new policies or ratify treaties (Finnemore and Sikkink 1998: 898+902).

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27 I follow Heiner Hänggi in taking the broad notion “reflexive” as counterpart to rationalist approaches. Several approaches that critique rationalist thinking, e.g. critical theory, historical sociology, feminist and postmodern approaches, can be subsumed under “reflexive” approaches (1998: 35; see fundamentally Keohane 1988).
According to the authors as well as other scholars that study socialization, states comply with norms as they relate to their identities as members of an international society (cf. Risse et al. 1999; Schimmelfennig 2000). The final stage of internalization is fulfilled when norms are so widely accepted that they have a “taken-for-granted” quality. Internalized norms can be extremely powerful as behavior is not discussed anymore and norm conformance is almost automatic (Finnemore and Sikkink 1998: 904).

The majority of empirical studies in political science on policy change refer to norm emergence and socialization. Changes in the bureaucratic structure, such as the establishment of government ministries on women affairs and bureaus or divisions for gender equality (True and Mintrom 2001), the adoption of new legislatures, such as the introduction of gender quota (Bush 2011), the recognition of trafficking in women in policy programs (Locher 2007), or the broadening of the discourse on gender equality in policy documents (Lombardo and Meier 2008) are only few examples for operationalizing policy changes that refer to the norm gender equality.

Most empirical studies focus on states as targeted actor of norms. Thus norm-driven changes are directed towards domestic policies. They document what aspects of the norm are realized to what degree in domestic policies. This is also true for studies on the implementation, i.e. the unquestioned realization, of SC-Res.1325 in UN member states (Barnes 2008; Tryggestad 2009) and in single UN peacekeeping missions (Carey 2001; Olsson 2001). Only Carol Cohn and Karen Barnes shortly indicate the need to implement SC-Res.1325 within the UN and at the regional level additionally to the national level of the member states (Barnes 2011: 21f.; Cohn 2008: 192f.).

In general, international bureaucracies as research objects in IR are most widely ignored (Benner et al. 2011: 53; Roscher 2009: 138f.). A systematic analysis of realizing gender equality in the UN peacekeeping bureaucracy in the aftermath of SC-Res.1325 does not exist. This dissertation aims at filling the gap by analyzing the structural changes in the UN peacekeeping bureaucracy from the year 2000 until 2010. Taking a linear approach Chapter 2 describes the phase of norm emergence and norm cascade referring to the gender-balance of UN peacekeeping staff, the establishment of

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28 For considerable exceptions that study normative policy changes in the European Union and in the Association of Southeast Asian Nations as regional organizations (Acharya 2004; Hafner-Burton and Pollack 2009; Van Kersbergen and Verbeek 2007). For norm driven changes in IOs see (Chiewroth 2008; Tryggestad 2010).

29 For regular updates in implementing SC-Res.1325, see http://www.peacewomen.org/naps/, 07/25/2013.

30 For a considerable exception see (Barnett and Finnemore 2004).
new gender-related bureaucratic units, and the range of gender-related activities mentioned in the mission mandates.

There are two prominent arguments that criticize the one-dimensional, linear three-stage-model of norm development. Firstly, constructivist IR studies tend to overemphasize structure instead of agency. Thomas Risse shaped the often cited expression “ideas do not float freely” (1994). Norms and ideas are transmitted by actors. In the late 1990s several IR scholars highlighted the link between domestic actors and international norms (e.g. Checkel 1999; Cortell and Davis 1996; Risse and Sikkink 1999). Secondly, linear approaches on norm development dismiss the ongoing battle over the meaning of norms after its initial emergence. More recent studies emphasize that norms are dynamic. In the process of norm implementation, norm entrepreneurs and norm followers continuously redefine the very meaning of the norm (e.g. Krook and True 2010; Van Kersbergen and Verbeek 2007; Wiener 2004). The following two sections further elaborate on the two arguments and relate them to the research question of this dissertation.

2.1.2 Agents and Structures on both International and Domestic Level

The debate on agents and structures is fundamental for social constructivist studies in IR. Alexander Wendt and David Dessler fuelled this discussion by formulating alternative approaches to neorealism, which highlights the power of agents, on the one hand, and world-system theory, which emphasizes the relevance of structural factors, on the other hand. Wendt’s structuration theory (1987) and Dessler’s transformational model (1989) call for recognizing both human agents and social structures as crucial for understanding social phenomena.

On an abstract level, I agree with Dessler, who conceives structure as preexistent to action (1989: 452; see also Finnemore 1996: 333). A democratic environment, for instance, can be considered as structural condition for powerful transnational or domestic Non-Governmental Organizations (NGOs). Concrete policy changes, however, can only be initiated by actors. Thus, Wendt’s argument is more persuasive, which highlights that “human agents and social structures are […] theoretically interdependent or mutually implicating entities” (1987: 338). Anyway, the details of this rather philosophical discussion are not central for this dissertation. The pragmatic solution for studying the mutual constitution of agents and structures is to bracket one element and do the research in different time phases (cf. Checkel 2001: 554; McAnulla 2002: 285).
Chapter 3.2 describes how gender equality travels from the development and human rights context to the field of international security. It demonstrates the important role of Secretary Kofi Annan as well as the NGO Working Group as norm entrepreneurs. Chapter 4 illustrates how the motivation to put gender equality into practice is not always linked to the higher good of the norm. Norm realization might also serve to (re-defined) strategic interests (cf. Klotz 1995; see also Locher and Prügl 2001: 114; Risse-Kappen 1994). The impact of a norm in terms of adequate behavior is not different if the underlying motivation is led by rational interest instead of normative commitment. Yet, one might hardly conclude that norm internalization follows norm cascade in this case as proposed by Finnemore/ Sikkink (1998: 895; see also Zwingel 2012: 118).31

In addition to external norm entrepreneurs that influence the norm adaptation process the reciprocal understanding of norm diffusion is another important element of transnational theorizing that is ignored by the norm life cycle (cf. Zwingel 2012: 121). The international re-definition of what constitutes current security problems and how security can be provided reshape the nature of UN peacekeeping. Multi-dimensional UN missions have become the dominant mode of international crisis management. In this regard, the international structure influences the nature of the UN peacekeeping bureaucracy and re-defines appropriate UN peacekeeping practice (see also Carreiras 2010: 475f.; cf. Katzenstein 1996: 52; Wendt 1987: 359).

Norm entrepreneurs and discursive shifts external to the international bureaucracy is one direction that influences norm adaptation processes; domestic agents and structures is the other one. Andrew Cortell and James Davis identify the domestic structural context and the domestic salience of the international norm as decisive factors for norm adherence (1996; see also Checkel 1999). The former captures state-societal relations, e.g. the integration of societal actors into the policy-making process;32 the latter focuses on the norm’s domestic strength or legitimacy (Cortell and Davis 1996: 454+456). Norms become domestically salient if they culturally match with domestic understandings, beliefs, and obligations formulated in domestic discourses (see also Ansari et al. 2010: 78; Checkel 1999: 91; Cortell and Davis 2000: 73).

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31 In the process of human rights changes, initial instrumental norm adoption often results in long-term identity transformation (Risse and Sikkink 1999).
32 Risse et al. emphasize in this regard the link between societal opposition and the transnational advocacy networks (1999).
The idea to take a domestic perspective on a norm adaptation process inspired me to study the internal dynamics of the UN peacekeeping bureaucracy. The elaborations of Jeffrey Legro (1997) and Jeffrey Chwieroth (2008) were particularly helpful as they focus on social entities, e.g. military organizations or staff in IOs, with distinct organizational cultures and ways of interpreting the norm states or IOs should realize. Legro argues that “[c]ulture shapes how organizations understand their environment; it acts as heuristic filter for perception” (1997: 36). He showed in his study the way in which the organizational culture of militaries structured and shaped states’ understanding of their situations in the interwar period and in World War II referring to immoral types of warfare, such as the bombing of non-military targets and the use of chemical weapons (1997: 57). Almost ten years later, Chwieroth transferred the idea of internal social entities with distinct ways of interpreting their environment towards staff members of the International Monetary Fund (IMF). He argues that the recruitment procedures can initiate change “from within” as the staff’s professional background and training can bring different norms or different views of the same norm to the IO. Internal entrepreneurs take the lead in the attempt to persuade further staff members and to change beliefs about desirable policy instruments and about desirable policy goals in accordance with the new norm or new interpretation of the norm (Chwieroth 2008; see also DiMaggio and Powell 1983: 152f.).

In the stage of norm cascade, gender advisers were recruited as new UN peacekeeping staff and new bureaucratic gender units were established. Their professional background and organizational gender culture differed fundamentally from existing uniformed staff. Thus, Chwieroth’s argument reinforces the idea to study more intensely the internal process of norm adaptation. To this end, sociological approaches provide further insights that are presented in Chapter 2.3.

2.1.3 Gender Equality as Norm with Contested Meanings

More recent contributions to the norm development literature reject the static definition of norms as prescriptive rules and constitutive ideas. Instead they favor a dynamic, reflexive approach and consider norms as process (e.g. Krook and True 2010: 2). The particular meaning of a norm is highly contested. In the beginning phase
of norm emergence, the norm must compete with a variety of already existing norms and perceptions (Finnemore and Sikkink 1998: 897). But also in a later stage, debates on different interpretations and different ways of applying to the norm persist (Chwieroth 2008: 131).

As such, the meaning construction of norms is a social process. Norm setters and norm followers compete over the social recognition of their version of the norm by creating a particular discourse or frame (see also Ansari et al. 2010: 71; Wiener 2004: 200f.; 2009: 177). The ongoing struggle over meanings is fuelled by different underlying understandings of the norm among different actors; especially when a norm remains vague and ambiguous. Vague norms allow actors to stick to their previous interpretations (see fundamentally Chayes and Handler Chayes 1993: 189; Van Kersbergen and Verbeek 2007: 217f.). A universal rhetorical commitment and general recognition of the emergent norm does not preclude contests about its actual meaning in the actual context of realization (see also Joachim 2003: 251; Wiener 2009: 177).36

Gender equality is such a vague and ambiguous norm. The principle of realizing equality between men and women in all areas and all phases of policy-making lacks operational coherence for implementation (Whitworth 2004: 120; Willett 2010: 142). Thus, the struggle over the meaning of the norm becomes relevant in actual contexts of norm realization (see also Sandholtz 2008: 103; Wiener 2009: 177). A conceptual broadening of gender equality and gender mainstreaming towards “family policies”, “domestic violence”, or “gender inequalities in politics” does not contribute to specific definitions and to a deeper understanding of gender equality, which includes a questioning of male standards, norms, and behaviors (Lombardo and Meier 2008: 105).

Based on the Platform for Action launched at the Fourth World Conference on Women in Beijing, Mona Lena Krook and Jacqui True identified two norms that are crucial to realizing gender equality: gender-balanced decision-making and gender mainstreaming. The former calls for the equal participation of women as policymakers; the latter highlights the need for a gender perspective in all phases of policy-making (2010: 10). The authors choose a discursive approach to analyze actors’ translations of the abstract norm into concrete policy goals. In doing so, they followed a well-established strategy for constructivist studies in IR (see e.g. Milliken 1999;

36 Vagueness may even be a political strategy as it maximizes the number of actors that agree on the norm (Van Kersbergen and Verbeek 2007: 221). One might argue that the unanimous adoption of SC-Res. 1325 was only possible because of the vagueness of the language in SC-Res 1325.
Wiener 2008). They conclude that gender-balanced decision-making as constitutive norm for states’ identity, which is easily measurable by counting numbers of women, is more likely to be realized than the regulative norm of making policy gender-sensitive, which implies more space for individual interpretations and uncertainty for realization (Krook and True 2010: 21).

To conclude, the outlined IR approaches shed light on norm-driven policy changes, the mutual constitution of agents and structures external and internal to the international bureaucracy, and contested meanings of norms. Referring to the research question they propose different answers of what affects norm realization in the international bureaucracy. Linear norm development approaches highlight that new institutional norm-related structures shape the norm adaptation process. The agent-structure debate draws attention to norm entrepreneurs and discursive changes external to the international bureaucracy as well as to the internal culture and staff recruitment procedures as influential for norm adaptation processes. The idea that norms have contested meanings and that different organizational subunits stick to their interpretation is particularly convincing in a diverse setting such as the UN peacekeeping bureaucracy. In order to get further insights in the meaning-making process of a norm in an international bureaucracy the following part highlights sociological perspectives that are well-established in studies on international politics and UN peacekeeping. Although the debates overlap and partly interact, I decided to present the research disciplines separately in order to capture the respective traditions of argumentation.

2.2 Sociological Perspectives
The characteristics of the internal gender culture of the organizational subunits of the UN peacekeeping bureaucracy and its interplay in the meaning-making process of gender equality are crucial aspects for the further analysis in this dissertation. This perspective complements insights from IR approaches. Sociological perspectives provide helpful insights that complement those drawn from IR in order to open the black-box of the international bureaucracy and understand the internal process of norm adaptation towards gender equality. The sociological approaches, outlined in this part of the chapter, highlight different dynamics of organizational change as result of adapting a new norm. Finally, this chapter elaborates on gender cultures and its impact on organizational change in UN peacekeeping.
Since the mid-1990s generations of IR scholars refer to sociological theories. Finnemore and Sikkink, for example, highlight that sociologists “do more than simply argue that social structure matters; they tell us what social structure is” (1996: 327; original emphasis). Thus, the traditional question of IR approaches: “Do norms matter?” evolves into the question of “How do norms matter?”

The fundamental difference between sociological and IR studies are the conceptualizations of relevant actors. The vast majority of IR studies focus on the state as the prevalent social actor that shapes the international political life. Sociological approaches, by contrast, recognize the autonomous role of organizations and bureaucracies in international relations. Here, the UN peacekeeping bureaucracy is perceived as an autonomous actor that experiences organizational change as result of the emergence of gender equality as relevant norm in its working context.

Before I highlight the main arguments of the different theoretical strands, I introduce the basic definitions of “institutions” versus “organizations” that bear on the theoretical reflections presented below and the further analysis in this dissertation. “Institutions are symbolic and behavioral systems containing representational, constitutive, and normative rules together with regulatory mechanisms that define a common meaning system and give rise to distinctive actors and action routines” (Scott 1994: 68).37

I follow Richard Scott and others that regard institutions as more abstract than organizations and herewith resemble norms. Further, definitions on institutions highlight its enduring character. A social institution reflects persisting agreements on what opinions, activities and procedures are considered appropriate (see fundamentally Berger and Luckmann 1966; Hericks 2011: 18; March and Olsen 1998; Martin 2004: 1250).

In this regard, gender can be seen as a social institution, which defines expectations for individuals, e.g. appropriate dressing, entails power relations, such as the traditional female subordination to men, and is reproduced by practices. This definition of gender exceeds the biological dimension and makes the concept more valuable for social science (Martin 2004: 1261ff.).

To sum up, institutions can be understood as “rules of the game”, in which “organizations act and compete as players” (cited in: Scott 1994: 69). Having said so,

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37 For a varying definition of institutions that differentiate between formal institutions, which restrict to the technical establishment of bureaucratic offices and units, and informal institutions, which encompass unwritten conventions (Keohane 1989).
organizations are seen as corporative actors with a decisive internal structure and a distinct identity (see e.g. Rittberger and Zangl 2003: 24; Simmons and Martin 2002: 193). An organization has an address, physical equipment, staff, and administrative units (Archer 2001: 2).

Despite their stable character, neither institutions nor organizations are unchangeable. To the contrary, the social character of institutions implies a constant re-definition of measures of appropriateness in different cultural and temporal contexts (Martin 2004: 1263; Scott 1994: 58). As a result, changing definitions on appropriate gender practices may change the internal structure of organizations as well as the organizational rhetoric and practice (see e.g. Hericks 2011).

The theoretical perspectives presented below put emphasis on studying either international institutions or organizations and highlight the respective influences on policy changes.

2.2.1 New Institutionalism and Policy Change from “Outside-In”

“The New Institutionalism: Organizational Factors in Political Life” is one of the most influential works that bridges IR theories and sociological approaches. James March and Johan Olsen summarize the main features of the “new institutionalism” and delineate it from an “old institutionalism”, which follows a rationalist logic and perceives political events as the consequence of calculated decisions driven by exogenously given interests and preferences (1984: 736). “The new institutionalism”, by contrast, favors the centrality of meaning and symbolic action. Political leaders, for instance, interact with other leaders and are thus coopted into new beliefs and commitments. Their role is to stimulate and accept changing worldviews and re-define meanings. In this regard, preferences are neither stable nor exogenous; they evolve through an interactive process of education, indoctrination, and experience (1984: 738f.). The underlying logic of action is the fulfillment of duties and obligations that appear appropriate in a specific situation by a specific group of actors (1984: 741, 1998: 948). Thus, legitimate action that corresponds with shared expectations is a central aim of political life according to “the new institutionalism”. Finally, the approach insists on a more autonomous role for political institutions. Institutions are no longer reduced to be “relatively stable collection[s] of practices and rules” (1998: 948) but they should be treated as “political actors” (1984: 738).

In the meantime, it is more common in political science to treat organizations and bureaucracies as autonomous actors that influence political life on the domestic as well as international scene (see e.g. Barnett and Finnemore 2004; Benner et al. 2011;
Gehring 2009; Rittberger and Zangl 2003). As a result, sociological classics, such as the concept of isomorphism, gain prominence for analyzing international relations. In the following, I will shortly present the main aspects of the classic readings. Then, I will outline more recent studies that apply the arguments for understanding policy changes in UN peacekeeping.

As early as 1977, John Meyer and Brian Rowan studied how organizations become isomorphic with their environment. They observed a strong tendency of the ways in which modern bureaucratic structures reflect the myths of rationality rather than the actual demands of their work activities. In accordance with a Weberian understanding of Western culture, bureaucracies are thought to be the most effective way of structuring the organizational work.38 The prevalence of economic rationality, including the high value for impersonal and technocratic forms of organizing work, is so strong that actual needs and dynamics of an organization are ignored. The establishment of hierarchically structured bureaucracies reveals the isomorphism with its external environment. The adaptation towards the collectively held values of rationality shows the organization’s ability to meet current external demands. Herewith, it secures its survival by increasing its legitimacy (see fundamentally Claude 1966; Meyer and Rowan 1977: 341+349).

According to “the new institutionalism” the impetus for organizational change comes from its environment. Organizational change encompasses the formal structure as well as organizational culture and policy programs (DiMaggio 1983: 149; fn.2). Therefore, I have labeled this section as policy change “from outside-in”.

Several scholars highlight that institutional isomorphic processes do not necessarily increase the internal organizational efficiency. DiMaggio and Powell argue that social legitimacy with external norms is for the survival of some organizations, such as universities and hospitals, more important than market considerations of efficiency (1983: 152ff.; see also Brunsson 1989: 5).

Brunsson states that the organization’s hypocrisy, i.e. inconsistencies between talk, decisions and actions of organizations, may relate to inconsistent norms in their environment. Particularly political organizations are dependent on demands from its environment (see also Lipson 2007b: 11). Yet, those demands may be divergent. An organization’s talk may therefore satisfy one demand; its decisions may satisfy another

38 The argument that external (Western) culture fundamentally influences organizational structures and behavior is established by the so called world polity approach (Meyer et al. 1994).
The organization’s flexibility and ability to adapt to its environment is crucial for its raison d’être and survival although this might seem irrational (2000: 15-18).

Finally, Barnett and Finnemore reinforce the argument that organizations have multiple audiences, principals, and multiple missions. This is particularly true for IOs (see also Haas 1990: 27). Behavior by itself is not functional or dysfunctional. The evaluation of “good” or “desirable” behavior depends on the eye of the beholder. “[…] [B]ehaviors that seem self-defeating or undesirable from one perspective might make perfect sense from another (2004: 36). Barnett and Finnemore focus on those potential pathologies of IOs in empirical studies.

Studying changes in UN peacekeeping Michael Lipson draws insights from organization theory, which highlights external pressure as a source for policy change. In 2007, he published two articles that relate UN peacekeeping to the “garbage can model” on the one hand, and to the “organization of hypocrisy”, on the other hand. In the first article he argues that the development of second-generation peacekeeping missions, which are sent to intrastate conflicts, can be explained by a modification of the “garbage can model”. During the Cold War, peacekeeping mission strictly adhere to the principles of neutrality and consent of the conflict parties. The end of the Cold War, however, produced a “policy window” in the Security Council’s (SC) agenda setting that linked robust peacekeeping as solution to the problem of intrastate conflicts – a practice that was formerly rejected.39 Due to differences in the preferences of SC member states, the lack of familiarity with the overall UN organization and its procedures, as well as fluid participation in the SC, policy entrepreneurs succeeded to convince the member states to change UN peacekeeping practice (Lipson 2007a).

The second article refers to inconsistencies in rhetoric and action of the UN, the so called “organized hypocrisy”. Particularly in humanitarian crisis, the normative pressure on the UN to “do something” exceeds the material resources and political will to fulfill this demand. With regard to Rwanda or Bosnia, the rhetoric in SC resolutions compensate for a lack of action. The realization of administrative reforms, such as the Brahimi report, equally reflects the inconsistency between the overall recognition that a UN peacekeeping reform is needed and the lack of political will, specifically of powerful states, to transfer authority as well as personnel and material resources to the

39 For an analysis of changes in UN peacekeeping practices towards liberal democratic norms see (Paris 2003; see also Bellamy and Williams 2004).
UN (see also Seibel 2009a: 125f.). Finally, Lipson links negative peacekeeping externalities, such as sexual exploitation, human trafficking, and HIV/AIDS to contradictory normative pressures. Norms against sexual exploitation and slavery are undermined by masculine cultures in troop contributing militaries and the concern to affect negatively the UN’s ability to attract peacekeepers (Lipson 2007b).40

An alternative perspective to understand organizational change is to focus on internal processes of dealing with new demands in the external environment. In this dissertation, the role of bureaucratic subunits and herewith the organization itself is considered as more important than the role of individual member states for policy change (cf. Barnett and Coleman 2005). A theory strand that captures this perspective most prominently in political science is Haas’ approach on organizational learning, which is outlined in the following section.

2.2.2 Organizational Learning and Policy Changes from “Inside-Out”

The basic assumption of Ernst Haas’ seminal work is that IOs are deliberately designed to solve collective action problems (1990: 3). Environmental pollution or international crisis can only be solved by international cooperation. IOs provide a stable and trustworthy framework for states to find solutions for global problems (cf. Allison and Zelikow 1999: 148). Yet, how do actors change their views about the definition of the very problem that led to its creation? In order to answer this fundamental question, Haas proposes two modes of organizational change: adaptation and learning.

“Adaptation […] is the ability to change one’s behavior so as to meet challenges in the form of new demands without having to reevaluate one’s entire program and the reasoning on which that program depends for its legitimacy. […] Adaptation is incremental adjustment, muddling through. […] [T]he change in behavior takes the form of a search for more adequate means to meet the new demands” (1990: 33f.). Thus, adaptation implies structural changes to meet the new demands without questioning the consensual knowledge, i.e. the generally accepted understandings, about cause-and-effect linkages, i.e. problems and solutions (see also Ansari et al. 2010: 71; Haas 1990: 21).

40 For further studies on the unintended consequences of UN peacekeeping, namely sexual exploitation and abuse committed by UN personnel see (AI 2004; Enloe 2000; Mendelson 2003; Rees 2002; Skjelsbæk et al. 2004).
Learning, by contrast, questions the consensual knowledge. Haas emphasizes the cognitive process of learning, which means that an organization’s members are induced to question earlier beliefs about appropriate solutions and to think about new ones. Haas’ definition of learning deviates from a functionalist understanding that highlights successful outcomes and better performance of the organization as result of the learning process.\(^{41}\) He further makes clear that organizations do not learn in the same way individuals do. Routines interfere with learning. Whereas one bureaucrat might learn a lesson, i.e. adopt a new way of problem definition, another might stick to routinized behavior. Learning for an organization requires agreement on a new way of conceptualizing the problem among all members of the organization (1990: 23-26).\(^{42}\)

In the case of gender equality in UN peacekeeping there is no consensual knowledge about problem and solution. On the one hand, this might result from resistance of single bureaucrats to recognize the nexus of women, peace, and security. They may support gender-related activities but do not change fundamental bureaucratic structures (cf. Haas and Haas 1995: 264).\(^{43}\) On the other hand, the problematic of gender relations in UN peacekeeping is more complex than cause-effect linkages of environmental pollutions, Haas and Haas study. Thus, even in the epistemic community there is no consensus how gender equality has to be realized (cf. Benner et al. 2009: 216). Competing epistemic communities, which favor either a narrow or broad definition of security, seek to convince bureaucracies in order to promote their preferred knowledge scheme (Haas and Haas 1995: 261). Due to the absence of an agreement “on a new way of conceptualizing the problem” (Haas 1990: 26), this dissertation refers to the process of adaptation instead of learning.

Organizational and policy change is inherently linked to external demands and herewith to changes in its environment. Figure 2 illustrates the whole process of organizational action as proposed by Haas (1990: 19; see also Benner et al. 2001: 57). The concept of organizational adaptation and learning, however, concentrates on the sequence of shifting beliefs and changing practices \emph{within} the organization. Adaptation

\(^{41}\) For studies on UN peacekeeping, which define organizational change and learning as increase in its effectiveness and efficiency see (e.g. Bridges 2009; Howard 2008; cf. Benner and Rotmann 2011: 52; Haas 1995: 258; Whitworth 2004: 137).

\(^{42}\) For further fundamental elaborations on organizational learning see (Gherardi 2006).

\(^{43}\) For further elaborations on the so-called “decoupling effect”, i.e. formal organizational structures do not correspond with activities or practiced procedures see (Brunsson 1989: 7; Meyer and Rowan 1977: 356f.; cf. Hericks 2011).
and learning occurs as a result of internal organizational feedback processes (Haas 1990: 20). Changes in the organization’s agenda lead to changes in the organization’s output that seem more appropriate to deal with current problems. Thus, the inclusion of gender perspectives in the agenda of the UN peacekeeping bureaucracy leads to changes in UN peacekeeping practices as it is considered as more appropriate, for example, to contact local women’s organizations in order to establish lasting peace in (post)-conflict societies.

Organizational survival and acceptance, specifically the acceptance of the UN as moral authority to build peace, depends on organizational changes towards new normative demands (see also Barnett and Coleman 2005; Barnett and Finnemore 2004: 43). According to this theoretical perspective, the impetus for policy change comes from the organization itself. I have labeled this section therefore as policy change “from inside-out”.

**Figure 2: The Process of Organizational Action**

This dissertation focuses on the UN peacekeeping bureaucracy’s internal process of adapting towards gender equality as emergent norm in its external environment. It argues that norm realization in terms of structural and policy changes preconditions
norm interpretation. As the components of the UN peacekeeping bureaucracy, namely the military, police and civilian component is far less hierarchically structured as national bureaucracies, norm interpretation is not a clear-cut top-down process (cf. Brunsson 1989: 131; Roscher 2009: 153). The Secretary General (SG), of course, heads all UN departments and agencies but their individual autonomy is much greater than those of national ministries. And the peacekeeping missions act even more according to individual interpretations of the mandate and daily challenges in the field (see fundamentally Allison and Zelikow 1999: 167; cf. Barnett and Finnemore 2004: 139-154).

In this regard, the UN peacekeeping bureaucracy resembles rather an arena of interacting individual bureaucratic components than a coherent unitary actor. As a result, changes in the normative environment are perceived and interpreted differently by components with divergent ideologies or cultures and give rise to different conclusions (see also Allison and Zelikow 1999: 167; cf. Brunsson 2000: 152+163). Studying the internal process of norm interpretation and adaptation this dissertation meets current calls for greater attentiveness in IR to open the black box of how organizational changes take place (Benner et al. 2009: 209; Roscher 2009: 137). The individual components of the UN peacekeeping bureaucracy are considered as organizational subunits with a distinct socialization background of its staff members and distinct organizational culture, which is described in detail in the following part of this chapter.

To conclude this section, I briefly outline factors that influence a learning process according to Benner, Mergenthaler, and Rotmann. The authors develop an analytical framework to study organizational learning by drawing insights from organization theory and public management. They highlight three factors that have impact on the dynamic of learning processes: leadership, political pressure, and bureaucratic politics (2011: 62ff.).

First, leadership refers to the active involvement of senior officials in advocating for a new understanding of the problem at hand. Thus, individuals may influence an organizational learning process (see also Seibel 2009a: 106ff.; Welch 1992: 122). Secondly, member states exercise political pressure on the political and fiscal space in which the secretariat operates (Benner et al. 2011: 63). Member states decide if they will send personal, financial or material resources for UN operations and how many
women they will deploy. Finally, bureaucratic politics interfere with processes of organizational learning. Interactions of re-defining current problems and policy strategies in accordance with new normative demands may be overlaid by competitive interests and power plays between subunits of the organization (cf. Allison and Zelikow 1999: 152; Benner et al. 2011: 63; Welch 1992: 116ff.). This argument assumes that the individual subunits act opportunistically and seek to maximize their autonomy and interests in terms of growth in budget and personal (Roscher 2009: 142).

The outlined two perspectives on norm adaptation processes either highlight changes in the external environment or in the internal knowledge about appropriate solutions for current problems. The classic approaches of “new institutionalism” and “organizational adaptation” are well-established in studying international politics and UN peacekeeping.

The following section takes up organizational culture as additional element that affects norm interpretation and the translation of an abstract norm into concrete activities. This dissertation focuses on gender as a primary aspect of organizational culture as it strongly influences the way the norm gender equality in UN peacekeeping is interpreted and realized. This approach is not well-established. The following section therefore summarizes studies on UN peacekeeping that take a cultural approach and studies on peace and war that take a gender perspective. Organizational studies are used complementary to better grasp the concept of organizational culture.

2.2.3 Gender Cultures and its Impact on Norm Adaptation

The decentralized structure of the UN peacekeeping bureaucracy builds a fertile ground for the evolvement and co-existence of diverse cultures. As a result of lacking personnel and coherence between individual UN components, NGOs have considerable influence on internal UN discussions and agenda-setting (Joachim 2003: 250). Several studies among the UN peacekeeping literature therefore take a cultural approach.

Thomas Weiss, for instance, analyzes the interaction between military and civilian organizations in five international interventions in crisis situations. The analysis is led by different perceptions if the military-civilian cooperation is fruitful or if it

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44 The control of IOs by member states refers to the basic argument of principal-agent theory. For fundamental readings that made the economist approach fruitful for analyzing IOs see (Hawkins et al. 2006; Nielson 2003; Pollack 1997). For more recent studies see (Barnett and Coleman 2005; Hanrieder 2009; Seibel 2009).
complicates the work for the humanitarians that lose their reputation as impartial, neutral, and consent-oriented actors (1999: 3). Sandra Whitworth (2004) sheds light on the ongoing militarization of UN peacekeeping, its impacts on constructing masculinity, and the negative consequences of ignoring the gender culture in UN peacekeeping, including sexual violence against local women.  

Rubinstein et al. (2008) identify seven principles for a successful interaction between integrated, i.e. multi-dimensional, UN peacekeeping missions and the local culture. And in 2010, the academic journal “International Peacekeeping” dedicates a special issue on culture and peacekeeping, including gender culture (Carreiras 2010).

Yet, neither do these studies consider the cultural impact on internal processes in the UN peacekeeping bureaucracy. Nor do they acknowledge that gender culture implies the construction of masculinity and femininity. This dissertation, therefore contributes to the field of literature by highlighting the questions: How do the organizational culture of the individual components of the UN peacekeeping bureaucracy affect the adaptation process towards gender equality? And what kind of femininity is constructed as result of the integration of gender advisers and gender units in the decentralized UN peacekeeping structure?

Taking these questions seriously, the following section summarizes cultural approaches on organization theory that take a gender dimension into account. Silvia Gherardi highlights an interpretative definition of organizational culture that is most fruitful for my analysis as it contains non-material things like the thoughts of people as well as concrete things as what people say and how they act. In this respect, “[a]n organizational culture consists of the symbols, beliefs and patterns of behaviour learned, produced, and created by the people who devoted their energies and labour to the life of an organization” (1995: 13). Gender is such a cultural construct.

In order to specify the organizational production of gender, Joan Acker highlights four sets of processes. First, the production of gender divisions, i.e. the gender patterning of jobs, wages, hierarchies, power and subordination; second, the creation of symbols, images, and forms of consciousness that explicate, justify, or may also oppose gender divisions; third, the interactions between individual women and men in the multiplicity of forms that enact dominance and subordination and create alliances and exclusions; and fourth, the internal mental work of individuals as they consciously construct

45 For further studies on the masculine military culture in UN peacekeeping and its impacts on interactions with the local population see (e.g. Higate and Henry 2004; Martin 2005; Patel and Tripodi 2007).
46 For a similar definition See (Allison and Zelikow 1999: 153).
understandings of the organization’s gendered structure of work an opportunity and the demand for gender-appropriate behaviors and attitudes (1992: 252f; see also Gherardi 1995: 18).

Thus, gender culture is perceived as a deliberate product of the meaning construction of masculinity and femininity in a certain organizational context.\textsuperscript{47} Contrastingly to IR scholars, that equalize organizational culture and identity (Barnett and Coleman 2005: 599f.), organizational theorists emphasize that organizational culture is the “meanings, ideas, values and beliefs that are shared by a collective of people” (Alvesson and Billing 2009: 62). In accordance with this definition, I refer to collective organizational cultures in this dissertation.

Having outlined the general approaches on gender cultures in organizations, the following two sections describe more precisely gender cultures in UN peacekeeping. The basic argument of this dissertation is that the individual components of the UN peacekeeping bureaucracy interpret the emergent norm of gender equality according to prevailing beliefs and experiences of their respective working cultures (cf. Chwieroth 2008: 130). The gender cultures can be considered as heuristic filter that helps the bureaucratic components to understand their environment (cf. Legro 1997: 36). Norm interpretation is the first step of adaptation.

\textbf{2.2.3.1 Masculine Culture of UN Peacekeeping}

Multi-dimensional UN peacekeeping encompasses a broad range of activities, including the support of elections or the establishment of a judicial system. It is, however, still strongly associated with military involvement (Whitworth 2004). The presence of thousands of foreign uniformed military and police personnel in a war-torn society underlines this impression. Obviously, the group is not monolithic. It encompasses military and police personnel from all over the world. UN police and military forces are overwhelmingly male in their composition (Connell 2002: 33; Enloe 2002: 28). They are all trained to end ongoing violence, separate and disarm warring parties and to guarantee a secure environment. Despite important dissimilarities, the group is summarized as uniformed component in this dissertation. Socialization in a military organization implies a cultivation of hierarchy and authority, drilling and obedience -sometimes even humiliation-, and heroes are celebrated in relation to fighting and violence (Whitworth 2004: 151-181). From a

\textsuperscript{47} For the perception of gender as hidden, unconscious process see (Acker 1992: 251; Gherardi 1995: 11).
psychological perspective the male bonding is necessary for soldiers to bear the strenuousness and suffering during fighting (and training). Military generals who oppose the integration of women in the army refer to this male bonding that would be disrupted by the presence of women soldiers (see also Addelston and Stirratt 1996; Eifler 2002: 166; Yuval-Davis 1997: 108).

Thus, the gender division in traditional military thinking is strictly structured: men are members of the military and act in the public realm, whereas women are outside the military (or only in caring positions) and act in the private realm.

Various phases of state formation fueled the gender dynamics of militarism. Sparta was much admired for its robust unity based on a strongly male bonded army. Fraternity was one of the core principles of the French Revolution. And the rise of sovereign national states further contributed to the association of the military and public affairs with a homogenous male group (Elshtain 1995 [1987]; see also Enloe 2000: 238). National criteria of citizenship overlook multiple identities within the nation-state, such as gender, ethnicity, class, or religion. Still today, many countries have conscription and serving in the military is a civic duty. Soldiers defend their nation-state and thereby protect the private and civilian space of “womenandchildren” (Carpenter 2005: 303; Peterson 1992: 47f.).

In a variety of political spheres women are constructed as global victim (cf. Enloe 1989). Images of the male warrior and the nurturing mother (Ruddick 1993 [1989]) or just warriors and beautiful souls (Elshtain 1995 [1987]) symbolize the public/private dichotomy of traditional constructions of masculinity and feminity.

According to the essentialist approach women are per se more peaceful than men. They may re-iterate the interconnectedness of civic and martial virtue. Elshtain introduced the term “Spartan Mothers” to symbolize this phenomenon. Herewith, she described women that are “pleased that their sons died in a manner worthy of the state” (Elshtain 1998: 451). Later on, this approach is criticized by many feminists, which highlight that women may also take active part in warfare. The right to fight extended then the concept of the “Spartan Mothers” to female combatants (Elshtain 1998: 452).

Despite the fact that women took also part in military fighting and killing throughout history (Alison 2004; see fundamentally Elshtain 1995 [1987]; Ruddick 1993 (1989):

48 Cynthia Enloe introduced this neologism to make visible that women are linked to the household and care giving of children according to traditional perceptions of social gender orders (e.g. Yuval-Davis 1997: 111).
military organizations still reproduce the association of masculinity with war and public affairs on the one hand; femininity with peace and the private domain on the other hand. Alongside this distinction the hierarchical gender order privileges the masculine, military, and public realm (see fundamentally Acker 1992: 253; Carreiras 2010: 472; cf. Yuval-Davis 1997: 95f.).

The motivation to participate in a UN peacekeeping mission, however, is different from the duty of national defense. Humanitarian aspects are more important than the motivation to fight an enemy. Accordingly, the military culture and perception of masculinity change. UN peacekeepers act in order to preserve human rights and democratic values (see also Finnemore 2003; Orford 1999: 692). As the UN peacekeeping operations studied in this dissertation are established when the hot phase of violent fighting is over and a peace agreement is signed, the everyday practices of peacekeeping is meeting locals, drinking coffee, and discussing the current situation. Traditionally, these activities are associated with femininity. In the context of UN peacekeeping, however, soldiers highlight that negotiations are superior to fighting and it demonstrates that they are not scared of the post-conflict environment. Thus, they construct a different form of masculinity (Duncanson 2009: 70). Thus “the masculine culture” is not fixed but subject of constant re-definitions according to changing gender relations and changing social settings (Connell and Messerschmidt 2005: 836).

The military culture in UN peacekeeping is more diverse than in national armies. But the association with masculinity remains. As shown, there is not one form of masculinity; neither is it bound to the male sex. It can be also performed by women (Cheng 1996: xii).

In the context of UN peacekeeping, the traditional divide between public men and private women is shifted towards the relationship with the local population (Paris 2002). This gender division is explicated by the symbol of the UN uniform. Men and women wear the uniform and build therefore a coherent appearance. They signal towards the local population that both men and women are able to fulfill the task of securing the post-conflict environment. At the same time, they signal the divide between UN personnel and the local population or local police and army (see fundamentally Acker 1992: 253).

The humanitarian and democratic impetus of current interventions implies that the local population is starving, powerless, suffering, and abused without the presence of

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49 For descriptions of traditional UN peacekeeping as military enterprise see (James 1990: 1f.).
UN peacekeepers. Those assessments seek to legitimate international engagement but fulfill colonial and patriarchic stereotypes. The international community helps women and children that are victims of their barbarous local men (Orford 1999).

To sum up, the masculine culture of UN peacekeeping is still strongly associated with military engagement, strict hierarchical thinking, and male bonding. Although multi-dimensional UN peacekeeping tasks also include police duties and civilian activities, the predominant component is the military unit. The vast majority of UN peacekeeper has the duty to guarantee the security of the local population as well as of UN staff. Herewith the style of communication is military-oriented. The effectiveness of the mission in terms of the creation of sustainable peace is top priority.

According to the masculine culture of UN peacekeeping gender equality is framed as matter of effectiveness (Enloe 2002: 28; Hudson 2010: 47). The argument for integrating the emergent norm in that context is that multi-dimensional challenges, such as contacting local women and establishing lasting peaceful post-conflict situations, require female personnel and sensitivity for gender perspectives in order to be effective (Bridges and Horsfall 2009; Cockburn and Zarkov 2002; Mazurana 2002). In terms of translating gender equality in concrete UN peacekeeping practice the masculine culture favors equal treatment of men and women. The military socialization background in national armies highlights that all persons who serve in UN peacekeeping missions have equal rights and equal duties.

2.2.3.2 Feminine Culture of UN Peacekeeping

As a result of implementing SC-Res. 1325 in 2000, gender advisers are employed in the UN peacekeeping bureaucracy. Becoming gender adviser requires extensive knowledge on gender perspectives on peacekeeping and post-conflict situations, sources of inequalities between men and women as well as ideas for measurements to overcome it. Most frequently activists from women’s rights organizations, academic scholars that are specialized in feminist and gender approaches on peace and conflict studies, or gender specialists in national foreign policy departments are employed in the newly established positions in the international headquarter and UN bureaucracies in the field (see also Mazurana 2002: 42).

This part of the chapter outlines the socialization background of the civilian UN peacekeeping personnel that is concerned with translating the norm in every day practices. In contrast to the uniformed component that feels as coherent group because of common training procedures in theirs national recruiting organizations, gender
advisers in the UN peacekeeping bureaucracy are bound together by their lobbying activities on the transnational level additionally to their daily work. Various NGOs, foreign policy departments or think tanks send representatives to global venues, such as the UN World Conferences on Women (see Chapter 3.2). In addition to their daily work, they combine efforts to lobby for women’s rights on the transnational level (see e.g. Hauser 2004). By definition, transnational advocacy networks on women’s rights share common values and goals: Women deserve equal rights and must be empowered to overcome gender inequalities (cf. Keck and Sikkink 1998: 2). The gender culture of this group is hence strongly associated with femininity.

The international women’s movement is rooted in the campaign for woman suffrage in the early 20th century, which is also described as “first wave” feminism, and the legal fight for abolishing discrimination against women in political, economic and other political fields. These concerns are expressed in the Declaration on the Elimination of Discrimination against Women (1967). Thus, activities of the early women’s movement focused on matters of opportunity for political participation and equality in the jurisdiction and are described in the academic literature as liberal feminism as outlined in the following part of this chapter (see e.g. Jain 2005: 20ff.; Locher 2000). In the mid-1990s violence against women additionally became one of the prevalent issues of the movement. Condemning acts that cause physical, sexual or psychological harm or suffering to women united feminist activists across north-south divides (Keck and Sikkink 1998: 166+177). The preservation of human dignity and the protection of life and bodily integrity is a strong trans-cultural value that has the potential to mobilize widespread and powerful global resistance (Keck and Sikkink 1998: 195). The combat of violence against women frames gender equality neither as equal opportunity like the suffrage movement nor as equal rights like the anti-discrimination activists. It rather informs about different forms of insecurity for men and women. According to this perspective, differences between the sexes are highlighted. The so-called standpoint feminism favors this difference-approach and points to women’s and men’s experiences (see also Evans 1995; Locher 2000: 338-342; Väyrynen 2004: 139).

The most important functions of transnational advocacy networks are to raise public awareness and to provide information on particular issues. Expertise is the most powerful resource of IOs and bureaucracies. It constitutes the basis for its authority and legitimacy for political action (Barnett and Finnemore 2004; Keck and Sikkink 1998). Women’s organizations bear considerable knowledge about the situation of
women and girls on the ground of post-conflict situations are the core resources of expertise referring to gender and UN peacekeeping. Their impetus to integrate a gender perspective in their activities is the acknowledgement that men and women face different risks in crisis situations and are thus victimized in different ways (see also IASC 2006: 5). Feminist researchers are the second group of experts on gender and peacekeeping. They consider changes towards multi-dimensional operations and the focus on human security as a window of opportunity to integrate more women and change the dominant UN peacekeeping culture (Hudson 2010; Väyrynen 2004; Willett 2010).

Referring to multi-dimensional UN peacekeeping women’s organizations and feminist researchers highlight the democratic argument that without women in senior positions the needs and potential of half of the population is ignored (Hicks Stiehm 2001: 47; Rehn and Johnson Sirleaf 2002: 7). Gender-balanced uniformed peacekeeping troops, for instance, symbolize a democratic power sharing in security institutions. In this regard, UN peacekeeping units become role models for local police and military services as well as for all political institutions in the host society (Bastick and de Torres 2010: 8f.; DAW 1995: 6).

Further proponents of the feminine culture of UN peacekeeping emphasize that the presence of female police and military officers in UN peacekeeping missions transforms the traditional image of security as mere male enterprise. This constructivist perspective denies that women essentially are more peaceful than men but they emphasize that the presence of women change the construction of gender roles of men and women in post-conflict societies (Connell 2002; Valenius 2007). According to this perspective, gender equality is considered as an interactive process. Many activists call for an active engagement of men in this process of re-constructing the relationship between men and women.

To sum up, the feminine culture of UN peacekeeping relates to the socialization background of feminist researchers and women’s activists. According to this perspective adapting gender equality means shifting UN peacekeeping priorities towards civilian tasks. The framing of gender equality encompasses the protection of victims against sexual violence as well as the equal participation of women in senior local positions for democratic reasons. Proponents of the feminine culture call for different treatment of men and women, including the introduction of quotas (Bastick et al. 2007: 148; Rehn and Johnson Sirleaf 2002: 80).
Cultural approaches of the norm development literature argue that the socialization background of those who are responsible for realizing a norm shape the individual norm interpretations. This dissertation draws on the literature and applies it to the adaptation process of gender equality in the UN peacekeeping bureaucracy. The gender sensitive studies on war and peace and UN peacekeeping outlined in this part of the chapter suggest that a masculine and a feminine culture of UN peacekeeping co-exist. In accordance with their respective socialization background the uniformed personnel and gender advisers define gender equality in a different way and propose different measures to realize it. Table 1 summarizes the results of this literature review.

**Table 1: Organizational Cultures of UN Peacekeeping**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Definition of Gender Equality</th>
<th>Proposed measures for Realization</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Masculine culture</strong></td>
<td>- Men and women are equal.</td>
<td>- More female peacekeepers that fulfill special tasks.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>- Gender equality increases the mission’s effectiveness.</td>
<td>- Equal treatment of men and women.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>- More female peacekeepers that fulfill special tasks.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Feminine culture</strong></td>
<td>- Men’s and women’s war-time experience is different.</td>
<td>- Protection of victims of violence.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>- Gender perspectives re-define the very nature of UN peacekeeping.</td>
<td>- Support of women’s participation in local senior positions.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The previous parts of this chapter implicitly referred to feminist perspectives on IR theory and organizational approaches on policy changes. The final part of this chapter presents the liberal feminism and standpoint theory as most prominent approaches. It concentrates on the debate on equality and differences as this distinction is a valuable basis for analyzing the broad range of activities that are proposed to translate gender equality into UN peacekeeping practice.

### 2.3 Feminist Perspectives

Feminist theoretical perspectives are always intertwined with political and societal movements that seek to change the existing male dominated order (e.g. Calás and Smircich 2006: 286; Finke 2003: 477; Tickner 2002: 276). Early feminist thinking was fuelled by the “[f]ighting for the right to vote, to work, to an education, to control one’s own body, and to own property (Ahl 2004: 13)."
Thus, the liberal argument that men and women are equal and need hence to have equal rights predominate the theoretical thinking. In the 1980s the slogan “from equality to differences” highlighted not only differences between men and women but also between women from different classes or with different races, for example (Gherardi 2003: 217).

These two approaches of feminism can be distinguished as sameness and difference feminism. Silvia Gherardi (2003) as well as Marta Calás and Linda Smircich (2006) provide a more detailed presentation of feminist approaches. Yet, for the purpose of this dissertation, I concentrate on liberal feminism and standpoint theory as basic assumptions and world views that correspond with the perspectives taken by feminists in other disciplines. After having outlined the approaches, the final part of this section refers to the “equality-and-difference debate” and describes the concept of (un)doing gender as alternative interactive perspective.

### 2.3.1 Liberal Feminism

Liberal feminist theory is based on the assumptions of liberal political theorists of the eighteenth century, which emphasize equality of men and women (see fundamentally Mill [1869] 1917; Wollstonecraft [1792] 1989). Thus, it can be viewed as historical starting point for all other contemporary feminist approaches (Calás and Smircich 2006: 288). Transferred to today’s world, liberal aims imply equal access of men and women in all spheres of life, including management positions and military service.

Liberal approaches deny sex differences and underline that gender differences are based on sex-role socialization, which makes women less skilled at operating in male-dominated environments (Gherardi 2003: 216; Nentwich 2006: 501). Claiming that women possess the same capabilities as men, liberal feminists call for equality in the sense of sameness (Evans 1995: 13). They emphasize structural imbalances that hinder women to succeed. Structural or legal interventions, such as changes in the recruiting procedures, might help to overcome women’s barriers and help to provide equal opportunities (Calás and Smircich 2006: 289+292). Herewith, the masculine norms that are taken for granted in the business or the military world, however, are not challenged. Instead, women have to adapt to male-dominated cultures (Nentwich 2006: 501).

With regard to UN peacekeeping, the request that women are able to fulfill all military tasks similarly as men, that they have equal trainings and that they are equally capable of serving in positions as Special Representative of the Secretary General can be considered as organizational changes towards liberal norms.
To conclude, liberal feminist research favors positivist epistemologies. Sex/ gender is conceived as variable, dichotomously defined according to the biological sex as men or women (Calás and Smircich 2006: 291; Gherardi 2003: 216; see also Phillipps 1987).

**2.3.2 Standpoint Theory**

Standpoint theory, which can be assigned as socialist feminist theory, by contrast, emphasizes the complex intersections of gender, race, class, and sexuality (see fundamentally Butler 1990; de Beauvoir [1949] 2009). Consistent with its Marxist roots, standpoint theory reflects on both the formation of subjectivity and the creation of knowledge (Calás and Smircich 2006: 305). It analyzes how identities are constructed through social practices, such as work, by focusing on inequality, power, and patriarchy (Gherardi 2003: 217). The experiences of women’s everyday life are the starting point for studies. In doing so, standpoint theory re-iterates the attributes ascribed as feminine and masculine. Gender differences are based on differential socialization (Bruni et al. 2005: 29; Finke 2003: 484f.).

In organization theory this perspective leads to an awareness of societal expectations on gender relations, which interact with organizational rules and practices (Gherardi 2003: 217). Organizational structures and dynamics correspond with gender lines in a number of ways. Daily procedures and decisions segregate, manage, control, and construct hierarchies in which gender, class, and race are involved (Calás and Smircich 2006: 306).

At the same time, gender is also a driving force for organizational change (Acker 1992: 254). Expectations of organizational flexibility led to the creation of part-time jobs, traditionally filled by women. And the requirements for management positions increasingly include soft skills, which are traditionally assigned with female attributes, such as empathy, communications skills, and team spirit (cf. Cockburn 1991; Gherardi 1995). Flexibility and communication skills are valued in today’s organizations. Thus, the claim of standpoint theory that men and women are different but should be equally valued is increasingly recognized. Diversity trainings and other programs that highlight differences and revalue them are further measures to promote gender equality according to difference feminist perspectives (Nentwich 2006: 502).

In fact, there are varying shades of “sameness” and “difference” in feminist theory. Thus, the clear distinction between liberal feminism and standpoint theory simplifies the variety of feminist theory that rather resembles a continuum (Evans 1995: 13).
the purpose of this dissertation, however, the analytical distinction provides a pronounced description of the two prominent strands of feminist theory that influenced feminist perspectives in other academic disciplines.

The description of the gender and security discourse in Chapter 3.2.2, for example, refers to the liberal argument that non-discrimination of women implies the recognition of systematic gender-based violence as war crime. Furthermore, the elaboration on gender cultures in UN peacekeeping in the previous part of this chapter additionally highlights socialist arguments that within the masculine culture, for instance, communication skills, which are assigned to femininity, are valued as fundamental capacity to contact the local population and herewith contribute to the long-term success of a peacekeeping mission.

Recent studies on gender dynamics in organizations criticize the strict division of equality versus differences. Scholars, such as Julia Nentwich (2004), Kai-Olaf Maiwald and Regine Gildemeister (2007), as well as Katja Hericks (2011) emphasize that equality and difference of men and women occur at the same time and that the dimensions of gender therefore cannot be studied separately. They argue that today in most organizations women entered in all kind of positions. Aspects of functional qualification and personal capacities are valued much higher than attributes assigned to the biological sex (Maiwald and Gildemeister 2007: 56). Such a functionalist approach in recruiting procedures, for instance, is strengthened by legal and political instruments that prescribe the equal treatment of men and women in national constitutions (Hericks 2011: 69; Nentwich 2004: 17).

This development towards increasingly equal opportunities for men and women, however, does not result in a decreasing importance of gender and sex. Men and women choose different jobs, the gap in income is perpetuating and women frequently hold still a traditional role with regard to pregnancy and child care (Maiwald and Gildemeister 2007: 62; Nentwich 2004: 17).

Therefore, a restricted perspective on either equality or difference does ignore the interdependence of the two terms. “[E]quality is not the elimination of difference, and difference does not preclude equality” (Scott 1988: 38).

Furthermore there are two dilemmas in treating equality and differences as a dichotomous pair. The equality-dilemma, on the one side, points to the risk that the specificity of female diversity and experiences is lost in studying social interaction. Implicitly the “man’s” story is the human story and women are hidden from history (cf. Gherardi 1995; Scott 1988: 45). The difference-dilemma, on the other side,
indicates that over-emphasizing differences between men and women might perpetuate essentialist stereotypes. Such a perspective refers to arguments in the 19th century that “certain concepts of male skill rested on a contrast with female labor (by definition unskilled)” (see also Hericks 2011: 73; Scott 1988: 46).

The critique on a strict distinction between a paradigm of equality and difference is well taken and reflects current developments in organizational practices, such as recruiting procedures. Besides the concept of (un)doing gender, which marks the shift away from treating gender as an attribute of a social category for men and women towards seeing gender as a social practice is most convincing (see also Bruni et al. 2005; Ely and Meyerson 2000; Martin 2003, 2006; Nentwich and Kelan 2013: 1). The central aim of this dissertation, however, is to investigate the individual interpretation of gender equality by the organizational subunits of the international peacekeeping bureaucracy. The priority aim is not to analyze the construction of gender relations per se within the organizational subunits. Empirical data on recruiting procedures, interactions of male and female uniformed peacekeepers etc. serve the purpose to understand the norm interpretation process. Thus the distinction of equal and different treatment is highly valuable to systematize the empirical analysis.

The following final part of this chapter reflects on some methodological aspects of this dissertation. The investigation is conceptualized as qualitative single case study. The research object as new empirical case of norm adaptation as well as the perspective on the internal process of norm interpretation suggests proceeding in that way. In order to contribute to reflexive IR approaches on norm development the empirical results help to refine existing theoretical approaches. To conclude the chapter reflects on data collection and its analysis.

2.4 Methodological Reflections

The endeavor to systematically integrate a gender perspective in studying the norm adaptation process in the UN peacekeeping bureaucracy goes beyond the selection of a “gender issue” as research object. Taking a gender perspective seriously, the way of scientific knowledge production is also reflected.

Sandra Harding distinguishes three methodological positions: gender as a variable, a feminist standpoint perspective, and poststructuralist feminism (Bruni et al. 2005: 26; see fundamentally Harding 1990 [1986]). Throughout the analysis of this dissertation, all three positions are adopted. Chapter 3 describes the evolvement of UN peacekeeping by highlighting the inclusion of women at different positions.
gender is conceived as a variable defined according to biological sex (e.g. Alvesson and Billing 2009: 27f.; Calás and Smircich 2006: 291). Chapter 3 follows a liberal perspective emphasizing the equality of women and men and therefore asks: Where are the women in UN peacekeeping?

Secondly, a standpoint perspective stresses that woman’s particular situations and experiences must be integrated in scientific explanations and theory building. Gender is seen as a fundamental principal of patriarchal society and social relations are heavily structured by hierarchical differences (Alvesson and Billing 2009: 28; Calás and Smircich 1992: 224f.). The description of the gender cultures in UN peacekeeping in Chapter 2.2.3 corresponds to this demand. Here, “feminine” dimensions of UN peacekeeping are not constructed as “the other” of the dominant masculine culture that is ascribed to the overall military-oriented context. Instead, gender differences are related to different socialization backgrounds that are equally presented in the chapter (cf. Bruni et al. 2005: 11+29).

Finally, the discourse analysis in Chapter 4 takes on a poststructuralist methodological position. The construction of female peacekeepers and gender-equal peacekeeping in UN documents offer insights in the individual beliefs of the organizational subunits about an appropriate realization of the emergent norm. Those beliefs are acted upon as true and hence become partially true in terms of consequences. The different organizational subunits in the UN peacekeeping bureaucracy provide different discourses and herewith produce different “realities” of norm realization (cf. Alvesson and Billing 2009: 37; Calás and Smircich 1992: 226).

Gender issues as well as the study of gender issues are always informed by value judgments, including the personal judgment of those who do social science. It is, hence, very important to reflect on them (Alvesson and Billing 2009: 9+11). This chapter on methodological reflections seeks to meet the demand of reflexivity. The purpose of this chapter is to make transparent what methodological considerations led the discourse analysis in Chapter 4. In order to do so, the elaborations of this chapter include personal reflections on the research process.

2.4.1 Qualitative Single Case Study

The aim of understanding a process of structural and discursive changes in a specific international bureaucracy designates this dissertation as a qualitative single case study. Still today, most qualitative researchers in political sciences refer to Gary King, Robert Keohane, and Sidney Verba’s (KKV) “Designing Social Inquiry” (1994) in order to
highlight that a qualitative scientific enterprise beyond causal explanation, generalization, and variables is as valuable as inferences that adopt this positivist perspective as favored by KKV.

The authors declare the production of general knowledge as a fundamental purpose of social science. They regret that “some qualitatively oriented researchers would reject the position that general knowledge is either necessary or useful […]. Their position is that the events or units they study are ‘unique’” (King et al. 1994: 42). KKV propose further, even if an event occurs only once, such as the French Revolution, a more abstract study of comparing such a study with similar parallel events would increase the scientific asset.

I spent a lot of thoughts in reflecting what actors I consider as relevant addressees to realize gender equality. I could have undertaken a comparative case study of the twelve multi-dimensional UN peacekeeping missions referring to a varying degree of realizing gender equality. That would have resulted in categorizing “good” (gender-sensitive) peacekeeping missions and “bad” (gender-blind) peacekeeping missions. Yet, the social world is not that simple. I realized that numerous factors influence the way how gender equality is understood in the first place. And the individual norm interpretation directs the gender-related activities. A categorization of low and high levels of realizing gender equality does not capture all dimensions and is thus of limited scientific added value, according to my opinion.

These considerations reflect the wide feminist skepticism about “universal” knowledge that is primarily based on men’s experiences and world views. Instead I favored an emphatic and reflective qualitative single case study to understand subjective interpretations of gender equality. I further realized that in the process of adapting gender equality in UN peacekeeping the international and the field level strongly inter-connect. This led to my comprehensive definition of “the UN peacekeeping bureaucracy”. This case is an instance for norm adaptation in an international bureaucracy.

Furthermore, KKV highlight the role of variables in descriptive inference. “[…] [W]e may be interested in understanding variations in the district vote […] in Britain in 1979 […] [or] in the degree of conflict between Israelis […] and Palestinians” (King et al. 1994: 55). Yet, I am interested in types of gender equality that derive from

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50 For further insights to methodological debates between feminist and traditional approaches see (Tickner 2005).
51 See also the definition of a “case as an instance of a class of events” (George and Bennett 2005: 17) or as “comparable instances of the same general phenomenon” (Ragin and Howard 1992: 1).
individual norm interpretations. The aim is neither to identify gender equal peacekeeping and peacekeeping with gender discrimination, “more” or “less” gender equality, nor “better” or “worse” gender equal peacekeeping. This dissertation opens the perspective towards different interpretations of gender equality in a particular social context instead of focusing on variance in variables. The concept of gender equality is considered as shiny with different colors that represent equal but different types of the norm. Such a perspective even exceeds the proposal of Gary Goertz and Amy G. Mazur that favor continuous concepts with gray zones instead of black-and-white dichotomous concepts (2008: 28).

In the first place, the motivation for a qualitative single case study is driven by empirical curiosity. What do peacekeepers do when they realize gender equality? Only few studies conceptualize UN peacekeeping as international bureaucracy and none of them take a gender perspective (cf. Barnett and Finnemore 1999; Benner et al. 2011; Seibel 2009b). Thus, an in-depth study of a single case seems the best way to describe, understand, and interpret the process of adapting gender equality in the UN peacekeeping bureaucracy (cf. Gerring 2004: 341; Levy 2002: fn.2).

Furthermore, the single case study of this dissertation seeks to reveal variations in norm interpretation by analyzing the discursive construction of gender equality in UN documents and herewith the underlying power constellation and gender cultures in the organizational subunits of the UN peacekeeping bureaucracy (cf. Blatter et al. 2007: 35; Milliken 1999; Van Dijk 2001). Herewith, the dissertation resembles a heuristic case study that serves “to find out” the particular steps in the norm adaptation process. The broad variety of measures used to realize gender equality deviates from expected linear norm adaptation processes according to traditional approaches. The study inductively identifies complementary arguments of norm development processes in multi-dimensional international bureaucracies and builds the basis for further research and theory development (cf. Eckstein 1975: 104; George and Bennett 2005: 75).

Proponents of process tracing as method of qualitative research proposes an intensive analysis of the evolution of events within a case. The provision of evidence that connects the cause and the outcome builds the method’s contribution to causal inference. In order to reveal the sequences of observed events, researchers examine narrative stories, archival documents, interview transcripts, and other sources. In doing so, they are able to assess whether a theoretical argument relates to empirical evidence

52 For further discussions on “variable-oriented” and “case-oriented” research see (Ragin 2004).
and which intervening steps are taken. The persuasive power of the within-case analysis increases if the process starts from a suitably chosen beginning and avoids breaks in the causal story (Bennett and Elman 2006; George and Bennett 2005; Levy 2002).

The use of process tracing in this dissertation is twofold. On the one side, it performs a heuristic function to reveal the sequences of observable steps taken to adapt gender equality in the UN peacekeeping bureaucracy. The analysis starts from the beginning of the norm’s official recognition in 2000 and covers the first ten years of SC-Res. 1325’s existence. On the other side, process tracing in this dissertation inductively generates complementary arguments to existing theoretical approaches on norm development. Yet, the aim of scientific inference here is not the uncovering of causal mechanisms but the identification of constitutive elements of the norm adaptation process (cf. Blatter and Blume 2008). To this end, correlations between aspects of structural changes in the UN peacekeeping bureaucracy, such as the correlation between female senior leadership and reflective gender-related measures in the mandates, and variations in the discursive construction of gender equality proposed by different bureaucratic components are revealed (see fundamentally Wendt 1999: esp.79-88).

2.4.2 Theory Refinement

The inductive generation of complementary arguments to existing theories on linear norm development in this dissertation aims at recognizing the complex and continuous process of norm interpretation and norm adaptation. Inspired by constructivist studies on socially constructed meanings of norms (e.g. Chwieroth 2008; Van Kersbergen and Verbeek 2007; Wiener 2004) I took an internal perspective to the UN peacekeeping bureaucracy. I perceived the bureaucratic components as organizational subunits with different socialization backgrounds and different gender cultures.

In order to grasp the component’s interpretations of gender equality, I started my dissertation project with a five-week field trip to the UN peacekeeping bureaucracy in New York, in early 2009. In total, I interviewed 20 experts that worked in this area (see Annex III). The conversations offered valuable insights into efforts and challenges of adapting the norm gender equality in such a complex bureaucratic setting. The interviews helped me to reflect on the very topic of my dissertation and the research question.
Intuitively, I followed the assumptions and strategies of “grounded theory” developed by Barney Glaser and Anselm Strauss.\textsuperscript{53} They call for a “discovery of theory from data systematically obtained from social research” to understand complex social phenomena (Glaser and Strauss 1967: 2; see also Strübing and Schnettler 2004: 435). In contrast to natural science or quantitative studies that consider a theory as stable argumentation that follows a logical deduction from \textit{a priori} assumptions, Glaser and Strauss highlight that a theory is an ever-developing entity. According to them theory generation and refinement is a process that better meets the reality of social interaction and its structural context (1967: 3+32). Grounded theory proposes theory generating through data analysis instead of testing hypotheses that are formulated in advance of data collection (Dey 2004: 80).

Yet, grounded theory is not equivalent with strict induction. The research process is interplay between induction, deduction, and abduction. The researcher collects data as open-mindedly as possible. The analysis of inductive data and the construction of categories or types, however, presuppose some sort of theoretical lenses, in order to observe and describe meaningful events that produce valid conclusions. Reflections on the conceptualization of data and checking these conceptions against theoretical implications bring in deductive elements. In the further research process the formulated ideas and hypothesis, which may generate surprising findings, are compared with possible explanations provided by the theory. Further data gathering helps to ascertain the most plausible explanation. This procedure is described as abductive reasoning (Bryant and Charmaz 2008: 46; Kelle 2008: 197; see also Milliken 1999: 234; Strübing and Schnettler 2004: 441).

The circular process of theoretical sampling, that implies continuous data collection and analysis in the process of theory generation, is characteristic for most qualitative social research. This strategy obliges the researcher to constantly reflect the whole research project and leads to conceptual thick descriptions (contrastingly to parsimonious cause-effect-relations that reduce the complexity of the social world) (Flick 1996: chap.4; see fundamentally Glaser and Strauss 1967: chap.3).

In this dissertation, the iterative research process of data collection, data analysis and categorization, as well as reflections on theoretical implications covers three cycles. The first cycle covers the empirical part in Chapter 3. It clarifies the research object and analyzes the structural changes towards gender equality in the UN peacekeeping

\textsuperscript{53} For a historical perspective on grounded theory see (Bryant and Charmaz 2008).
bureaucracy between 2000 and 2010. Statistical data on staff composition, reports on
the establishment of new bureaucratic units, and gender-related activities proposed in
the initial mandates of multi-dimensional UN missions serve as data material in
Chapter 3. All information is publicly available on the website of the Department for
Peacekeeping Operations and the Department for Field Support. The broad variety of
proposed measures and the diverse actors that are highlighted to take initiative for
realizing gender equality cannot be explained by linear approaches of norm
development theory. Thus, the first empirical part shows that theoretical refinement is
necessary to understand the particular process of adapting gender equality in the UN
peacekeeping bureaucracy.

The sociological study of the gender cultures of the organizational subunits, namely
the uniformed component and the gender advisers, builds the second cycle in the
research process. Here, I pick up insights from the initial interviews with UN
personnel that suggest different interpretations of the emergent norm by members of
different organizational subunits of the UN peacekeeping bureaucracy. Chapter 2.2.3
describes the cultural UN peacekeeping context with regard to gender equality. In this
chapter I refer to the academic literature in this field. The analysis of the interview
transcripts in Chapter 4.1 studies the particular norm interpretation and norm framing
in the respective organizational subunits of the UN peacekeeping bureaucracy. The
interpretations and framings of the UN personnel are summarized in table 9 and table
10 and serve as templates for the discourse analysis in Chapter 4.

The third cycle of theoretical reflections builds on the result of the comprehensive
analysis in Chapter 4. The results show a tendency towards an interactive process of
norm adaptation between the uniformed personnel and the gender advisers. Both
groups adopt arguments and aspects of interpreting gender equality, which were
formerly proposed by the other group. Grounded on the empirical situation of adapting
gender equality in the UN peacekeeping bureaucracy, this dissertation proposes to
refine the linear norm development theory towards an interactive understanding of
norm development.

The data analysis in the style of grounded theory implies an extensive occupation with
texts. The text analysis in this dissertation is twofold. On the one hand, interview
transcripts and descriptions of latest developments in the UN peacekeeping
bureaucracy deliver facts and figures of adapting gender equality. On the other hand,
texts are considered as medium for interaction. Through written and oral language,
actors (consciously or un-consciously) create the social world (Potter and Wetherell
In this regard, the study of discourse is the study of language in use; or more precisely the study of meaning that social actors use to make sense of themselves and their social environments (Wetherell et al. 2001: 1+3).

By emphasizing how discourse is constitutive for social phenomena, this dissertation crosses the epistemological border towards a constructivist perspective. Whereas positivist theories consider language as description of the world “as it really is”, discourse analyses emphasize variations in the meaning of words (cf. Potter and Wetherell 2001: 200; Wood and Kroger 2000: 9). Herewith, phenomena and cultures are discursively constructed. A flirt in a professional working context, for instance, can be interpreted as positive working culture or as sexual harassment. But only the linguistic description of the personal interaction makes it either an example of colleagues associating or a case of misconduct that results in legal action. Neither interpretation is true or false. Therefore, a constructivist analysis of discourses can only provide varying types of norm interpretation (cf. Wood and Kroger 2000: 31).54

The categorization of different types of gender equality in the UN peacekeeping bureaucracy, proposed in chapter 4, is derived from the discourse itself. As mentioned above, the varying interpretation templates of gender equality favored by uniformed UN peacekeepers and gender advisers are derived from the interview transcripts. The inductively derived interpretation templates serve as a heuristic tool for further theoretical sensitive research.

Discourse analysis stresses the influence of cultures and contextual settings in the discursive construction of phenomena. Women in UN peacekeeping -either as female uniformed personnel or as gender advisers- are “travelers in a male world” (cf. Gherardi 1996). Interview statements vary if this male dominated context is hostile or friendly towards female colleagues. Some argue, women as uniformed peacekeepers disturb the strong and necessary male-bonds in the military component and gender advisers over-emphasize their role in a tough security environment. Others welcome female uniformed peacekeepers and highlight their positive impact on the codes of conduct. The uniformed personnel consider the gender advisers as important members of staff, who constantly highlight the realization of gender equality in all UN peacekeeping activities.

54 For a more detailed elaboration and discussion on category building in grounded theory see (Kelle 2008).
At the same time, gender may be hidden in organizational processes and practices, unconsciously reproduced by its members (Acker 1992: 251). Yet, this dimension of a gender culture is difficult to grasp. It may be transmitted through the interior of an office or the appearance of the workers (Gherardi 1995: 11). During my interviews, I recognized such symbols like the visible divide between uniformed peacekeepers and civil dressed gender advisers, or female uniformed peacekeepers with make-up and long hair. But I use this information not systematically for my analysis in Chapter 4 and concentrate instead on spoken and written language that represent the interpretations and proposals for doing gender in UN peacekeeping (cf. Gherardi and Poggio 2007: 14-20; Wood and Kroger 2000: 19).

2.4.3 Data Collection and Analysis

In this final part of my methodological reflections, I elaborate on the specific procedure of data collection and analysis by focusing the on the conduct of the expert interviews and the discourse analysis of organizational guidelines, strategy papers, and mission reports.

In the beginning, the selection of interview partners was rather random. I visited a seminar on “Secured development? Increasing Entanglements of Security and Development Policies” in Bad Boll and interviewed the key note speaker and further participants.55 A colleague from university turned out to be an interesting interview partner as he spent his military term with the UN mission in Georgia. And I participated at the Summer School of Women in International Security in Washington D.C., where I got to know two further interview partners. Besides, I asked everybody for further contacts (cf. Holstein and Gubrium 1995: 74). Yet, in addition to overall insights into gender equality and UN peacekeeping, the expert interviews serve as an empirical source to deconstruct the individual norm interpretations of members of different components of the UN peacekeeping bureaucracy (cf. Witzel 1995).

I considered all staff members of the bureaucratic units, not only the chiefs, as “experts”. For the purpose of this dissertation, the particular knowledge about the respective working context and the significance of gender equality in this UN peacekeeping context was the decisive criterion for being an “expert” (cf. Abels and Behrens 2009: 139; Gubrium and Holstein 2001: 4f.; Meuser and Nagel 1991: 74).

In order to meet the criteria of validity as well as possible, I talked to men and women with different nationalities and in different stages of their career. I spoke to UN

55 See the online at: http://www.ev-akademie-boll.de/publikationen/online-dokumente/cfHash/3d12826d71fe575d51b3204562549fe1/pointer/9/, 07/25/2013.
personnel that worked in all parts of the UN peacekeeping bureaucracy, namely the Department for Peacekeeping Operations, the Department of Field Support, the United Nations Police, members of troop contributing countries and gender advisers (see Annex III). Herewith, I got internal information from all bureaucratic components and I minimized the influence of other factors, such as nationality and age on the interpretation of gender equality. For that reason, I only used the six interviews with members of the uniformed UN peacekeeping component and the six interviews with gender advisers in the UN peacekeeping bureaucracy as empirical ground for the interpretation templates.

The semi-structured interviews took around one hour. For each interview I developed an individualized topic guide that covered three areas of interrogation: personal background, importance of gender mainstreaming in UN peacekeeping, as well as personal perception on the strategy and the process of implementation (see Annex IV). The topic guide was meant as assistance in case the interview stagnates (cf. Silverman 2000: chap.12). I tried to create an open atmosphere in order to activate the interviewee to take the lead in structuring the interview. I started always with open questions referring to the personal background, such as: “What is your personal background? How did you come to UN peacekeeping?” And I ended each interview with the question, whether we missed a central aspect of gender equality in UN peacekeeping so far. All interviews are taped and completely transcribed (cf. Witzel 1995: 236ff.).

“Interviews are conversations where meanings are not only conveyed but cooperatively built up” (Holstein and Gubrium 1995: 11). And the gender factor is one of the most fundamental social categories, which influences interview situations (Abels and Behrens 2009: 140ff.). Not least because the individual interpretation of gender equality is my research object, I was aware that the social interview situation has an impact on the interviewee’s answers and thereby on the knowledge I draw from the interviews. Carol Warren states that women receive more feedback than men as they are less threatening and tend to have higher communicative skills (1988: 44).

My personal interview experience only partly confirms this often cited remark. Most of the interviews with women (even those who were considerably more senior) were very friendly and resembled a talk between peers. This held particularly true for female uniformed peacekeepers. I had the impression that these women considered me as an ally in the male-dominated peacekeeping context. This effect was reinforced by

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56 For further elaborations on validity in interview situations and qualitative research see e.g. (Kvale and Brinkmann 2009; Lewis and Ritchie 2003).
my role as social scientist instead of a political activist. My aim was to understand gender equality in UN peacekeeping not to promote its realization. Sometimes I deliberately questioned the whole aim of gender equality in a security context to invite the interviewees to reflect freely on the issue. Only two interview situations with women, which interestingly had a similar academic background and approximately my age, were strenuous. It was rather a competition on knowledge about gender and peacekeeping (cf. Nentwich 2003). By contrast, the interviews with men (no matter what age and professional level) were all more distant. In most situations, I had the impression that the interviewees felt uncomfortable and thought that I was testing their knowledge about gender equality.57 I would have preferred to conduct the interviews with a male colleague in order to get a more personal access and insights of a male and a female researcher (cf. Padfield and Procter 1996). Yet, the (financial) scope of my dissertation project did not allow for further interviews.

The use of different empirical sources and ways to gather data that allow for fully grounded theory generation is also known as triangulation (Lewis and Ritchie 2003: 275). Norman Denzin shaped this strategy of multiple methodological perspectives on a research object. He established four types of triangulation at which “data triangulation” is most relevant for this dissertation. Here “researchers explicitly search for as many different data sources as possible which bear upon the events under analysis” (Denzin 1978: 295). Keeping in mind that the analysis of statistical data and the analysis of discourses in interview transcripts are based on varying epistemological assumptions, the different perspectives on gender equality in UN peacekeeping are not meant to confirm or improve the clarity about empirical results but to offer a broader picture of the phenomenon under study. Here, it is interpretation instead of operationalization that links abstract concepts to concrete observations (Blatter and Blume 2008: 326).

The analysis of the interview transcripts is structured in the same way as the analysis of the UN documents on multi-dimensional UN peacekeeping. The latter represent the empirical ground for the third research circle. In this phase, documented in chapter 4.3, the interpretation templates are compared with guidelines for mainstreaming gender equality in UN peacekeeping, general UN peacekeeping strategies, and the regular mission reports. The strategy plans and mission reports reflect the organizational goals and priorities for lessons learned. The description (and non-description) of gender-

57 For a more detailed description of different effects in conversational interaction see (Abels and Behrens 2009: 143ff.).
related measures in the documents is shaped by the organization’s identity, which defines appropriate translations of the new norm for UN peacekeeping practices (cf. Hwang and Suarez 2005: 73f.).

In order to trace a development in norm interpretation the documents cover the first ten years of gender equality in UN peacekeeping. The single analyzed documents, enlisted in the following table, are all publicly available on the UN peacekeeping web pages.

**Table 2: UN Documents on Multi-dimensional UN Peacekeeping**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>GENDER MAINSTREAMING IN UN PEACEKEEPING</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Security Council Resolutions on “Women, Peace, and Security” (SG)</td>
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<tr>
<td>Reports on “Women, Peace, and Security” (SG)</td>
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<tr>
<td>Operational Guidelines to Translate Gender Equality in UN Peacekeeping Practice (DPKO/ DFS)</td>
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<td>and Security in Peacekeeping (2010)</td>
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<tr>
<th>GENERAL STRATEGIES FOR UN PEACEKEEPING</th>
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<tr>
<td>Security Council Resolutions on UN Peacekeeping Strategies (SG)</td>
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<td>Strategy Papers on UN Peacekeeping (DPKO/ DFS)</td>
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<tr>
<th>REPORTS ON MULTI-DIMENSIONAL MISSIONS</th>
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<tr>
<td>Annual Reports (DPKO/DFS)</td>
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<tr>
<td>Year in Review 2004-2010</td>
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<tr>
<td>Regular Reports on Multi-dimensional Field Operations 2000-2010 (SG)</td>
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</table>

I used qualitative research methods since the core aim of this dissertation is to extract variations of interpreting gender equality in a particular working context. I analyzed the documents according to the interpretation templates I draw from the expert interviews. The leading questions for grasping the particular meaning of gender equality were (in slight variations). (1) What does gender equality in your working context mean? (2) Who is responsible for realizing gender equality? (3) What are the recommendations for gender-related UN peacekeeping activities? (4) What frames of gender equality are used? For each interview I documented quotations that refer to these questions. I stayed as long as possible with the original wording (Meuser and Nagel 1991: 85). In a next step, I summarized the individual interpretations, e.g. gender equality means equal opportunities for men and women, or gender equality means the recognition of women’s special needs. Finally, I established categories of interpreting and framing gender equality in UN peacekeeping that are illustrated in

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58 For further elaborations on reliability in interview situations and qualitative research see e.g. (Kvale and Brinkmann 2009; Lewis and Ritchie 2003; Silverman 2000).
Table 9 and 10 (see also Strübing and Schnettler 2004: 447ff.). In that sense, I generalized individual interpretations of gender equality but I stuck to the context of UN peacekeeping and provided a thick description of the concept and variations in interpreting gender equality in the norm adaptation process (see also Lewis and Ritchie 2003: 269).

The analysis of the discourse on gender equality in UN documents encompasses all relevant documents on UN peacekeeping that explicitly address gender mainstreaming in the period of investigation: Security Council Resolutions, Reports of the Secretary General and organizational guidelines. General central strategy paper on UN peacekeeping and all reports of multi-dimensional missions in the period of investigation are also included in the analysis. The integration of documents that do not explicitly address the emergent norm offers insights in the recognition of gender equality in the field of “high priority security issues” and in everyday peacekeeping practice. I wanted to know if gender equality is mentioned in the documents that are solely concerned with UN peacekeeping’s effectiveness, such as the Brahimi Report or the Global Field Support Strategy, as documents on gender and peacekeeping often highlight the need to integrate gender equality for effectiveness reasons. The mission reports contribute insights from actual norm realization in field missions. The reports reveal how senior staff translates the guidelines and political statements in concrete UN peacekeeping activities. Based on the interpretation templates derived from the interview transcripts, the discourse analysis of the UN documents focuses on four leading questions. (1) What are the gender-related challenges? (2) Who is responsible for realizing gender equality? (3) What are the recommendations for gender-related UN peacekeeping activities? (4) What frames of gender equality are used? The equality-difference paradigm of feminist theoretical approaches, the features of masculine and feminine culture of UN peacekeeping, and the variations in framing gender equality helped to establish categories of meanings of gender equality in UN peacekeeping. Annex V illustrates the categories in detail that allow for a comparison of the meaning construction from 2000 to 2010.
3. Gender Equality Enters the Field

This first chapter tackles the basic question of what's at stake in studying gender equality in UN peacekeeping. It describes the normative and structural environment of how gender equality as an emergent norm enters the field of UN peacekeeping. In doing so, it takes a triangular perspective. (1) What are the general normative shifts in the context of UN peacekeeping that influenced the self-understanding of UN peacekeeping and the activities of international crisis management in the past sixty years? (2) What is the path of pushing a gender agenda forward and how have these efforts become visible in the structure of several UN agencies? (3) What are the structural changes towards gender equality in the UN peacekeeping bureaucracy in the first ten years? Herewith, this chapter marks the point of departure of the dissertation. It defines the research object and delimits it from related concepts and other research agendas.

UN peacekeeping as such is a dynamic field that is strongly shaped by political power constellations and normative premises of the respective time period. Thus, the first part of this chapter covers the fundamental shifts in the historic constellation, normative environment and operational practice of the dynamic research object. The developments in UN peacekeeping can be categorized in four types that are headed by core documents that set the path for reforms and new peacekeeping activities. The evolution towards multi-dimensional UN peacekeeping missions builds a fertile ground for soft security issues such as gender equality.

Part two of this chapter sheds light on the diffusion of gender equality as an emergent norm that manifests in the structure of several UN agencies. It further marks how gender equality influences debates on international security. SC-Res. 1325 is a landmark decision that demonstrates the entering of gender equality in the UN security arena. Due to its privileged status in academic and political debates the drafting of the resolution and its main provisions are outlined separately.

The third part of this section introduces the concept of UN peacekeeping as international bureaucracy with standardized operating procedures. It defines the relevant actors and departments considered in this dissertation as “the UN peacekeeping bureaucracy”.

As first comprehensive empirical part of this dissertation Chapter 3.3 elaborates on changes towards gender equality referring to staff composition, bureaucratic structure, and planned activities of the UN peacekeeping bureaucracy. Finally, the chapter
summarizes the findings of the first empirical part of the dissertation. It documents variations in realizing gender equality that reveal different understandings of gender equality in the respective working environment. The diverse picture of realizing gender equality in the UN peacekeeping bureaucracy contradicts prevailing approaches of linear norm development and displays the puzzle of this dissertation.

3.1 The Evolution of UN Peacekeeping

UN peacekeeping is an inherently political enterprise. On the one hand, national interests and power constellations in the Security Council influence the decision whether and how the international community engages in crisis situations. On the other hand, the normative international environment shapes the perceptions of both member states and UN Secretariat concerning the type of involvement “to maintain international peace and security, and to that end: to take effective collective measures for the prevention and removal of threats to the peace, and for the suppression of acts of aggression or other breaches of the peace, and to bring about by peaceful means, and in conformity with principles of justice and international law, adjustment or settlement of international disputes or situations which might lead to a breach of the peace” (UN 1945: Article 1.1).

The following section documents four types of UN peacekeeping. In addition to academic studies that structure the evolution of UN peacekeeping with reference to distinct historic periods (e.g. Berdal 2008; Gareis and Varwick 2003; Thakur and Schnabel 2001) or that refer to the impact of the external engagement to conflict resolution (e.g. Caplan 2002; Crocker et al. 2001; Fortna 2004; Pugh 2000; Sandole et al. 2009; Stedman et al. 2002), this dissertation highlights the influence of the changing normative environment on the UN’s commitment to maintain international peace and security (cf. Bellamy and Williams 2004; Paris 2001a; Pugh 2004). The types summarize the historic period and power play in the SC, the normative and legal prescriptions of the depth of engagement, as well as the scope of activities in the field. The resolution “Uniting for Peace” (1950), the “Agenda for Peace” (1992), the “Brahimi Report” (2000) and the “Capstone Doctrine” (2008) serve as point of reference for the respective type of UN peacekeeping. Although the documents

59 Here, the power constellation between the five permanent members of the SC is at center stage. In fact, the politics of UN peacekeeping is also highly influenced by the discrepancy between states that hold decision-making power and troop contributing countries that have to implement those decisions (Cunliffe 2009; see also Krishnasamy 2011).
represent historic constellations the respective form of international engagement is not limited to a particular historic period (cf. Bellamy et al. 2004: 95). The UN mission in Cyprus (UNFICYP), for example, is still active today but marks one of the first observer missions. Whereas the peace operation in Namibia (UNTAG, 1989-1990) resembles a multi-dimensional UN peacekeeping mission that has become common only since the late 1990-ies (Bellamy et al. 2004: 117; Olsson 2001). Thus, the way of presenting the evolution of UN peacekeeping acknowledges the continuous and iterative character of political processes. Yet, I am aware that this procedure also imposes an order in retrospective that might deviate from the original one (see also Berdal 2008: 175).

After the description of how varying types of UN peacekeeping evolved, the final part of the section deals with its international bureaucracy. It presents in concrete terms which actors are involved in UN peacekeeping and outlines the precise administrative units that are studied in detailed in this research project.

3.1.1 Uniting for Peace (1950) and Traditional Peacekeeping

As cited above, the very purpose for founding the UN is to build a global coalition to maintain international peace and security between states. In the aftermath of the Second World War, the allied victorious powers agreed on the establishment of an international organization to realize this end. The idea of a collective security system with an umbrella organization that oversees world peace and cooperation had led already to the foundation of the League of Nations after the First World War. The League of Nations, however, failed because the most powerful countries, namely the United States of America (USA), did not join. Now, all states are involved in striving for cooperation and the renunciation of the use of force (Wolf 2005: 13).

On 26 June 1945, fifty states signed the Charter of the United Nations in San Francisco. The post-war power constellation is represented in the most important organ, the SC. The Soviet Union, the USA, Great Britain, France and China are permanent members with the right to veto council decisions (henceforth P5). Ten other members of the UN are elected by the General Assembly (GA) to be non-permanent members for two years. The selection of states shall consider geographical representation (UN 1945: Article 23).

In contrasts of the Security Council (SC), the GA highlights as a representative organ the innovative idea of respecting the rights of small nations: each state has one vote (Thakur 2006: 29). In practice, the cooperation among sovereign states envisioned by the Charter doesn’t often occur. During the Cold War, the ideological discrepancy
resulted in a deadlock of the SC (Fetherston 1994: 4). The GA Resolution 377 V (1950) “Uniting for Peace”, initiated by the Secretary of State Dean Archeson (USA), sought to make the UN capable again of fulfilling its role to settle international disputes. To this end, the GA

“[r]esolves that if the Security Council, because of lack of unanimity of the permanent members, fails to exercise its primary responsibility for the maintenance of international peace and security […] the General Assembly shall consider the matter immediately with a view to making appropriate recommendations to Members for collective measures […]. If not in session at the time, the General Assembly may meet in emergency special session within twenty-four hours of the request therefor. Such emergency special session shall be called if requested by the Security Council on the vote of any seven members, or by a majority of the Members of the United Nations […]” (GA 1950: 10).

The normative environment in the early years of the UN rested on the one hand on the international commitment to avoid war between states. On the other hand, the superpower rivalries limited the capacity of the newly established organization to act. The principle of state sovereignty and non-interference into domestic affairs of states was celebrated (Fetherston 1994: 3). The latter fundamentally shapes the values of early peacekeeping operations. The use of force is restricted to individual self-defense. The nature of traditional or classic peacekeeping is non-threatening and the value of impartiality is upheld (James 1990: 3).

Traditional peacekeeping usually supports a peace process or interim ceasefires by non-coercive and consent-based activities (Bellamy et al. 2004: 95f.). The consent-based character makes traditional peacekeeping

“an activity of a secondary kind […] [that] can make a valuable contribution to peace – but only if and to the extent to which disputants choose to take advantage of it” (James 1990: 1).

Its primary functions are to defuse, stabilize, and assist to resolve disputes. In concrete terms, that means observation and fact-finding activities to monitor compliance with a peace agreement or cease-fire, the separation of opposing forces, verification of demilitarization, including the decommissioning of weapons, or the withdrawal of troops to create a political space that facilitates a political resolution of the conflict (Bellamy et al. 2004: 97; James 1990: 4f.).

The United Nations Emergency Force (UNEF I) in Egypt is regarded as first force-level peacekeeping operation and as such as the birth of traditional UN peacekeeping
(Gareis and Varwick 2003: 127). In 1956, the Suez crisis escalates and France and Britain invaded Egypt. Previous diplomatic activities of the UN were undermined by all disputants; the UN calls for a ceasefire were ignored (Bellamy et al. 2004: 104). UNEF I is an example of the effectiveness of the Uniting for Peace Resolution. The blockade between two veto powers in the SC was circumvented by a decision of the GA that established the peacekeeping mission (Berdal 2008: 179). The deployment of UN forces, however, takes place on the consent of all disputants. Britain, France and Israel accepted the UN mission after intense diplomatic and economic pressures (Bellamy et al. 2004: 104). Secretary General Dag Hammarskjöld himself and Lester Pearson, a Canadian diplomat, worked out the design and aims of the mission. In order to uphold the value of impartiality and non-intervention, the troop contingents were selected from small and neutral states (Fetherston 1994: 13). Although the mandate included a strong military component to secure and supervise the ceasefire and the withdrawal of foreign forces, the use of force was limited to self-defense. Thus, only non-coercive measures were taken (Bellamy et al. 2004: 105). The mere presence of UN forces as a symbol of the international community had a deterrent effect. UNEF I accomplished its mandate as far as possible and withdrew its presence in 1967 (Thakur 2006: 35).

### 3.1.2 Agenda for Peace (1992) and Wider Peacekeeping

SG Boutros-Ghali evolved his broader concept for UN peacekeeping in the spirit of departure for more international engagement after the end of the Cold War.

“The adversarial decades of the cold war made the original promise of the Organization impossible to fulfil. […] With the cold war ended we have drawn back from the brink of a confrontation that threatened the world and, too often, paralysed the Organization. […] Now is the time, for its nations and peoples, and the men and women who serve it, to seize the moment for the sake of the future.” (Boutros-Ghali 1992).

This euphoric vision is restricted to the end of the veto-blockade in the SC. A new spirit of cooperation prevailed and the SC functions for the first time as originally intended. The number of passed resolutions can be considered as indicator for the changed working atmosphere. "The Council moved from roughly one decision per month to one per week" (Wallensten and Johansson 2004: 18). Unfortunately, the end of the Cold War does not go in line with the end of warfare.

To the contrary: the breakdown of the Soviet bloc fuels de-colonization, separation, and independence wars all over the world. Traditional inter-state conflicts with
national armies as combatants are increasingly being replaced by large-scale violence between guerilla groups and national armies. In such intra-state warfare attacks on the civilian population are often part of a deliberate strategy to humiliate and intimidate. This leads to waves of refugees, poverty, and other humanitarian catastrophes (Gareis and Varwick 2003: 114ff.). Thus, the demand for international assistance has grown after the end of the Cold War as well as the willingness of the members of the SC to assist. As a result, the number of UN peacekeeping missions exploded. In the first 42 years of the UN (1945-1987), 13 peacekeeping missions were established; in only 11 years after the cold war (1988-1999), the number of newly established missions increased to 32. Similarly, the numbers of personnel and costs enlarged enormously. At the peak of UN operations in 1994, there were 87,000 troops, police, and civilian officers employed and the annual costs were almost USD 4 billion. To compare, in 1988, 10,000 people served for the UN and the annual costs were USD 230 million (Thakur and Schnabel 2001: 11).

Due to the radical change in the global political order, the normative environment of peacekeeping changed as well. The leading principle of UN peacekeeping turns from state sovereignty based on the peace of Westphalia in 1648 to self-determination and the protection of human security (Paris 2003: 444f.). Post-Westphalian peacekeeping aims at supporting the creation of liberal-democratic states. In doing so, the UN gets involved in internal affairs. This development marks a fundamental new dimension and quality of UN peacekeeping. The justification for deploying external military force is now based on humanitarian grounds (Bellamy et al. 2004: 28; Berdal 2008: 189). In wider peacekeeping, the mission is an integral part of the peace agreement. Third party intervention is established to reinforce the peace process, including electoral support, disarmament, demobilization and reintegration of former combatants (Thakur and Schnabel 2001: 11). This kind of peacekeeping is active in the transitional phase between peace and war. The assistance to build state capacities and to coordinate humanitarian activities still takes place in a hostile environment. Due to the ambiguous security situation, wider peacekeeping is sometimes referred to as Chapter 6 ½ peacekeeping – between pacific consensual measures, according to Chapter VI of the UN Charter and military enforcement according to Chapter VII of the UN Charter (Bellamy et al. 2004: 129).

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60 For a comprehensive debate on "new wars" see (e.g. Dasse 1999; Heupel and Zangl 2004; Holsti 1996; Kahl and Teusch 2004; Kaldor 1999; Münkler 2002; Vasquez 2000).
The new role as facilitator of democratization efforts and provider of humanitarian relief renders new activities to UN peacekeeping. Boutros-Ghali identifies four stages of international engagement that address different dimensions of peace:

"Preventive diplomacy is action to prevent disputes from arising between parties, to prevent existing disputes from escalating into conflicts and to limit the spread of the latter when they occur. Peacemaking is action to bring hostile parties to agreement, essentially through such peaceful means as those foreseen in Chapter VI of the Charta of the United Nations. Peace-keeping is the deployment of a United Nations presence in the field, hitherto with the consent of all parties concerned, normally involving United Nations military and/or police personnel and frequently civilians as well. […] Post conflict peace-building [is] action to identify and support structures which will tend to strengthen and solidify peace in order to avoid a relapse into conflict" (Boutros-Ghali 1992; own emphasis).

The categorization of different measures to support peace processes draws on the conflict spectrum from pre-conflict prevention, e.g. monitoring of human rights abuses, over measures to build negative peace, i.e. the cessation of fighting, to activities that foster positive peace, i.e. the realization of justice, equality and other core social and political goods that represent root causes of violent conflicts (Call and Cousens 2008: 3; see fundamentally Galtung 1975). The definition of peacemaking explicitly refers to peaceful means according to Chapter VI, e.g. diplomatic offices, mediation, or economic sanctions. Contrastingly, the definition of peacekeeping leaves open if the use of military means is considered appropriate if necessary to keep the peace according to Chapter VII of the UN Charta (cf. Fetherson 1994: 124ff.). The use of force in this type of peacekeeping, however, must be in consent with all parties and serve as assistance for governments to deal with acts of aggression after an agreement has signed (Boutros-Ghali 1992: 44.).

The United Nations Protection Force in Former Yugoslavia (UNPROFOR) and the United Nations Assistance Mission for Rwanda (UNAMIR) illustrate the practical implications and fundamental problems of wider peacekeeping operations. They were initially installed to monitor a cease-fire agreement and later to deliver humanitarian aid, mediation and to disarm former combatants. Albeit a formal peace accord, the civil war and ethnic cleansing proceeded in both cases. UN peacekeepers were in a dilemma situation: they were only mandated to keep the peace and use force for self-defense. But in reality there was no peace to keep and their capacities were too small to build up a strong presence. Consequently, they had to watch large-scale massacres.
In 1995, more than 7,500 civilians died in Srebrenica despite the presence of the UN; in Rwanda approximately 800,000 Tutsi and up to 50,000 Hutu opponents were killed in 100 days after President Habyarimana's plane was shot (Bellamy et al. 2004: 137). The striking discrepancy between the mandates and resources, that indicated the limited political will of the international community on the one side and the substantial necessities in the field on the other side, was a traumatic lesson from these wider peacekeeping missions that fuelled the further development towards peace enforcement and transitional administrations (cf. Lipson 2007b).

3.1.3 Brahimi Report (2000) and Peace Enforcement/ Transitional Administrations

In 1999, two unprecedented UN mission were installed. In Kosovo and East Timor the UN took over quasi-state authority. In transitional administrations peacekeepers are mandated to “set and enforce the law, establish customs services and regulations, set and collect business and personal taxes, attract foreign investment, adjudicate property disputes and liabilities for war damage, reconstruct and operate all public utilities, create a banking system, run schools and pay teachers and collect the garbage […]” (Brahimi 2000: 13).

There are varying degrees of authority that the international community assumes in transitional administrations. The UN Transitional Authority in Cambodia (UNTAC) represents a supervision mission, whereas in Kosovo and East Timor direct governance is exercised (Caplan 2002: 9f.). As a reaction to the tragic shortcomings of the missions in former Yugoslavia and Rwanda, both the civilian and military components of the mandates of UNTAET in East Timor and UNMIK in Kosovo, were very strong. One reason for the extensive international engagement is that the systematic human rights abuses, ethnic cleansing and genocide in the late 1990s took place in the direct neighborhood of Western states. Australia and the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) adopted a pivotal role in the international engagement and led the military operations in East Timor and Kosovo respectively (Bellamy et al. 2004: 85). The military operation INTERFET managed to restore the order in war-shattered East Timor in a remarkable short time period (Marten 2004: 53f.). Contrastingly, KFOR did not succeed to prevent the recurrence of violence when Albanian refugees returned and took revenge on the Serb and other minority populations in Kosovo (Caplan 2002: 34).
Peace enforcement includes robust mandates that allow for using force if necessary to protect peacekeepers and other personnel in the broader UN and international community as well as the civilian population. Peace enforcement missions act under Chapter VII of the UN Charter. Military forces in this type of peacekeeping operate in ongoing battles instead of observing a cease-fire agreement like in traditional missions. This implies that local parties might build resistance against the peacekeeping mission as it is perceived as conflict party. Such unintended negative consequences undermine international efforts to stop fighting (see also Boutros-Ghali 1992: 44f.; Marten 2004: 35). In addition to military troops and civilian contingents, international civilian police forces were deployed in Kosovo and East Timor for the first time in UN peacekeeping history. They assumed full responsibility for law enforcement and helped to establish local police forces (Caplan 2002: 33).

The political aim of UN operations that are designed as transitional administration is to build states according to liberal, democratic, politically and culturally inclusive societies (cf. Marten 2004: 34). The critiques of transnational administrations highlight that the very goal of establishing a legitimate sustainable state through a period of benevolent autocracy is contradictory in itself (Chesterman 2003: 2). For a transitional phase, state authority is exercised by the international community. A crucial and controversial aspect of transitional administrations is the transformation from international to local ownership of state governance (e.g. Caplan 2002; Chopra 2000; Yannis 2004). In Kosovo, this process of handing over responsibilities is further complicated by the lack of defined political vision for the final status (Yannis 2004: 68). Until today, only 98 (out of 193) member states of the UN have recognized Kosovo as legitimate state. The ambiguous mandate 1244 (1999) is a result of a brokered compromise between the USA and Russia in the SC (Chesterman 2003: 3). As a consequence of the devastating peacekeeping experiences in Rwanda and Srebrenica as well as the immense expectations of the missions in Kosovo and East Timor, SG Kofi Annan convened a high-level Panel to review the UN’s peace and security activities in 2000. The former Foreign Minister of Algeria, Mr. Lakhdar

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61 For further elaborations on the so-called “spoiler problem” see (Stedman 1997).
62 For the extensive literature on external state-building as result of weak or failed states see (Fearon and Laitin 2004; Fukuyama 2004; Ottaway and Mair 2004; Risse 2011). For operational advices for policymakers, see e.g. the Berghof Handbook of Conflict Transformation, online available at: http://www.berghof-handbook.net/articles/, 07/24/2013; the publications of the Development and Peace Foundation, online available at: http://www.sef-bonn.org/publikationen.html, 07/24/2013; or the policy papers of the International Peace Institute, online available at: http://www.ipinst.org/publication.html, 07/24/2013.
Brahimi chaired the Panel. Hence the final report is known as Brahimi Report. The comprehensive review elaborates in an exceptionally frankly manner structural deficits and pitfalls of UN peacekeeping (Gareis and Varwick 2003: 305). For the purpose of this dissertation, three implications are of utmost importance: (1) the re-definition of a peacekeeping strategy, (2) the formulation of mandates as well as (3) the structural adjustment in DPKO.

“[I]n the context of modern peace operations dealing with intra-State/transnational conflicts, consent may be manipulated in many ways by the local parties. [...] Rules of engagement should not limit contingents to stroke-for-stroke responses but should allow ripostes sufficient to silence a source of deadly fire that is directed at the United Nations troops or at the people they are charged to protect [...]. Impartiality for such operations must therefore mean adherence to the principles of the Charta [...]. In some cases, local parties consist not of moral equals but of obvious aggressors and victims, and peacekeepers may not only be operationally justified but morally compelled to do so” (Brahimi 2000: 9).

The re-definition of the rules of engagement marks a fundamental shift in the normative environment of UN peacekeeping. The international engagement is motivated by humanitarian reasons to liberate victims from obvious tyranny. In order to protect civilian populations against large-scale systematic human rights abuses and genocide, UN peacekeepers take sides in an ongoing conflict (Marten 2004: 33). Peace enforcement activities imply a re-definition of the legal basis of UN interventions. The importance of protecting state sovereignty by consent-based UN operations further diminishes. Instead, a responsibility to protect civilian populations is seen as the very end of national sovereignty and justifies UN peacekeeping engagement if it is not realized by state authorities (Chandler 2004; Pugh 2004: 51).

Alongside the shift in legal justifications, the expectations of UN operations change. If the mandate includes the political will to protect civilians, the very presence of the mission creates an expectation that it will do so – no matter if the mandate authorizes and member states provide resources for adequate actions (Chesterman 2003: 6; Karns and Mingst 2001: 218). That is why the Brahimi Report points out clearly that

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64 See also the report of the International Commission on Intervention and State Sovereignty: The Responsibility to Protect”, online available at: http://www.iciss.ca/menu-en.asp, 09/13/2011. For an elaborated discussion on the Responsibility to Protect and International Law see (Bellamy et al. 2011). For a discussion on the selectivity of the international engagement for humanitarian reasons see (Ruf 1994). Furthermore, the attacks on September 11 fuelled the debate on reactions to war-like behavior of non-state actors that are not bound to the UN Charter or humanitarian law see (Karns and Mingst 2001).
mandates must be attainable. And the UN should refrain from deployments without adequate resources. Disappointments because of unrealized expectations damage the credibility of the UN as a whole (Brahimi 2000: 11).

The third aspect of recommendations for effective peacekeeping that can be drawn from the Panel’s report tackles the bureaucratic structure of DPKO. The predominant military chain of command as well as the notorious shortage of personnel reveals inadequate structural circumstances for demands of wider peacekeeping or transitional administrations. The Brahimi report therefore recommends upgrading civilian police advisers by restructuring the military and civilian police division, increasing the correspondence of military advisers in DPKO with military field headquarters, establishing a new unit for the provision of advice on criminal law, delegating budget authority to the USG for Peacekeeping Operations, enhancing the Lessons Learned Unit and designating a third Assistant-Secretary-General (ASG) in DPKO (Brahimi 2000: 39f.). In doing so, the Brahimi report displays fundamental dimensions for a reform agenda that has been picked up by USG Jean-Marie Guéhenno in his “United Nations Peacekeeping Operations: Principles and Guidelines”, the so-called Capstone Doctrine (Benner and Rotmann 2010: 117).

3.1.4 Capstone Doctrine (2008) and Multi-dimensional Peacekeeping

All strategy papers, sketched out in this section, have aimed at reforming UN peacekeeping. The Capstone Doctrine, however, marks the first attempt to learn from past peacekeeping experiences. The analysis and recommendations acknowledge the changing power constellations and nature of conflict situations but reflect additionally on major lessons learned in six decades of UN peacekeeping (Guéhenno 2008: 7).65 The clear focus is put on “United Nations-led peacekeeping operations, authorized by the Security Council, conducted under the direction of the United Nations Secretary-General, and planned, managed, directed and supported by the United Nations Department of Peacekeeping Operations (DPKO) and the Department of Field Support (DSF)” (Guéhenno 2008: 8). This seems like a commitment to the core principles and norms of the UN in the aftermath of fundamental debates in the SC on the quality of external involvement. This impression is strengthened by the affirmation that the “three basic principles [consent of the parties, impartiality, and non-use of force except in self-defense of the mandate] have traditionally served and continue to set United

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65 For an analysis of the UN’s infrastructure for organizational learning see (Benner and Rotmann 2008).
Nations peacekeeping operations apart as a tool for maintaining international peace and security” (Guéhenno 2008: 31).

One of the latest culminations of the discussion on the legitimization of the use of force by the SC took place in end 2002/ early 2003. The USA and The United Kingdom (UK) argued that Saddam Hussein in Iraq had access to weapons of mass destruction. Based on this assumption, that turned out to be false later, they called for the pre-emptive use of force to combat international terrorism and to prevent large-scale attacks such as September 11, 2001. The veto powers France, Russian Federation, and China, as well as Germany as non-permanent member of the SC opposed this demand and favored civilian measures, such as weapon inspectors and sanctions. In March 2003, a coalition of the willing including the USA, UK, Italy, Spain and Poland invaded Iraq and brought the Saddam Hussein regime to collapse within a month. There is consent that this regime break down is a positive development for international peace and security but the selected means are still contested (Hacke 2003; Paech 2003). The Iraq invasion can be considered as a non-case of UN peace enforcement. There was no UN authorization (cf. Bellamy and Williams 2005: 172; Pugh 2007: 372).

In fact, peace enforcement activities under Chapter VII have been rarely exercised through UN leadership. More often the SC delegates robust peacekeeping activities to regional actors, such as the Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS) in Sierra Leone or NATO in Former Yugoslavia, Kosovo, and Afghanistan. In East-Timor or Somalia the military outsourcing was directed to single states, such as Australia and the USA (see also Bellamy and Williams 2005; Singh Sidhu 2007: 226). Yet, the authorization of the use of force by a SC resolution is widely seen as necessary pre-condition for legitimate action to maintain international peace under international law (e.g. Schnabel and Thakur 2001: 250).

On the one hand, the lasting reform process of the UN in general and UN peacekeeping in particular turns around varying dimensions of legitimacy (e.g. Claude 1966; Hurd 2002; Rittberger and Baumgärtner 2005). On the other hand, increasing

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66 Only recently, the discussions on the external engagement in Libya demonstrate again the disruption of the SC in the question of using force (Meiler 2011; Möckli 2011).


the organization’s effectiveness is at center stage for reform efforts (e.g. Diehl 2005: 242-268; Karns and Mingst 2001: 217; Wolf 2005: 107-121).

Referring to peace enforcement engagement, the idea to build on regional alliances is drawn from the persistent lack of military capabilities, financial resources and clear authority and command structures of the UN (Bellamy et al. 2004: 148; Thakur 2006: 7). The devastating experiences in Congo and Somalia where the UN neither managed to fulfill its mandates to restore a secure environment in the host societies nor succeeded to protect the lives of its own personal. In Congo (1963) and Somalia (1994) a considerable number of UN peacekeepers died - among them SG Dag Hammerskjöld (Bellamy et al. 2004: 158f.; Fetherston 1994: 14).

The lesson that the UN has neither effective capacities nor political legitimacy to engage in-depth military peace enforcement or long-term development activities shaped the clear-cut definition of multi-dimensional UN-led peacekeeping mission provided by Jean-Marie Guéhenno.

“These missions are typically deployed in the dangerous aftermath of a violent conflict and may employ a mix of military, police and civilian capabilities to support the implementation of a comprehensive peace agreement. […] [T]he core functions of a multi-dimensional United Nations peacekeeping operation are to:

a) Create a secure and stable environment […]
b) Facilitate the political process […]
c) Provide a framework for ensuring that all United Nations and other international actors pursue their activities at the country-level in a coherent and coordinated manner.” (Guéhenno 2008: 22f.).

Thus, multi-dimensional peacekeeping extends the type of traditional military-based observer missions but does not include long-term peace consolidation measures like wider peacekeeping or transitional administrations. Complex missions lay the foundation for a sustainable development but do not exercise quasi-state authority or economic governance. The transformation of the security system (security sector reform, SSR), including the establishment of new military and police forces that adhere to democratic norms and good governance as well as the reform of the judicial system is an essential component of sustainable peace consolidation efforts (Hänggi and Scherrer 2008a: 5). A further component of this form of external engagement is the disarmament, democratization, and reintegration (DDR) of former combatants. The growing demand in restructuring the security system and guaranteeing internal security results in a growing demand of international police forces in UN peacekeeping. The
UN police evolve towards an equally important part of peacekeeping that leads to a growing necessity of division of labor between police and military (Greener 2011: 187).

The following figure illustrates the core tasks of multi-dimensional peacekeeping albeit peacekeeping in practice is always a dynamic and *ad hoc* enterprise where theoretical definitions get blurred.

**Figure 3: Core Tasks of Multi-dimensional UN Peacekeeping**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>INDICATIVE POST-CONFLICT TASKS</th>
<th>STABILIZATION</th>
<th>PEACE CONSOLIDATION</th>
<th>LONG-TERM RECOVERY AND DEVELOPMENT</th>
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<td>Infrastructure</td>
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<td><strong>WORLD BANK, IMF</strong></td>
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<td>Employment</td>
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<td><strong>UN COUNTRY TEAM, DONORS</strong></td>
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<td>Economic Governance</td>
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<td><strong>ICRC/NGOS</strong></td>
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<td>Civil Administration</td>
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<td><strong>Local Institutions</strong></td>
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<td>Elections</td>
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<td>Political Process</td>
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<td>Security Operations</td>
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<td>DDR</td>
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<td>Humanitarian Assistance</td>
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</table>

Source: (Guéhenno 2008: 23).

Further, the Brahimi Report highlights the need for coherence and coordination according to an integrated mission planning and support. In multi-dimensional missions a variety of actors, e.g. the DPKO, the UN Department of Political Affairs (DPA), the UN Development Program (UNDP), the UN Office for the Coordination of Humanitarian Affairs (OCHA), the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR), the UN Office of the High Commissioner for Human Rights (OHCHR) fulfill completely different tasks that address different phases of crisis management. A practical impediment for inter-agency cooperation is the placement of the agencies’ headquarters across several different buildings in New York. In order to alleviate the anarchic situation, the Brahimi Report recommends the establishment of an Integrated Mission Task Force (Brahimi 2000: 35).

Furthermore, Secretary General Kofi Annan reinforced that “integration is the guiding principle for the design and implementation of complex UN operations in post-conflict...
situations” (Annan 2006: 1). His strategy recognizes that in complex post-conflict settings security, development and human rights issues are intrinsically linked (Eide et al. 2005: 6). It therefore aims at providing a holistic approach that combines the specialized professionals and knowledge throughout the UN system in a complementary way (Hänggi and Scherrer 2008b: 490). In doing so, duplications of efforts both in the phase of mission planning and in the phase of implementing the mandates at the country level can be avoided. This fosters also an efficient use of limited resources (Guéhenno 2008: 55).

Critical voices of integration efforts highlight the imperative of neutrality. Particularly humanitarian actors consider a tight cooperation or integrated services as counter-productive. They fear to lose credibility and trust among the local population if they collaborate closely with the military component of UN peacekeeping (Eide et al. 2005: 12; see also Guéhenno 2008: 71).

Generally, an integrated mission is understood as a multi-dimensional peacekeeping operation led by a Special Representative of the Secretary General, which is supported by a Resident Coordinator and Humanitarian Coordinator serving as Deputy Special Representative of the Secretary-General (DSRSG) (Annan 2006: 1). An ideal-typed mission is further composed of a joint operation centre, joint mission analysis centre, integrated support service, and joint logistic operations centre that support the mission leadership (Guéhenno 2008: 70f.). Yet in practice, each peacekeeping component sets different priorities of security-, political- or humanitarian-related activities (Eide et al. 2005: 12). Integration efforts often remain informal and ad hoc. With regard to SSR there is further lack of dedicated SSR capacities in host societies (Hänggi and Scherrer 2008a: 21). The withdrawal of the UN deployment depends heavily on the local ownership of security guarantees (Guéhenno 2008: 27). Thus, the principle of integration encompasses the formulation of a coherent strategy at the headquarter level in New York, the coordinated implementation of the mission mandates among the variety of UN peacekeeping actors, donors and other external partners, as well as the close exchange with local partners and national state authorities.

Having outlined the various types of UN peacekeeping, according to the historic power constellations in the SC, the normative environment, and the respective peacekeeping activities, the following second part of this chapter addresses the evolution of gender equality in the structure of several UN agencies as well as the road to SC-Res.1325 and beyond.
3.2 Engendering Awareness in the UN

Ever since the creation of the UN, the transformation of the principle of gender equality and non-discrimination based on sex differences into daily practice has been a political struggle. It is even ambiguous what kind of specific grievance is criticized. The promotion of women’s rights focus on the abolishment of legal and social practices that discriminate against an identifiable group based on biological sex. The promotion of gender equality intends in a first step to reveal roles, attitudes, privileges, and relationships between men and women that are socially constructed. In a second step, it proposes measures to reduce identified differences in material or ideal power distributions (Bunch 2007: 496). Obviously, the promotion of women’s rights and the realization of gender equality are two sides of the same coin as the social role and attributes traditionally ascribed to women go along with less payment, less political influence, and less social status. Thus, the promotion of women’s rights is considered in this dissertation as one mean among others to support the realization of gender equality.

In the following section I shall reflect on the norm evolution of gender equality in the UN system. Part 3.2.1 starts with a description of the institutional anchoring of the norm and traces the process of building up a gender architecture in the UN system from the establishment of the Commission on the Status of Women in 1946 as the first UN intergovernmental body on women to the creation of UN Women in 2010 as the latest effort to combine forces in one coherent body to strive for system-wide realization of gender equality. After that, I outline in Chapter 3.2.2 changes in the discourse on security as well as its policy implications on international crisis management. The debate on securitization highlights the increasing relevance of developmental issues in international security policies and defines human security as core referent object. The new thinking on security opens a window of opportunity to integrate gender in international security discourse and political practices. Part three of this chapter shifts the perspective from institutional and discursive developments towards actors that actively push for the recognition of gender equality. The NGO Working Group on Women, Peace, and Security as well as the Secretary General Kofi Annan fulfilled the role as norm entrepreneurs. Finally, the history and dimensions of SC-Res. 1325 as well as following resolutions are addressed in Chapter 3.2.4. The elaborations on SC-Res. 1325 put together the various aspects of norm development that are described in this part of the chapter. Its adoption in 2000 became a visible sign of the lobbying success of norm entrepreneurs. It additionally marks the entering of a formerly human rights and developmental issue in the discourse on international
security and crisis management. And the political implication to establish separate institutional departments to foster gender equality in all policy areas contributes to the building up of comprehensive gender architecture in the UN system.

3.2.1 The Evolving UN Gender Architecture

The respect for equal rights of men and women is mentioned in the preamble of the UN Charter. Thus, already the “founding fathers” of the UN acknowledged that women are independent subjects of public life and need to have as equal rights as men. In fact, the wording of the text was a political struggle as most decision-makers followed the argument that "men" include "women". Although only four women were among the 160 signatories to the UN's founding document, they managed to insert the word "women" into the text. This laid the foundation of the feminist striving for international recognition of gender equality (Jain 2005: 12).

Eleanor Roosevelt was one of those feminists. She was the first US representative at the UN and later Madame Chairman of the UN Commission on Human Rights that drafted the Universal Declaration of Human Rights. Early as in the mid-1940s, Mrs. Roosevelt highlighted the realization of global peace needs to include equality between the sexes (as opposed to equality between men only) (Olsson and Tryggestad 2001: 1). But how did the feminist claim for gender equality become visible in the creation of the UN’s institutional bodies?

Feminist activists, who were experienced in freedom struggles, peace movements and trade unions, strived for gender equality in the newly established institutional bodies of the UN. Sophie Grinberg-Vinaver had been active in the French resistance before she served from 1959 to 1962 as chief of the Division for the Advancement of Women (DAW) that is situated in the UN Secretariat. Chafika Selami-Meslem, who had fought the French during Algeria’s struggle for independence, took over this position from 1963 to 1973 (Jain 2005: 13). DAW conducts research, prepares reports, and develops policy options. Herewith, it provides substantive servicing to the Commission on the Status of Women (CSW) (see also figure 3) (Bunch 2007: 498).

CSW by contrast is a subsidiary body of the ECOSOC, established in 1946. The creation of a separate commission dedicated to the promotion of women's rights was subject of controversial debates. On the one hand, many member states considered the internationalization of gender equality as intrusion into their sovereignty. On the other

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69 During the drafting process of the UN Charta in 1945 Eleanor Roosevelt accompanied her severely diseased husband. She had considerable influence on his efforts to strengthen the aspect of human rights in the Charta. Only months before the Charta was signed in San Francisco Franklin D. Roosevelt succumbed to a cerebral hemorrhage (Glendon 2001: 8).
hand, feminists, such as Eleanor Roosevelt, worried that a separate commission would marginalize women and their issues at the UN (Jain 2005: 17). Yet, at the end of the day the argument to make women’s concerns independently heard from other human rights issues gained a majority and the CSW was established to “prepare recommendations and reports to the Economic and Social Council on promoting women's rights in political, economic, civil, social and educational fields” and to make recommendations “on urgent problems requiring immediate attention in the field of women’s rights.”

ECOSOC elects 45 member states of the UN for a four-year term as members of the CSW on the basis of geographical representation. Since 1992, there is an annual meeting to evaluate the progress made and to formulate concrete policies to further promote gender equality and women’s empowerment.

The mandate of the CSW incrementally extends from the recognition of fundamental legal and human rights towards the promotion of women’s rights in the area of development and peace. In 1997, ECOSOC launched a system-wide strategy to mainstream gender perspectives in all policies and programs of the UN. The effort to focus on gender and herewith on the socially constructed relationship between men and women goes back to the Fourth World Conference on Women, which was held under the device of “Action for Equality, Development, and Peace”, in Beijing in 1995. The Beijing Declaration and Platform for Action underlines that the empowerment of women aims at eliminating inequalities between men and women in education, economic opportunities, participation in political decision-making etc. Men are explicitly invited to support this endeavor. The shift from “women” to “gender” had considerable implications. The strife for equal rights for a simplistically defined coherent identity of “women” is transformed into an analytical tool that addresses inequalities and diversities of multiple identities (Jain 2005: 157).


The group of women was evidently never coherent. Women from the global South are more concerned with inequalities in education whereas women in developing countries focus on equal opportunities to combine working life and family today. For fundamental readings on the diversity of the women’s movement see fundamentally (de Beauvoir [1949] 2009: 15; Yuval-Davis 1997).
and evaluating programs, enhancing the role and capacities of gender specialists and focal points as well as allocating adequate human and financial resources to successfully translate the concept of gender equality into practice (Hicks Stiehm 2001: 43). Furthermore, the establishment of the Office of the Secretary-General’s Special Advisor on Gender Issues (OSAGI) in the UN secretariat resulted from a Beijing recommendation. A higher-level official who reported directly to the SG is considered as important step to upgrade concerns about gender equality (Bunch 2007: 500).

Whereas the UN agenda to promote women’s rights and gender equality has considerably increased since 1946, the financial and human resources of CSW have remained meager. The initiatives and programs rely on the active engagement of NGOs (Bunch 2007: 498).

Above all, the supportive role of NGOs in promoting the advancement of women becomes visible in the dedicated UN world conferences. As of 2010, six UN Conferences on Women have taken place all over the world. Firstly in 1975, delegations from 133 member states, 113 of them headed by women, convened with UN staff of various secretariat’s departments and specialized agencies, national liberation movements, other international organizations (IOs) and 114 NGOs with consultative status at ECOSOC. An estimated number of 6,000 NGO representatives were involved in the International Women's Year Tribune, a parallel event. A priority topic in the debates and action plans was the attempt to achieve equality between men and women and to end separation of sex in matters of education and economic opportunities (UNDPI 1996: 34). Concrete institutional outcomes of the conference that was held in Mexico City are the creation of the International Research and Training Institute for the Advancement of Women (INSTRAW) and the foundation of the UN Development Fund for Women (UNIFEM). INSTRAW was created in 1976. It was envisioned to assist the poorest women in the world to acquire skills and training to improve their situation and to participate fully in the development process (Jain 2005: 94). Today, it carries out general research on gender and development and conducts training seminars, including the preparation of peacekeepers. UNIFEM began as voluntary fund for the UN Decade for Women in 1976 and became a separate operational entity in 1984 (Bunch 2007: 500). In the meantime, its priority topic is to work on the elimination of violence against women. Since 2009, it runs the UN

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75 In the aftermath of the conference, the UN declared 1975 as International Women’s Year and 1976-1985 as UN Decade for Women.
campaign “Say No - UNiTE to End Violence against Women”.\textsuperscript{76} INSTRAW and UNIFEM report to the GA.

Further conferences were held in Copenhagen (1980), Nairobi (1985) and Beijing (1995). Beijing was an outstanding world conference. It expanded the gender dimension to a broad variety of topics ranging from poverty, illiteracy, health care and reproduction rights to the maintenance of security. In order to foster equality, development, and peace the gender dimension must be recognized. The Beijing Declaration and Platform for Action formulates concrete claims to go beyond complaining about gender inequalities and discrimination of women towards action to alleviate the situation. Finally, an unprecedented number of NGOs were affiliated at this conference and more than 30,000 people participated in the NGO forum (Shepherd 2008: 387). This made Beijing the largest conference the UN ever organized (Barnes et al. 2011: 16).

The five-, ten- and fifteen-year review and appraisal of the Beijing Declaration and Platform for Action was organized as Session of the CSW in New York.\textsuperscript{77} One might conclude that the world conferences on women impact the recognition of women’s concerns in the UN’s formal structure, internal research and budgetary planning of specialized UN programs. Besides, they raise attention towards inequalities between men and women in manifold areas on a global scale. Women's NGOs have influenced the policy agenda of other international organizations as well as member states by serving as campaigning and monitoring instrument (Barnes 2011: 25; UNDPI 1996: 71).

The creation of various divisions dedicated to the advancement of women’s issues demonstrates that the core concern to promote gender equality is taken seriously. Figure 3, however, shows that the individual bureaucratic units are widely dispersed in the UN system. This illustration makes clear that the lack of institutional coherence has been the most obvious disadvantage of the UN gender architecture.

\textsuperscript{76} Information is online available at: http://www.saynotoviolence.org/about-say-no, 07/25/2013.
Efforts to alleviate the weak institutional capacity are networks between various divisions, such as the Inter-Agency Network on Women and Gender Equality or the Inter-Agency Task Force on Women, Peace, and Security. Yet, they are not able to resolve the problems of low organizational hierarchies, small size, limited mandates, restricted financial and human resources, the lack of autonomy and the insufficient connection to key constituencies (Rao 2006).

The fragmentation of institutional entities has been identified as a general weakness of the UN particularly in an age of growing interconnectedness between peace and security, sustainable development and human rights. That is why SG Kofi Annan established a High-Level Panel on system-wide coherence in 2006, whose recommendations are summarized in the report “Delivering as One”. Referring to gender equality and women’s empowerment the Panel highlights the need “to replace several current weak structures with a dynamic UN entity”.

Therefore, it proposes the establishment of a “gender entity would consolidate three of the UN’s existing entities […]. The Executive Director of the consolidated entity should have the rank of Under-Secretary-General […]. To be effective in this role, the

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78 For further feminist networks within the UN system see (Jain 2005: 122ff.).
gender entity needs adequate, stable and predictable funding. The work of the normative and analytical division should continue to be funded as it is now from the UN regular budget, supplemented by voluntary contributions. The policy advisory and programming division should be fully and ambitiously funded.”

This strong statement for establishing a coherent agency at a high bureaucratic level to foster gender equality and women’s empowerment led to the creation of UN Women in July 2010. It combines the work of DAW, INSTRAW, OSAGI and UNIFEM in one institutional body. Ms. Michelle Bachelet, former President of Chile, is the first Under-Secretary-General and Executive Director of UN Women.

By appointing a well-known political leader from the global South, the SG managed to dispel previous critiques of developing countries. The G-77 feared that the UN reform, aiming at increasing efficiency and effectiveness, would weaken their position and the adequate representation of developing countries in UN entities (cf. Tryggestad 2010: 162; Weinlich 2010). The creation of UN women also raises hope that it will enable greater coordination and synergy in implementing SC-Res. 1325 (Willett 2010: 143).

The institutional development of UN departments that are dedicated to promote women’s rights and gender equality is one part of the contextual environment, when gender equality entered in the UN peacekeeping issue area. The changing discourse on security is the other part of the contextual environment.

### 3.2.2 Gender and the Security Discourse

Security. What is it? Whose security is at center stage? And what are the means to provide it?

Since the 1990s these questions have been addressed in academic and policy debates alike. In the theoretical discussions, realist premises of a state-centric security concept, which focuses on the provision of national integrity by military means, are being questioned. Alternative constructivist approaches highlight that both the object of security, i.e. who is to be secured, and the nature of threats, i.e. what constitutes the security problem, are socially constructed. The new thinking of security broadens and deepens the realist concept (Krause and Williams 1996).

Particularly in developing countries on the African continent, a considerable number of people die because of poverty, lack of nutrition or pandemics, such as HIV/AIDS. As a result, the understanding of existential threats has been altered. Poor economic

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80 Information is online available at: http://www.unwomen.org/, 07/25/2013.
conditions, environmental degradation, or limited access to medication are perceived as potential threats to survival. These threats cannot be reduced to specific regions as globalization and environmental pollution fostered by developed countries have severe impact on the security situation in developing countries. It was a report of the UNDP, the Human Development Report (HDR) 1994, that established this nexus between development and security issues. Consequently, it calls on the international community to invest in human development in order to prevent violent conflicts (HDR 1994: 23f.). UNDP’s initiative to reconsider international security policies can be regarded as attempt “to move human and financial resources towards poverty relief and away from [...] all-consuming Cold War military” expenditures (Kerr 2007: 92).

The process of re-defining security and thereby legitimating the state (or other political entities) to take extraordinary political measures has become known as “securitization” (Buzan et al. 1998). Herewith, securitization theory inherently links theory building to political implications. The question at stake is not an academic exercise to integrate “everything good” in the concept of security that leads to an analytical overstretch and makes it unusable for further research (cf. Daase 2002; Müller 2003; Paris 2001b). It rather takes the interactive dynamic of political processes and theory refinement seriously.

Yet, the re-definition of the security concept and the focus on human security cannot be reduced to an initiative to prioritize developmental issues on the international policy agenda. After the breakdown of the bipolar international order the number of inter-state wars declined significantly. The majority of current armed conflicts take place within state borders. Thus, the new thinking of security helps to understand changing practices of warfare (Krause and Williams 1996: 229).

Most prominently, the ethnic cleansing in the former Yugoslavia (1992-1995) and the genocide in Rwanda (1994) stand for these new practices. They show that attacks on ethnic, religious, or political identities have taken the place of nuclear weapons as most important threat in armed conflicts after the Cold War. Warfare against ethnic identities goes along with sexual violence that had until then been defined as domestic

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81 For critical reflections on militarizing traditional non-military areas of conflict prevention see (Brock 2004; Hauswedell 2006).
82 The Copenhagen School established a comprehensive research program on constructivist security studies that highlights securitization dynamics and discourses on security (cf. Guzzini 2011; Krause 1998; McDonald 2008; see fundamentally Wæver 1995).
and private problems of the victims (see also HDR 1994: 30; UNDPI 1996: 55-56). Yet, in civil wars that are legitimised by nationalist discursive arguments, such as in Yugoslavia and Rwanda, sexual violence is used as a systematic weapon. Women are symbols for the homeland and guarantor of the purity of the bloodline (Cockburn 2001). Here, gender is intertwined with other identities, such as race and nationality (see also Hudson 2005: 158). In Bosnia, women were separated from men, put in so-called “rape-camps” and were raped until they got pregnant. In a racist nationalist logic, the woman represents a “passive ‘national’ container of a child imagined to be the future bearer of the rapist’s nationality” (Hansen 2001: 60). In this regard, rape is an identity producing practice. It is not only an act of violence against an individual women; it is an attack on the whole nation or group that seeks to become a nation (Goldstein 2001: 369).

In civil wars, however, sexual violence is not reduced to women. Rape and genital mutilations of men against men serve the function to feminize the victim and masculinize the perpetrator. They are symbolic acts to demonstrate domination (Enloe 1989: 195; Goldstein 2001: 356). Men with a hostile ethnic, religious, or political identity are humiliated by forcing him in a sexually submissive role of a woman. Likewise, the perpetrator’s sex and ethnic, religious, or political identity is empowered by becoming masculinized (Sjøkelsbæk 2001: 225).

As a result of the increased public awareness and additional lobbying of the international women's community, the World Conference on Human Rights in Vienna (1993) put sexual violence on the agenda (Tryggestad 2009: 546). A re-thinking of the boundaries between private and public is hence initiated. Domestic sexual violence or female genital mutilation is no longer a personal problem of the victims. It becomes an issue of public -and even international- concern (Keck and Sikkink 1998: 173). The Human Rights Conference in Vienna marked a strengthening of the connection between the women’s movement and the international human rights network (Locher 2007: 189). Explicitly incorporating women’s rights in the canon of fundamental human rights broadens the basis of acceptance. All members of the UN subscribe to the Universal Declaration of Human Rights and must accordingly respect women’s rights without cultural exceptions. Yet, within the women’s movement a controversial debate arouse about the advantages of the new framing. Some opponents argue that the human rights frame over-emphasizes fact-finding discrimination. Systematic

84 Female and male identity constructions in wartime along the private/public divide and in international security politics are further addressed in Chap.2.2.3 (see fundamentally Elshtain [1987] 1995; Enloe 1989).
85 On sexuality as cultural reproduction of gender identities see (Butler 1990: 32).
underlying female oppression in patriarchal societies is not grasped. Others, especially from the developing world, criticize that political and civil rights are privileged in the human rights canon comparing with the exclusion of economic, social and cultural rights (Keck and Sikkink 1998: 184).

In the very year 1993, the GA adopted the Declaration on the Elimination of Violence Against Women that highlights the condemnation of sexual violence against women and children both in warlike situations and in family households.\textsuperscript{86} The International Criminal Tribunals for the former Yugoslavia (1993) and for Rwanda (1994) are the first crime tribunals that addressed gender implications of armed conflicts. Sexual violence is now acknowledged as part of genocide and as such as war crime (Bastick et al. 2007: 55; Hansen 2001: 56; Jain 2005: 121; Mischkowski 2004: 101).\textsuperscript{87}

The integration of sexual attacks against an individual’s personal integrity in the jurisdiction on war crimes may serve as further example of securitization: The international community declares sexual attacks as existential threat to a social group that fights for a national territory in order to make an audience tolerate extraordinary measures (cf. Wæver 2011: 469). More commonly, scholars highlight the securitization of formerly developmental issues and have widely overlooked this legal dimension of securitization.

The broadening of our understanding of international security threats beyond military attacks on sovereign states goes along with a deepening of the concept. The Agenda for Peace (1992) and the Human Development Report (1994) put “human security” at center stage and therefore re-defined the object of security. Human security means to guarantee that people can exercise their personal life safely and freely. People’s daily life might be threatened by poverty or environmental degradation but also by human rights violations undertaken by state authorities or terrorist attacks (Boutros-Ghali 1992: 3; HDR 1994: 30).\textsuperscript{88} The comprehensive and global concept of human security


\textsuperscript{87} For global statistical data on current allegations of sexual violence in conflict situations see (Bastick et al. 2007) as well as the online datasets provided by PeaceWomen: http://www.peacewomen.org/countries_and_regions/, 07/25/2013.

shifts the emphasis from a security dilemma of states to a survival dilemma of people (Hudson 2005: 163).

Reconsiderations about the referent object of security consolidate feminist critiques with traditional IR approaches. “Westphalian Thinking” binds political identity to the sovereignty of national states. Patriarchal gender orders, unequal power relations, and identity constructions that define the public sphere as masculine are perpetuated in the traditional security concept. \(^{89}\) In order to make women's insecurities in a given society visible and to guarantee the security of all members of a political community, feminist scholars call for rethinking security (Peterson 1992: 32; Tickner 1992). Taking a gender perspective on security might result in different perceptions of the current security situation. In a post-conflict environment where the actual fighting is over, men might feel secure whereas women in refugee camps might be afraid of using toilets because of sexual attacks. Thus, the personal feeling of security varies significantly (Barnes and 'Funmi 2011: 6). The outlined broadening of the security discourse towards environmental, developmental and societal aspects of security satisfies the feminist demand as the women's role is strongly related to the provision of basic needs and the preservation of nature. By defining these aspects as international security issues the new security concept puts women's roles on highest priority on the international agenda (Tickner 1991: 34). Thus, the new thinking about security "opens up a space for gender to enter into the security discourse" (Väyrynen 2004: 134).

Current debates on criteria for international interventions and the responsibility to protect citizens from state authorities -if necessary- reflect the political implications of the theoretical questioning of sovereign states as only reference for political identity.\(^{90}\)

To conclude, constructivist approaches question whether security is a pre-conditioned measurable mass that can be distinguished in terms of more or less security. They rather emphasize that security is a practice. Its definition interrelates strongly with the political dynamics of securitization and it is shaped by a respective social context (Wibben 2011: 37+41, esp. fn.24). Consequently, the ontological purpose differs from rationalist science approaches. Security theory intends to provide contextual understanding and practical knowledge instead of generalizable causal claims and

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89 Compare for (Buzan 1995), who studies implications for the security concept by shifting the referent object toward larger collective entities.

predictions (Krause and Williams 1996: 243). To this end, feminist approaches that most frequently take a critical constructivist perspective rely on studying security narratives that bear varied meanings of security, reveal structural inequalities and offer insights into everyday political circumstances (cf. Waever 2011; Wibben 2011: 100). This dissertation follows the assumption that theory systematically shapes political action and that political dynamics have considerable effect on theory building. Having outlined the structural developments regarding gender both in the structural context of the UN system and in the discursive environment of international security, the following section describes two actors that politically pushed for the integration of gender equality in the UN peacekeeping bureaucracy.

3.2.3 The Secretary General and the NGO Working Group as Norm Entrepreneurs

In contrast to securitization theory that focuses on discursive shifts and changes in security policies, the concept of norm entrepreneurs highlights the actors that are engaged in the process of re-defining current problems, such as challenges for international security. Scholars of international norm dynamics and norm-driven changes in behavior of states, IOs or other political entities use this concept.

The concept of norm entrepreneurs helps to capture more precisely how actors create norms and embed them in international politics (Johnstone 2007: 125). Norm entrepreneurs are defined as actors that call attention to an issue or even “create” issues by using language that names, interprets, or dramatizes them. They offer alternative perceptions of both appropriateness and interest (Finnemore and Sikkink 1998: 897; see e.g. Joachim 2003; Klotz 1995). These entrepreneurs or “ideological activists” fight for a larger cause or public good whereas economic entrepreneurs seek to establish new organizations or change existing ones to maximize their profit (Rao and Giorgi 2006: 271).

The process of changing discursive attributes that classify topics in specific normative contexts is defined as framing (see e.g. Benford and Snow 2000; Zald 1996). Transnational advocacy networks (Keck and Sikkink 1998) and epistemic communities (Haas 1992) may equally act as norm entrepreneurs like individual personalities (Johnstone 2007) and states (Thakur 2011). On the one hand, norm entrepreneurs are engaged in the phase of norm emergence. They call attention to issues and put them on the political agenda (e.g. Carpenter 2007). On the other hand,
they provide varied interpretations in a later stage of norm adaptation (e.g. Krook and True 2010).\textsuperscript{91}

For the purpose of this dissertation, I perceive norm entrepreneurs as actors in UN peacekeeping that range outside the core bureaucratic structure. In this regard, the NGO Working Group on Women, Peace, and Security as well as the Secretary General are considered as most relevant entrepreneurs that actively promote for gender equality in UN peacekeeping (cf. Tryggestad 2009: 539).\textsuperscript{92} They possess particular expertise and high levels of moral authority. They impact the decision-making procedures in the UN peacekeeping bureaucracy. In the following section, the norm entrepreneurs and modes of influence are described in detail.

The Secretary General (SG) is the face of the UN and incorporates the moral authority of the organization. Yet, the description of his particular function in the Charta is twofold. In the first place, the SG “shall be the chief administrative officer of the Organization” (UN 1945: Article 97). But in addition to the managerial role, the Charta outlines further that “the Secretary-General may bring to the attention of the Security Council any matter which in his opinion may threaten the maintenance of international peace and security” (UN 1945: Article 99). In doing so, the founders of the UN also ascribed the SG as an independent political role that is most prominently executed in quiet diplomacy and conflict resolution activities (Smith 2006: 90). Varying expectations about the function of the highest representative of the UN have existed ever since 1945.

Should he or she rather resemble an administrative secretary or an independent political general? Courtney Smith identifies two factors that influence the respective quality of the SG’s role: the level of agreement among member states as well as diplomatic skills and personality. In a short historical survey Smith concludes that besides Dag Hammarskjöld, who explicitly invoked Article 99 and claimed a political function in the Congo crisis in 1960, Kofi Annan has been the most effective SG in terms of exceeding his political role. In his tenure from 1997 to 2006 there was a considerable level of agreement among member states, except for the decision on using force in Iraq in 2003. With regard to his diplomatic skills and personality Smith quotes Richard Holbrooke, former US ambassador to the UN: “Annan is the

\textsuperscript{91} For further elaborations on norm development, contested meanings of norms and framing, see Chap.2.

\textsuperscript{92} Alternatively, the "Friends of 1325" as a group of like-minded states could be considered as norm entrepreneurs. Under the initiative of Canada the group was established in 2000. Yet, the focus of the group is to provide and exchange information on how SC-Res. 1325 might be put into practice on the national level (Tryggestad 2009: 547).
international rock star of diplomacy with a nearly magical ability to move people through his personal charm and gentle strength” (2006: 99).

The political influence of Annan was not limited to efforts in resolving ongoing conflicts in Bosnia, East Timor, or Kosovo (Johnstone 2003: 449f.). Furthermore, he contributed to discussions about the very nature of security policies. Annan emphasized that massive and systematic human rights violations will be core challenges to the SC and the UN in the future. He established the High-Level Panel on Threats, Challenges, and Change (2004) and launched the report “In Larger Freedom: Towards Development, Security, and Human Rights” in 2005.93 Moreover, he endorsed the discourse on human security and the responsibility to protect which had an impact on the normative environment of UN peacekeeping (Johnstone 2007: 132).

In the aftermath of the incidences of sexual violence and exploitation committed by UN peacekeepers in the Democratic Republic of the Congo in 2004, Kofi Annan began a process of critical self-reflection of the code of conducts in the UN system. He asked Prince Zeid Ra’ad Zeid Al-Hussein, Permanent Representative of Jordan, to act as his advisor who delivered an elaborated a report with recommendations to the GA in 2005.94

These initiatives make clear that SG Kofi Annan performed as a norm entrepreneur and provided new interpretations on what matters threaten international peace and security. As spokesperson for the values of the UN Charter the SG has considerable authority and persuasive powers (Johnstone 2003; Seibel 2009a: 102).

As former Under-Secretary-General for Peacekeeping Operations, Kofi Annan put considerable efforts in reforming DPKO, including the integration of gender mainstreaming. In the realm of budget negotiations he lobbied for a gender unit that could coordinate and advise the DPKO on gender initiatives and could serve as important support office for gender units in field missions (cf. Whitworth 2004: 131). In 2000, he firstly proposed “the creation of a small Gender Unit in the Office of the Under-Secretary-General/ Department of Peacekeeping Operations” (A/55/502, p.26).95 “[…] consisting of a senior gender adviser at the D-1 level and a general

93 For the former, see online at: http://www.un.org/secureworld/, 07/25/2013. For the latter, see online at: http://www.un.org/largerfreedom/, 07/25/2013.
adviser at the P-4 level, supported by an administrative assistant (General Service, Other level)” (A/55/507/Add.1, p.27).

The Advisory Committee on Administrative and Budgetary Questions (in the following the Committee) revised the proposal in its report in 2000: “Although the Advisory Committee recognizes the importance of the incorporation of this aspect in peacekeeping support, it questions the rationale for the need to establish yet another gender unit in the Secretariat. In this connection, the Committee recommends instead that better coordination be established with the existing Office of the Special Adviser on Gender Issues and Advancement of Women. Accordingly, the Committee does not recommend the establishment of these posts” (A/55/676, p.7).

In 2001, the SG reiterated its proposal: “I still believe that a dedicated focus on gender issues is required in the [DPKO]. However, instead of creating a separate unit, I would recommend that a few gender experts be included in the Peacekeeping Strategic Planning Unit so that a gender perspective is interwoven into all aspects of its work” (A/55/977, p.46).

The Committee supports the idea of gender focal points at sufficiently senior levels with a proper back-up in the secretariat in its report in 2001 (A/55/1024, p.12). Yet, focal points are not additional posts dedicated to gender mainstreaming; existing staff is appointed to be responsible for that task in addition to its previous work load. Besides, the Committee did not assure consultation in the Peacekeeping Strategic Planning Unit. Thus, the SG proposed again the establishment “of three new support account posts, two Professional (1 P-5, 1 P-3) and one General Service (Other level)” (A/C.5/55/46/Add.1, p.13).

The Committee again refused the establishment of new posts. “[I]t would consider a request for additional resources either in the Office of the Special Adviser on Gender Issues [OSAGI] or elsewhere” (A/56/478, p.7).

In 2003, the SG further down-sized the hierarchical position but proposed once again the establishment of a separate senior gender adviser post within the DPKO as the OSAGI does not take gender mainstreaming activities in specialized areas (A/57/731, pp.3+12). Finally, the Committee agreed on the request and “recommends that the post be set at the P-4 level” (A/57/776, p.7).

Budgetary questions are critical to realizing rhetorical statements and are therefore a subject of controversial debates (Fröhlich 2005). Annan’s continued engagement in this endeavor can be regarded as strong commitment to integrate gender equality in the UN peacekeeping bureaucracy beyond rhetorical statements (see also Mazurana 2002:
42). His successor Ban Ki Moon also stresses the importance of women in peace building efforts.\cite{96} As priority fields of engagement, however, he identified climate change and the protection of children in his second inaugural speech in 2011.\cite{97} The decreasing number of reports of the SG on the status of women in the UN system is another indication that Kofi Annan was more active in mainstreaming a gender perspective.\cite{98}

The literature on norm development processes highlights more often the role of NGOs serving as norm entrepreneurs than the engagement of individual personalities. With regard to gender equality in UN peacekeeping the NGO Working Group on Women, Peace and Security is of utmost importance. It is created to advocate for a dialogue with the SC and to push for a special session that led to the adoption of a SC-Res.

In March 2000, six civil-society organizations united their lobbying activities to that end: the Women's International League for Peace and Freedom, Amnesty International, International Alert (IA), the Women's Commission for Refugee Women and Children, and the Hague Appeal for Peace (HAP), Women’s Caucus for Gender Justice (Barnes 2011: 18). Like the majority of NGOs in general, all of these organizations are based in Northern countries (Stephenson 2000: 272). They are mostly active in information gathering, campaigning, on-the-ground research, and peace education. Only IA is active in peacebuilding field work. Referring to their engagement in promoting gender equality they serve as communication platforms for governmental and non-governmental actors, they raise public awareness for the issue and they develop practical guidelines and manuals as advice for peacekeeping/peacebuilding personnel.\cite{99} Thus, the initial advocacy efforts of the NGO Working Group are directed to make gender equality an accepted norm in the SC, which is seen as overwhelmingly male and masculine domain of UN power (Cohn 2008: 186).

At a first glance, the composition of the lobbying group for women, peace, and security is surprising: the majority of the participating NGOs define themselves neither as \textit{per se} “anti-war” nor feminist (Cohn 2008: 196). But all of them are concerned about women’s situation in wars and link peace with the protection of human rights. In this regard, they stress the re-definition of the security concept towards human

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\cite{98} A list of documents related to the SG's engagement in gender mainstreaming is online available at: http://www.un.org/womenwatch/osagi/fpdocumentation.htm, 07/25/2013.
\cite{99} See the individual descriptions of the member organizations, online available at: http://womenpeacesecurity.org/members/wrc/, 07/25/2013.
security. On the one hand, their campaigning efforts seek to highlight the particular needs of women and girls in crisis situations. The protection of women must be aware of the gender-related implications of violent conflicts. On the other hand, they demand to recognize the active role of women both in the perpetration of violence (and subsequently in disarmament and demobilization projects) as well as in peacebuilding activities, including peace negotiations. This claim implies an active support to empower women and criticize the pre-definition of women as victims that occupy the civilian space (Väyrynen 2004: 137).

Although the NGO Working Group represents a heterogeneous group of civil society organizations their strategy to lobby for an Open Debate in the SC and a SC-Res. was very coherent and strong. They did not act as a group of revolutionary women fighting for their rights and striving for power. Instead, they offered the members of the SC to share their knowledge on poorly understood conflicts and experiences in dealing with threats that deliberately target the civilian population. The NGO Working Group adopted the agreed language from previous UN documents and followed the formal rules of procedures in the SC (Cohn 2008: 188). In 2000, they sent a letter to the SC members celebrating the forthcoming “Arria formula” meeting and asked to establish a dialogue on women, peace and security (Shepherd 2008: 389).

The so-called “Arria formula” meetings were initiated by the Venezuelan Ambassador Diego Arria during the crisis in former Yugoslavia in 1992. He followed the request of a Bosnian priest to meet with Security Council (SC) members. Arria was so impressed that he invited all Council members to hear the testimony in the coffee break. So, the “Arria formula” meetings were born. In the meantime, they serve as valuable and flexible instrument for the SC to obtain information from important parties of the international security realm that are not members of the SC, including individuals and NGOs (Cohn 2008: 188, fn.8). In a more general perspective, these meetings underline the growing influence of non-state actors on the decision-making procedures within the UN in general and the SC in particular (see fundamentally Gordenker and Weiss 1996; Shepherd 2008: 386; Tryggestad 2009: 540). During the “Arria formula” meeting that was arranged with the NGO Working Group, women from conflict zones reported to members of the SC outside the formal session (Cohn 2008: 188). On 31

100 E.g. the global campaign of IA "Women Building Peace: From the Village Council to the Negotiating Table in 1999 (Barnes 2011: 17).

October 2000, the presidency of Namibia put the topic women, peace, and security on the agenda of the SC to be discussed in formal session (Hicks Stiehm 2001: 44). The Session on Women, Peace, and Security and the adoption of SC-Res. 1325 can be attributed to the successful lobbying of the NGO Working Group (Carey 2001: 50). Furthermore, the general debate on re-conceptualizing security policies towards development-oriented activities that focuses on the sustainable protection of individuals supported the request to discuss gender-related aspects of security in the SC. Although the initial aim of the NGO Working Group was realized, the group agreed to further advocate for the implementation of SC-Res. 1325.

For ten years now, the norm entrepreneurs have been advocating for implementing gender equality in intergovernmental bodies, on national level of member states as well as in initiatives in (post-)conflict crisis situations on the ground. There is no other SC resolution with such an active constituency. And no other resolution is annually celebrated in a dedicated Open Debate of the SC with annual “Arria formula” meetings that are held in advance (Barnes 2011: 26; Cohn 2008: 188). In this ongoing phase of norm advocacy, the NGO Working Group provides extensive and timely information on current developments on www.womenpeacesecurity.org as well as www.peacewomen.org. The purpose of the further engagement is still to raise public awareness and advocate for large-scale implementation in member states, IOs and bureaucratic components of the UN. Besides, the website information can be regarded as a monitoring tool and platform to exchange lessons learned.

Ten years after its establishment the NGO Working Group has grown to 16 member organizations. The Consortium on Gender, Security and Human Rights, Femmes Africa Solidarité (FAS), Global Action to Prevent War, Global Justice Center (GJC), Human Rights Watch, International Action Network on Small Arms (IANSA), International Rescue Committee, the Open Society Institute, Refugees International, the Institute for Inclusive Security, Women’s Action for New Directions, and the Women’s Division/ General Board of Global Ministries of the United Methodist Church additionally joined the network. Still, the vast majority of the organizations are based in Western countries. FAS, however, sheds light on the role of women in conflict prevention and resolution in African countries.

In general, the focus on empowering women has been strengthened and the organizations work in very specific topics. GJP, for example, provides specific trainings in legal tools to enforce women’s rights to equality in political representation.

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and transitional justice; and IANSA fosters the advocacy efforts to increase women's representation in disarmament processes.  

The dark side of such an extensive engagement of NGOs in global agenda setting is that relevant UN agencies do not take ownership for adapting a norm, such as gender equality. "When the UN turns to 'real business' of war, security, and peace operations", i.e. when resolutions and working paper address the improvement of UN peacekeeping in general, gender equality is rarely integrated (cf. Tryggestad 2010; Whitworth 2004: 127). In order to assess the adaptation of gender equality in all parts of the UN peacekeeping bureaucracy, the discourse analysis in Chapter 4 includes general strategy paper beyond the documents that explicitly aim at introducing gender mainstreaming in UN peacekeeping.

The description of the NGO Working Group reveals that the network represents a well organized and strategically performing transnational advocacy coalition (Cohn 2008: 191; see fundamentally Keck and Sikkink 1998; McAdam et al. 1996a). It serves most obviously as a norm entrepreneur, promoting the adoption of gender equality in the UN peacekeeping bureaucracy both in the phase of norm emergence (before SC-Res. 1325 has been adopted) and in a later stage of the norm adaptation process. The impact of NGOs as norm entrepreneurs is based on the particular expertise and neutrality that act beyond national interests (Barnett and Finnemore 2004: 29). In the case of adopting SC-Res. 1325 the NGO Working Group has additionally chosen the strategy of presenting their claim in a way that resonates with the existing language and procedures of the SC audience (see fundamentally Checkel 2001; Cohn 2008: 192; Hudson 2010; Joachim 2003; Payne 2001). The same strategy can be ascribed to the advancement of SG Annan to establish a gender unit or gender advisor. He pleaded his demand in the budgetary negotiations - the most important negotiations with regard to an internal bureaucratic logic. Here, priority activities of the department are stipulated. Furthermore, he took refusals of the Committee seriously and modified his request accordingly.

The final part of this chapter is dedicated to the often cited SC-Res. 1325 itself. It outlines the political process that led to the adoption in the SC, which describes the

103 See online at: http://www.womenpeacesecurity.org/about/, 07/25/2013.
content of the resolution and marks further milestones to integrate gender equality in UN peacekeeping.

3.2.4 The Road to SC-Res. 1325 and Beyond

The history of SC-Res. 1325 reflects all dimensions of changes in international security as well as in the UN gender equality bureaucracy that is outlined above. The World Conference on Women in Beijing set the path to systematically integrate gender equality in international security policies. The Platform of Action developed at this conference tackles twelve core areas of concern; one of them is dedicated to women and violence, one to the impact of armed conflict on women. Herein, the protection of women from sexual violence, including mass rape as weapon of war, trafficking or forced prostitution is similarly addressed as the awareness for sexual harassment and traditional gender roles that discriminate against women. Besides, the increased participation of women in conflict resolution at all levels of decision-making levels and the promotion of women's contribution to fostering the culture of peace is highlighted. The discussions in Beijing and the final document served as conceptual root for SC-Res. 1325 (Cohn 2008: 187).

Long before gender equality was sincerely addressed in UN discussions on peace and security, the UN Transitional Assistance Group in Namibia (UNTAG) that was active from 1989 to 1990 integrated a gender perspective in its practical work (Hicks Stiehm 1997: 40; Olsson 2001). At its tenth anniversary in May 2000, the Lessons Learned Unit of DPKO issued the “Windhoek Declaration and Namibia Plan of Action on ‘Mainstreaming a Gender Perspective in Multidimensional Peace Support Operations’” (Carey 2001: 51).104 This declaration brings a rhetorical commitment of the need to include gender mainstreaming in all aspects of peace support operations down to practical experiences. It makes concrete recommendations with regard to the mission’s mandate, leadership and structure of the mission, to training and recruitment procedures. Thus, the integration of gender equality in UN peacekeeping missions on the ground has already proven to be beneficiary for all parties involved.

A further momentum for SC-Res. 1325 came from the statement of Bangladesh on international women’s day in 2000. As SC president the Ambassador of Bangladesh picked up the NGOs’ request and emphasized: "peace is inextricably linked with

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equality between women and men” (cited in Shepherd 2008: 396). The statement was crucial as a point of reference in the preambular clauses of SC-Res. 1325 to an ongoing debate in the UN SC.

On October 23, 2000 followed the “Arria formula” meeting and the Namibian presidency of the SC subsequently sponsored a special debate on women, peace and security on 24-25 October. At that time Canada was a non-permanent member in the SC. Its efforts to focus on human security fuelled the recognition of a gender perspective on security policies. Along with Bangladesh, Namibia, the Netherlands, the UK and Jamaica, Canada was a crucial supporter for a SC-Res. on women, peace and security. Jamaica had one of the few female ambassadors to the UN at that time (Barnes 2011: 18).

On 31 October 2000 the UN SC adopted unanimously the SC-Res. 1325 „On Women, Peace, and Security“¹⁰⁵ The overwhelming vote and overall recognition indicate that gender equality successfully entered the international security arena; the tipping point of norm emergence had been reached (cf. Finnemore and Sikkink 1998: 901). Contrastingly to the resolutions of the GA, which are recommendations for the member states, SC resolutions are legally binding (Art. 25 Charter) (Hurd 2011: 3f.). This makes SC-Res. 1325 a powerful instrument to push member states for its realization. Yet, only 16 member states have formulated national action plans for implementing the resolution so far (Barnes et al. 2011: 24).¹⁰⁶

But what are the main provisions of SC-Res. 1325 and how is gender equality framed in the document?

Firstly, the SC urges the SG to appoint more women as special representatives and envoys to pursue good offices on his behalf; the role and contribution of women in UN field-based operations should be expanded, especially among military observers, civilian police, human rights and humanitarian personnel; and measures that involve local women in all of the implementation mechanisms of the peace agreements should be adopted. Thus, the participation of women at all levels of decision-making should be increased. Herewith it recognizes women as agents of peace and security. The SC “[u]rges Member States to ensure increased representation of women at all decision-

¹⁰⁶ As of 2011, the countries with existing national action plans are Austria (2007), Belgium (2009), Chile (2009), Côte d’Ivoire (2007), Denmark (2005/ updated 2008), Finland (2008), Iceland (2008), Liberia (2009), the Netherlands (2007), Norway (2006), Portugal (2009), Spain (2007), Sweden (2006/ updated 2009), Switzerland (2007), Uganda (2008), and the United Kingdom (2006). Other countries, such as Germany, incorporate SC-Res. 1325 in existing frameworks (Barnes 2011: 24).
making levels [...] [and it] [u]rges the Secretary-General to appoint more women as special representatives and envoys to pursue good offices on his behalf” (S/Res/1325/2000: paragraph 1+3). Men and women should have equal opportunities to be appointed to all levels of decision-making in UN peacekeeping. Thus, it takes on the feminist demand for women’s empowerment and equal participation in public life and applies it to multi-dimensional peace operations (Krook and True 2010: 11+16). Yet, contrary to the “equity-frame”, proposed by the women’s movement, in the UN peacekeeping context it is highlighted that “gender balance in peace-keeping operations contributes to more effective peace-keeping” (DAW 1995: 1; see also Whitworth 2004: 137). This argument grounds on instrumental reasoning and does not considered women’s empowerment as end in itself. In doing so, it underlines the problem-solving attitude persistent in the masculine culture of UN peacekeeping (Väyrynen 2004: 129). Thus, also in SC-Res.1325 gender equality is constructed as matter of effectiveness.

Secondly, the SC expresses its willingness to incorporate a gender perspective into peacekeeping operations, and urges the SG to ensure that, where appropriate, field operations include a gender component; gender-sensitive training guidelines and materials should be provided as well as further studies on the impact of armed conflict on women and girls, the role of women in peacebuilding and the gender dimensions of peace processes and conflict resolution.

And thirdly, the resolution calls on all actors to ensure the protection of and respect for human rights of women and girls. Women and girls should be protected against gender-based violence, particularly rape and other forms of sexual abuse, in situations of armed conflict; the special needs of women and girls during repatriation and resettlement and for rehabilitation, reintegration and post-conflict reconstruction should be ensured; all parties are called upon to respect the civilian and humanitarian character of refugee camps and settlements, and to take into account the particular needs of women and girls. Furthermore, the resolution highlights the responsibility of all states to put an end to impunity and to prosecute those responsible for genocide, crimes against humanity, and war crimes including those relating to sexual and other violence against women and girls. Emphasizing the need to protect women against gender-based violence SC-Res. 1325 perpetuates gender essentialist arguments. “Women and children” are used as approximation for “civilians”. Such a discourse defines all men as combatants and all women as victims of violence regardless of their

107 For regular information on the security situation of refugees, see e.g. the Human Rights Watch Reports on "Refugees", online available at: http://www.hrw.org/topics, 07/25/2013.
actual role in a crisis situation. Thus, the construction of gender relations goes along
the biological binary hierarchy of the sexes and reiterates the mutually exclusive
traditional gender roles in promoting peace and security. The binary pair of women/
victim/ protected/peace and men/aggressor/protector/war are further strengthened in
the contemporary UN security discourse (Carpenter 2005: 296; Väyrynen 2004: 137).
Carpenter explains this meaning construction with the argument that pre-existing
cultural attitudes are the basis for frames that seek to resonate. Challenging distortions
of the intended message norm entrepreneurs risk to reduce the potential to resonate
(2005: 296+313). The major audience groups that are addressed for civilian protection
are powerful states, international organizations, potential donors, and the media.
Striking ascription of women and children as most vulnerable group has the potential
to deliver meaningful photos that motivate to take action and provide funding for UN
peacekeeping measures (2005: 304f.).

The main provisions of SC-Res. can be summarized as female participation,
mainstreaming a gender perspective, and protection of women (see also Tryggestad
2009: 440f.). Most commonly, the prevention of conflict is highlighted as third “P”
(Barnes 2011: 19). For the purpose of this dissertation on varying forms of adapting
gender equality in the bureaucracy of complex UN peacekeeping, however, this aspect
is less important.

In general, the adoption of a SC-Res. that explicitly links the advancement of women
with efforts in restoring security and building peace has been widely celebrated as a
landmark decision. For the first time, the differential impact of armed conflicts on
women and men are specified and women are also recognized as constructive agents
of peace, security and post-conflict reconstruction. By highlighting the need to appoint
more women at all levels of UN peacekeeping decision-making SC-Res. 1325 limits
women no longer to the most vulnerable group of "womenandchildren" (cf. Carpenter
2005; Whitworth 2004: 121; Willett 2010: 142). The resolution legitimizes gender-
related aspects of security as appropriate means for UN peacekeeping. Herewith, it
acknowledges the link between traditionally soft sociopolitical issues and hard security
(Tryggestad 2009: 541).

Yet, the soft language of the resolution and the reiteration of women as peace-loving
compared to aggressive men are criticized (Carey 2001: 50; cf. Claude 1966: 375).

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108 Cynthia Enloe substantively shaped the discussion on the associated identity of women as group of innocent
victims by introducing the widely cited collective noun. For critical reflections on the communicated identity of
women in SC-Res. see (Hudson 2010: 50).
Indeed, SC-Res. 1325 “urges”, “encourages”, “expresses its willingness”, and “calls” (Tryggestad 2009: 544). Contrastingly, SC-Res. 1373 (2001) On Terrorism “decides”, “declares”, “directs”, and “expresses its determination”.109 Further feminist criticisms point to the interchangeable use of “gender” and “women” (Hudson 2010: 7). In the UN security discourse gender equality seems as harmless “politically correct” concept that does not address radical changes in power relations. Gender equality in this context is a further tool to solve international security problems (Puechguirbal 2010: 184; Willett 2010: 147). A more radical approach to change the existing gender order, i.e. the de-construction of masculinity that is bound to a class elite, military hierarchy, or to an ethnic-national leadership, could also transform the traditional power hierarchy in the post-conflict society that led to the outbreak of violence (Connell 2002: 35f.; Väyrynen 2004: 139). The most fundamental critique refers to the gap between rhetoric and practice. In official statements gender equality is emphasized as a crucial element for successful UN peacekeeping whereas gender units at the field level as well as in DPKO in New York lack adequate financial and human resources (Rehn and Johnson Sirleaf 2002: 64; Shepherd 2008: 383; Whitworth 2004: 120; Willett 2010: 143).

In the aftermath of adopting SC-Res. 1325, a number of additional resolutions and action plans endorse the commitment to realize gender equality in UN peacekeeping by empowering women and recognizing their special needs. In 2006, the DPKO launched a policy directive on gender equality in peacekeeping.110 The SC adopted three follow up resolutions. SC-Res. 1820 (2008) and SC-Res. 1888 (2009) is concerned with sexual violence against women and girls as war crime. The resolutions call for concrete action for prevention and sanctioning, such as appropriate training programs, military and civilian disciplinary measures to end impunity, the implementation of the strategy "zero-tolerance of sexual exploitation and abuse in UN peacekeeping operations", the inclusion of women in civilian, police and military functions, as well as the consultation of women and women-led organizations to develop strategies for conflict resolution.111 SC-Res. 1889 (2009) highlights the need for greater efforts to empower women and foster women's participation at all stages and in all areas of conflict prevention, peacekeeping and post-conflict reconstruction.

It calls for more women in senior UN positions, including good offices on behalf of the SG, SRSGs, or special envoys, to include provisions on the promotion of gender equality in mission mandates, to appoint more gender advisors, to integrate women's participation in political and economic decision-making from the earliest stage, and to develop effective financial and institutional arrangements to guarantee women's full and equal participation.\(^{112}\) Finally, the police and the military department in DPKO and DFS developed organizational guidelines to realize gender mainstreaming in their daily work.\(^{113}\)

The majority of the existing literature either concentrates on the implementation of SC-Res. 1325 on regional (Barnes et al. 2011; Heinrich-Böll-Stiftung 2008) and national levels (Barnes 2008);\(^{114}\) or the literature focuses on the impact of SC-Res. 1325 on peacekeeping and peacebuilding activities in field mission on the ground.\(^ {115}\) Another branch of academic research carves out different meanings of gender equality underlying the SC-Res. and other documents by doing discourse analysis (Baden and Goetz 1997; Puechguirbal 2010; Väyrynen 2004).

This dissertation seeks to combine the perspectives. On the one hand, it studies the implementation of SC-Res. 1325 in an international bureaucracy (Chapter 3.3). On the other hand, it deconstructs variations in interpreting gender equality in different bureaucratic components of multi-dimensional UN peacekeeping (Chapter 4). To this end, the following section of this chapter begins with elaborating on the conceptualization of UN peacekeeping as international bureaucracy and describes the evolution of its bureaucratic units. The remainder of the following part of the chapter represents the first part of the empirical analysis of this dissertation: it provides facts and figures on gender-related changes in the staff composition, the creation of new bureaucratic units dedicated to mainstream gender equality, and gender-related activities announced in the missions’ mandates. The second part of the empirical analysis (Chapter 4) performs a discourse analysis of core UN documents regarding the respective interpretation of gender.


\(^{114}\) Further information on current developments in national implementation is also available at: http://www.peacewomen.org/naps/, 07/25/2013.

\(^{115}\) See volume 17(2) of International Peacekeeping (2010) that is dedicated to women, peace, and security on the occasion of the tenth anniversary of SC-Res. 1325. For an exception that studies gender equality in the Peacebuilding Commission (Hudson 2010: 119-142; Tryggestaad 2010).
3.3 Gender-Related Changes in the Bureaucratic Peacekeeping Structure (2000-2010)

As outlined above, the research object of this study is the UN's international bureaucracy of complex, multi-dimensional peacekeeping missions. This study takes a constructivist approach and ascribes IOs with the quality of an independent actor.\textsuperscript{116} Once established by an international agreement or treaty among states, the rules and values embedded in a bureaucracy obtain an independent capacity to act on the international scene. Bureaucracies make rules that regulate the social world. But at the same time they create social knowledge and constitute the social world (Barnett and Finnemore 1999: 699). The UN demonstrates its quality as independent actor with considerable power of rule enforcement particularly in the area of peacekeeping (Archer 2001: 81; Hurd 2011: 134; see fundamentally March and Olsen 1984). In this study, the UN peacekeeping bureaucracy is perceived as an independent actor, which contains of the uniformed component and the gender units as organizational sub-units. The process of adapting gender equality as emergent norm tackles the inner life of this bureaucracy. Therefore, the study draws insights from organization theory to untwist and understand the internal adaptation process due to normative shifts in the environment of international security and UN peacekeeping (see also Chapter 2.3).

The first part of the following section applies organization theory with reference to standardized operating procedures to establish UN peacekeeping missions. It further describes the historic evolution of individual administrative branches of the UN peacekeeping bureaucracy as well as its changing roles and cultures as a result of the changing normative context (cf. Jäger and Oppermann 2006). The three following parts of this section provide a detailed empirical picture of gender-related changes in peacekeeping staff, the bureaucratic structure, and planned activities between 2000 and 2010.

3.3.1 UN Peacekeeping as International Bureaucracy

This dissertation focuses on multi-dimensional UN peacekeeping. It analyses the norm adaptation process in the administrative headquarters of peacekeeping in the UN Secretariat in New York and in its field missions. This perspective limits the number of actors that are relevant. The following part shortly describes the universe of possible actors in UN peacekeeping, in order to highlight and justify the selection made.

\textsuperscript{116} For the conceptualization of IOs as instrument, arena, or actor see (Archer 2001; Hurd 2011; Rittberger et al. 2006). For a varying conceptualization with five roles of the UN see (Barnett 2007).
Studies on UN peacekeeping swarm with acronyms of UN agencies and field mission components. But who is who in the issue area and what actors take a decisive role in complex, multi-dimensional UN peacekeeping missions to realize gender equality? As outlined above, the international engagement in crisis situations can be distinguished according to the time of intervention: before, during, or after a conflict. In practice, the phases overlap and actors cannot be reduced to a single phase of engagement. For analytical reasons, however, the schematic presentation offers a clearer picture (see also Figure 4).

Conflict prevention includes early warning and information gathering on latent conflicts as well as diplomatic initiatives and “good services” to mediate contradictory positions between states or groups within a state that might escalate towards an outbreak of violence (Guéhenno 2008: 17). Single states, regional actors, such as the European Commission, NGOs or individual personalities, such as the SG, researchers like Johan Galtung, or diplomats, might undertake these activities. With regard to UN agencies UNDP is most active in fighting against structural causes of conflict, e.g. poverty, diseases, or ecological catastrophes (Barnett et al. 2007: 38). During a conflict, humanitarian NGOs and national development agencies provide essential assistance for the civil population. Further, the UNHCR, the UN Women, the Office for the Coordination of Humanitarian Affairs and the Office of the High Commissioner for Human Rights are active in the endeavor to alleviate human suffering in conflict situations (Barnett et al. 2007: 38pp.). Referring to peacemaking, i.e. diplomatic action to bring hostile parties to a negotiation agreement, the Department of Political Affairs is the designated UN agency (Guéhenno 2008: 17; Peck 2004: 326). Again single states, regional actors, NGOs or single persons might also be engaged in efforts to facilitate peace agreements. Peace enforcement involves the military engagement of single states, multi-lateral coalitions, and regional actors, such as NATO or the Economic Community of the West African States, or the UN to restore international peace and security with the authorization of the Security Council (Bellamy and Williams 2005).

After a cease-fire and peace agreement has been reached, UN peacekeeping helps to preserve the peace and assists in Disarmament, Democratization, Reintegration, Security Sector Reform and the observation of elections (Guéhenno 2008: 18). Complex, multi-dimensional peacekeeping missions are installed upon request of conflict parties that stipulates in a peace agreement the establishment of such a mission. Thus, the UN peacekeeping activities considered in this dissertation are limited to UN engagement after an official peace agreement has been signed until
local authorities take over the responsibility. In such missions, the Department for Peacekeeping Operations (DPKO) takes the lead of the preparation and coordination (Peck 2004: 326). Increasingly, the UN police unit (UNPOL) is involved (Greener 2011). The Department of Field Support (DFS) is responsible for technical and logistical support of the missions. Besides, the Code and Discipline Unit (CDU), situated in the DFS is responsible for investigating allegations of sexual exploitation and abuse.

As an agency that supports long-term reconstruction and development activities, the UN Peacebuilding Commission (UNPBC) was established in 2005. At the World Summit the international community agrees upon the creation of the UNPBC to enhance coordination among the various actors involved. Further, the Peacebuilding Fund ensures stable financial resources (Weinlich 2008). For the time being, Burundi, the Central African Republic, Comoros, Côte d'Ivoire, Guinea-Bissau, Guinea, Haiti, Kenya, Liberia, Nepal, and Sierra Leone are the focus countries.117 Furthermore, NGOs, national authorities, and regional organizations as well as UNHCR, UNDP, or UN Women are engaged in long-term recovery and development efforts.

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Figure 5: Variety of Peacekeeping Actors

Pre-conflict

Conflict

Post-conflict


The UN peacekeeping bureaucracy in this dissertation encompasses multi-dimensional administrative branches at the headquarter level of UN peacekeeping in New York as well as the management components of UN peacekeeping missions on the ground. Thus, the DPKO, the Department of Field Support (DFS), and the UN Police (UNPOL) at the international level and the civilian, military and police unit at the field level are the relevant administrative branches for this analysis. With regard to the field level the dissertation includes multi-dimensional UN peacekeeping missions only. In total, the DPKO has led 64 peacekeeping missions worldwide. For a comprehensive list of all UN peacekeeping missions, see Annex I. The United Nations Hybrid Operation in Darfur (UNAMID) is co-led with the African Union and therefore not enlisted.
Table 3: Multi-dimensional DPKO-led Peacekeeping Missions (2000-2010)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>ACRONYM</th>
<th>LOCATION</th>
<th>ESTABLISHED - COMPLETED</th>
<th>SECURITY COUNCIL RESOLUTION</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>UNMIK</td>
<td>Serbia (Kosovo)</td>
<td>1999 to date</td>
<td>SC-Res. 1244</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>UNAMSIL</td>
<td>Sierra Leone</td>
<td>1999 – 2005</td>
<td>SC-Res. 1270</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>UNTAET</td>
<td>Timor-Leste</td>
<td>1999 – 2002</td>
<td>SC-Res. 1272</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>UNMISIT</td>
<td></td>
<td>2002 – 2005</td>
<td>SC-Res. 1410</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>UNMIT</td>
<td></td>
<td>2006 – 2012</td>
<td>SC-Res. 1704</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>MONUC</td>
<td>Democratic Republic of the Congo (DRC)</td>
<td>1999 – 2010</td>
<td>SC-Res. 1279</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>MONUSCO</td>
<td></td>
<td>2010 to date</td>
<td>SC-Res. 1925</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>UNMIL</td>
<td>Liberia</td>
<td>2003 to date</td>
<td>SC-Res. 1509</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>UNOCI</td>
<td>Côte d’Ivoire</td>
<td>2004 to date</td>
<td>SC-Res. 1528</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>MINUSTAH</td>
<td>Haiti</td>
<td>2004 to date</td>
<td>SC-Res. 1542</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ONUB</td>
<td>Burundi</td>
<td>2004 – 2006</td>
<td>SC-Res. 1545</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>UNMIS</td>
<td>Sudan</td>
<td>2005 – 2011</td>
<td>SC-Res. 1590</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

See also, (Hänggi and Scherrer 2008a: 9).

Although security policies are among the top priorities of national policies, which even touch questions of national identity, member states transfer competences to the international UN peacekeeping bureaucracy to conduct concrete field operations. The discussions in the SC about an international engagement in a (post-)conflict situation might be highly controversial. Yet, once member states take the decision in the SC to establish a peacekeeping operation the concrete planning and support of field missions is transferred to the SG and the secretariat. Thus, the UN bureaucracy proceeds to a large extent independently in the process of establishing and maintaining UN peacekeeping missions (cf. Barnett and Finnemore 2004: 27f.; Rittberger et al. 2006: 99).

In general, the standing operating procedure to install a UN peacekeeping mission proceeds in the following steps. As outlined above, multi-dimensional peacekeeping missions are per definitionem installed upon request of conflict parties that stipulates in a peace agreement the establishment of a UN peacekeeping mission (1). In the next step, the SC holds discussions on that request. Generally, it is the SC who decides to
establish in principle an operation.\textsuperscript{119} It then asks the SG to present a report with detailed recommendations for the operation (2). After comprehensive consultations with the conflict parties, which might include a fact-finding mission, the SG and his/her administrative staff presents a detailed operation schedule to SC members (3). Most commonly, the SC takes over the recommendations and adopts a second resolution that officially establishes the operation and defines the particular mandate (DPKO 2003: 3f.; Shimura 2001: 48+50). Then, the SG appoints with approval of the SC the leadership personal of the field mission (4), arranges the list of personnel contributing countries,\textsuperscript{120} and prepares the budget, which must be approved by the Advisory Committee for the Administrative and Budgetary Questions of the GA, by the Fifth Committee, and finally by the full GA (Shimura 2001: 51f.).

The illustration of the decision-making process in the planning phase (Figure 5) shows that the concrete design of a UN peacekeeping operation is rather a product of routinized procedures than the bargaining result of national interests between SC member states (cf. Benner et al. 2011: 61).\textsuperscript{121} The bureaucratic apparatus acts upon a standardized operating procedure; the political body legitimizes the decisions \textit{ex post} (see fundamentally Allison and Zelikow 1999: 143-196; Jäger and Oppermann 2006: 111; Rittberger et al. 2006: 90). The administrative branches in the UN Secretariat responsible for peacekeeping, including the headquarters in field missions, are organized in a clear hierarchic structure with defined competencies and clear cut lines of command and control. It is assumed that functional and authoritative differentiation with clear lines of command leads to an efficient manner of labor division (Meyer and Rowan 1977: 342). The underlying maxim of UN peacekeeping is to increase the organizational output and to maximize its effectiveness. Thus, the organizational form of UN peacekeeping can be considered as a bureaucracy that operates on the international level (see also Barnett and Finnemore 2004; Benner et al. 2011; Seibel 2009b).\textsuperscript{122}

\hfill

\begin{footnotesize}
\begin{itemize}
  \item[119] According to the United for Peace Resolution, it is also possible that the GA convenes for deciding on a peacekeeping mission if the SC decision-making process is blocked by veto powers (Assembly 1950: 10).
  \item[120] The selection process is based on considerations of geographical balance, political neutrality, and past peacekeeping record. Bangladesh, India, Nigeria, and Pakistan range at the top of personnel contributing countries for the last decade. The statistical data on personnel contributing countries is online available at: http://www.un.org/en/peacekeeping/resources/statistics/contributors_archive.shtml, 07/25/2013.
  \item[121] Please note, the description is limited to the formal decision-making process. For an overview of informal ways of exerting influence on UN decision-making see (Smith 2006).
  \item[122] For an analysis of UN peacebuilding as network see (Herrhausen 2009).
\end{itemize}
\end{footnotesize}
However, the UN lacks one decisive factor to act independently from member states: it has no army or standing capacities of police forces. Instead, it needs to generate troops and civilian police from member states. Although the individual peacekeepers are still members of their national armies, they serve “under the operational control of the UN and are expected to conduct themselves exclusively in accordance with the international character of their mission” (DPKO 2003: 4). In doing so, the character of peacekeeping missions is explicitly international to avoid perceptions of disguised national power politics under the umbrella of moral legitimation provided by the UN (Shimura 2001: 48). Peacekeeping missions have international status. Staff seconded by member states must not serve national interests but act as international civil servants (including a contract of employment with the UN and payment). They are expected to fulfill the mission's mandate in a neutral and impartial manner (Barnett and Finnemore 2004: 21; Smith 2006: 79). Thus, UN peacekeeping fulfills the criteria of impersonality and expertise that characterize bureaucracies and represent its source of authority (cf. Barnett and Finnemore 2004: 18).

In the beginning years of UN peacekeeping, the feedback loop with mechanisms for lessons learnt used to be *ad hoc* and dependent on the individual commitment of senior staff. It was basically Dag Hammarskjöld and Lester B. Pearson, then foreign minister...
of Canada, who decided in the early days of UN peacekeeping upon detailed rules and specific ways to set up a peacekeeping mission. They summarized their proceedings and experiences of UNEF I in the report of the SG in 1958.\textsuperscript{123} The outlined rules and practices as well as the basic principles of consent, impartiality and non-use of force serve as reference for later operations (Shimura 2001: 47). The Office for Special Political Affairs (SPA), headed by USG Ralph Bunche, was the administrative unit in the secretariat responsible for missions' planning and coordination. As a result of expanded mandates outlined in the Agenda for Peace, SPA was expanded too. The Field Operations Division, for example, was integrated in the administrative unit in 1992 and renamed DPKO. In 1993, the DPKO was further reorganized. The Office of Operations, the Office of Planning and Support and the 24-hours situation center were established. Additionally, 50 military officers temporarily on loan from member states strengthened the DPKO (Shimura 2001: 49).

The larger and more complex the administrative structure of UN peacekeeping is, the more diversified are the categories of employment in this administrative branch of the Secretariat. Generally, the professional staff at the UN is categorized in professional grades from P1 to P5 - the higher, the more senior (Smith 2006: 100). International officials are only responsible to the organization and should not receive instructions from their governments. The employment of staff should meet the highest standards of efficiency, competence, and integrity and should adhere to geographical representation (UN 1945: Article 100, 101). At higher levels of authority are directors D1 and D2 and then ASG and USG (Smith 2006: 100). From the director's level upwards, the recruitments are political appointments. The geographical representation is increasingly overruled by national interests (Smith 2006: 105; see also Tinde 2009: 149). The dominance of French appointments as USG in the DPKO is striking in this regard.\textsuperscript{124} At all levels of the UN peacekeeping bureaucracy the balance of regional proportional representation and adequate qualifications for the comprehensive tasks is subject of controversial debate (e.g. Benner and Rotmann 2010: 118; Brahimi 2000: 45).

The Brahimi Report (2000) marks a further reform initiative to enhance the efficiency and effectiveness of UN peacekeeping. Rapid deployment capacities,\textsuperscript{125} adequate


\textsuperscript{124} Four of the last five USGs are French diplomats: Hervé Ladsous (France) since October 2011, Alain Le Roy (France) 2008-2011, Jean-Marie Guéhenno (France) 2000-2008, Bernard Miyet (France) 1997-2000, Kofi Annan (Ghana) 1994-1996.

\textsuperscript{125} The establishment of a standby arrangement system serves this endeavor. In 1994, SG Boutros-Ghali established a database of military, police and civilian personnel indicated by governments that are available for future operations (Brahimi 2000: 17; Shimura 2001: 52).
funding, consistent training, and tight coordination of UN agencies and actors in the field are emphasized as crucial components of successful peacekeeping (Brahimi 2000). All of them are long-lasting demands of practitioners and analysts (e.g. Fetherston 1994: 162-178). Yet, its realization depends not only on organizational reforms of the UN peacekeeping bureaucracy but also on the political will of the member states (Fröhlich 2005: 61).

In terms of feedback and lessons learnt, the SG reports meanwhile regularly to the SC on the progress of each peacekeeping mission (5). On this basis the mandates are renewed, changed, or the withdrawal of the mission is decided. Since Kofi Annan became SG, the consultation between the SRSGs and the Secretariat is strengthened. Personal presentations before the SC and visiting delegations are established to get comprehensive insights in the mission’s activities (Peck 2004). The organizational development of the lessons learnt component shows an increasing recognition of the need to capture field experiences for the improvement of current and future missions (cf. Brahimi 2000: 39). In 1995, a dedicated unit was established. In 2001, the lessons learnt unit merged with the policy planning unit and was named peacekeeping Best Practice Unit (Bellamy et al. 2004: 49). Today, the policy evaluation and training division is one of the four main offices of the DPKO.

Since 2007, the DPKO is comprised of four offices: the Office of Operations, the Office of Rule of Law and Security Institutions (OROLSI), the Office of Military Affairs (OMA), and the Policy Evaluation and Training Division. The DFS is established as an associated, but independent administrative unit, to increase the efficiency particularly in the phase of missions’ deployment (Benner and Rotmann 2007). The comprehensive tasks and diversified organizational sub-units in complex, multi-dimensional UN peacekeeping change the requirements of SRSGs. Whereas analysts of traditional peacekeeping missions highlight the military experience as pre-requisite for SRSGs (James 1990: 1), more recent studies underline the challenge of harmonizing different mission cultures and components, ranging from military, police, civil affairs, electoral, human rights, and administration (see also Greener 2011; Peck 2004: 327).

Having defined the UN peacekeeping bureaucracy and having outlined its historic evolution; the remainder of this chapter documents the structural changes towards

126 For a different perception see (Benner et al. 2011: 3).
gender equality. The time period under study ranges from 2000, the year of adopting SC-Res. 1325, until 2010.

3.3.2 Changing Peacekeeping Staff
In the past six decades, UN peacekeeping has evolved considerably both in scope and numbers. In January 1991, the total number of uniformed peacekeeping personnel was around 10,000. In March 2010, this volume was squared and reached 100,000. The vast majority of UN peacekeeper belongs to military troop contingents. UN police officers and military observers amount roughly 15% of the uniformed personnel in today’s missions. It is remarkable that the proportion of troops, police and military observers is unprecedented balanced in the year 2000 (see Figure 6). This might relate to the low level of peacekeeping engagement in that year. The more total personnel the wider the gap between military troops on the one hand and police and military observers on the other. Yet, the police and observer contingents are constantly growing.

Figure 7: Evolution of uniformed UN peacekeeping personnel

One important aspect of SC-Res. 1325 is the claim for more gender balanced staff in UN peacekeeping headquarters both at the international level in New York and at the field level. This dimension of gender mainstreaming in peacekeeping challenges the existing relationship between the traditional gender roles of masculinized protectors and feminized protected (Willett 2010: 147). SC-Res. 1325 refers to the age-old feminist claim that women have equal rights to participate actively in public affairs – including the security arena. In the long run, the UN peacekeeping bureaucracy aims at reaching a real "gender-balance", which means a 50/50 distribution between male and female staff (DPKO 2004: 4; Hicks Stiehm 2001).

UN Women provides statistical data on the percentage of women in the professional and higher positions with appointments of one year and more in the UN secretariat (see Table 4).\textsuperscript{128} Unfortunately, the surveys comprise the UN Secretariat as a whole. Detailed information on female staff at D- or P-level positions in DPKO or DFS does not exist. Besides, the formats of data ascertainment vary across the individual years. N/a marks that no data is available.

\textsuperscript{128} For an overview of women in the UN Secretariat before 1998 see (Jain 2005: 150).
Table 4: Percentage of female staff in the UN secretariat/ DPKO\textsuperscript{129}

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<tr>
<td>Secretariat</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>USG</td>
<td>11.1%</td>
<td>12.1%</td>
<td>10.5%</td>
<td>13.5%</td>
<td>17.5%</td>
<td>15%</td>
<td>15.4%</td>
<td>17.5%</td>
<td>22.6%</td>
<td>25.9%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ASG</td>
<td>13.0%</td>
<td>10.8%</td>
<td>12.5%</td>
<td>14.6%</td>
<td>22.2%</td>
<td>20.4%</td>
<td>21.2%</td>
<td>23.5%</td>
<td>26.6%</td>
<td>24.6%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>D2</td>
<td>18.8%</td>
<td>19.4%</td>
<td>22.3%</td>
<td>24.8%</td>
<td>27.6%</td>
<td>28.1%</td>
<td>30.4%</td>
<td>23.8%</td>
<td>24.3%</td>
<td>22.8%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>D1</td>
<td>23.7%</td>
<td>29.6%</td>
<td>28.9%</td>
<td>28.8%</td>
<td>32.5%</td>
<td>27.3%</td>
<td>25.3%</td>
<td>28.7%</td>
<td>26.7%</td>
<td>n/a</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>P5</td>
<td>29.3%</td>
<td>29.9%</td>
<td>n/a</td>
<td>n/a</td>
<td>31.3%</td>
<td>31.1%</td>
<td>30.7%</td>
<td>31.6%</td>
<td>29.7%</td>
<td>n/a</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>P4</td>
<td>32.3%</td>
<td>31.5%</td>
<td>n/a</td>
<td>n/a</td>
<td>34%</td>
<td>35.2%</td>
<td>35.9%</td>
<td>35.9%</td>
<td>36.1%</td>
<td>n/a</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>P3</td>
<td>39.4%</td>
<td>37.5%</td>
<td>n/a</td>
<td>n/a</td>
<td>41.3%</td>
<td>41.5%</td>
<td>41.4%</td>
<td>40.5%</td>
<td>41.5%</td>
<td>n/a</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>P2</td>
<td>45.4%</td>
<td>47.0%</td>
<td>n/a</td>
<td>n/a</td>
<td>50.2%</td>
<td>48.9%</td>
<td>49.0%</td>
<td>51.6%</td>
<td>55.2%</td>
<td>n/a</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>P1</td>
<td>64.3%</td>
<td>67.9%</td>
<td>n/a</td>
<td>n/a</td>
<td>n/a</td>
<td>n/a</td>
<td>100%</td>
<td>0%</td>
<td>63.4%</td>
<td>n/a</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total staff</td>
<td>n/a</td>
<td>34.6%</td>
<td>35%</td>
<td>35.7%</td>
<td>37.1%</td>
<td>37.2%</td>
<td>37.4%</td>
<td>37.6%</td>
<td>39.0%</td>
<td>n/a</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Secretariat</td>
<td></td>
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<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total staff</td>
<td>n/a</td>
<td>n/a</td>
<td>&lt;30%</td>
<td>n/a</td>
<td>&lt;30%</td>
<td>&lt;30%</td>
<td>&lt;30%</td>
<td>n/a</td>
<td>n/a</td>
<td>n/a</td>
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</table>


The most obvious result is that the female percentage of staff in the UN secretariat is constantly growing in all positions. Yet, a gender balance of 50/50 has only been fulfilled at the lower professional levels P1 and P2. The higher and more senior the position the lower is the percentage of female staff. This result is not UN specific; it holds probably true for most international organizations, multinational companies and national bureaucracies. The extreme fluctuation in 2006 and 2008 is not explained in the data descriptions. The observation could relate to the small number of persons working at the D2-level. Staff changes of one or two persons produce considerable fluctuation in the total female percentage. The shortfall in 2008 from 30.4% to 23.8% might be such an example. Overall, the percentage of women in the secretariat approaches 40%. The DPKO ranges among the departments with the lowest female percentage; that means fewer than 30%. According to the statistics of UN Women there is no considerable increase of women in the DPKO in the last ten years.

\textsuperscript{129} For any reasons, UN Women provides no surveys for the years 2000 and 2007.
A closer look at the single administrative branches in the DPKO, however, offers a slightly different picture. Until 2007, there has been one USG post in the DPKO. The USG for peacekeeping operations has always been a man. In 2007, the DFS was established. It concentrates on the technical support for field operations and is in terms of influence and representation less important than the DPKO. Yet, it offers a USG post as well. From 2008 until 2012, Ms. Susana Malcorra was the Head of the DFS and lead about 460 persons at headquarters in the field. (Ms. Ameerah Haq followed Ms. Susana Malcorra on 11 June 2012 in this position.) Thus, at USG level the female percentage of staff in DPKO/DFS is 50%. According to the organizational chart DPKO/DFS offer four ASG posts; three in DPKO and one in DFS. In the period of investigation, Mr. Dmitry Titov headed as ASG the OROLSI. There are numerous sub-divisions in this office. One of them is the Police Division, which has been leading by Commissioner Anne-Marie Orler since 2010. The leadership personnel in the Office of Military Affairs are completely male. Lieutenant General Babacar Gaye heads the OMA as ASG. Ms. Carolyn McAskie, former SRSG in Burundi, dedicates her service in establishing a new peacekeeping infrastructure. She was ASG for Field Support in the beginning phase of 2007-2008. In 2008, Ms. Jane Holl Lute took over the position and handed it over to Anthony Banbury in 2009, who has been serving as ASG since then. Finally, Ms. Margot Wallström was appointed SRSG for sexual violence in conflict in 2010. A thorough qualitative research on appointments at the senior management level in the UN peacekeeping bureaucracy in New York reveals considerable changes in the staff composition. Still, women are rare at top positions but there are some appointments and numerous calls for application of women on the respective web pages.

Twelve multi-dimensional DPKO-led peacekeeping missions were active in the period of 2000-2010. The table in Annex II makes obvious that gender balance with regard to staff composition at the leadership level in field missions is far from being realized. In total, eight women have served as SRSG or DSRSG whereas Ms. Leila Zerrougui stayed in office when MONUC changed into MONUSCO in 2010. No woman has ever served as Military Force Commander (MFC) or Police Commissioner (PC). Overall, there are mostly five senior management positions in a field mission: the SRSG, two DSRSGs, the MFC and the PC. The information available on staff

131 All information on appointments except the ASG of operations is available on UN web pages provided by the Department of Public Information, the DPKO or the DFS.
composition – including appointments in the past – varies across the twelve missions. In 2004, Ms. Carolyn McAskie became first SRSG of a complex peacekeeping mission ever. In the period of investigation, 2009 marks the peak with five women in senior leadership positions. Having a woman both as SRSG and DSRSG the mission in Liberia shows the highest female percentage ever, namely 40%.

In addition to the total number of women working in the UN peacekeeping bureaucracy in the field, Annex II offers insights into the practice of recruiting senior management personnel. The pool of candidates perceived as suitable to serve as SRSG is relatively small. Experienced persons are repeatedly appointed. Mr. Alan Doss, for example, served as SRSG in UNAMSIL (2003), in UNMIL (2004-2006), and MONUC (2007-2010). Scholars and experts highlight that the appointment to senior positions within the UN is absolutely nontransparent and involves a high degree of political maneuvering among member states (Rehn and Johnson Sirleaf 2002: 65; Willett 2010: 151). Military experience is considered as indispensable pre-requisite for a SRSG; gender competence has never been decisive for an appointment. There is frustration over the lack of qualified women available for employment in peacekeeping, while at the same time qualified women expressed frustration over not finding a way to gain such employments (Hicks Stiehm 2001: 45f.).

Finally, Annex II reveals a vivid exchange of senior personnel changes between field missions and the peacekeeping bureaucracy in New York. Ms. Carolyn McAskie and Lieutenant General Babacar Gaye served as SRSG in Burundi and as MFC in Congo before their appointments in the DFS and the OMA respectively.132

The third level of peacekeeping staff addressed by SC-Res. 1325 is the composition of the operational units in the field. Since 2006, statistics with detailed gender discriminated data on female staff in the military components (experts and troops) of each mission has been publicly available. Three missions have been already accomplished in 2006. That is why detailed information about the female percentage in UNAMSIL, UNTAET and UNMISSET is missing in the following Table 5. Since 2009, additional information on female police personnel (individual police and formed police units) has been provided for each mission and mission. In the course of the 10th anniversary of SC-Res. 1325 a statistical report on female staff in the military and police components of all UN missions was prepared. According to the DPKO, women make up 30% of the civilian components in peacekeeping missions.133

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132 On the recruiting procedures see also (Shoemaker 2008).
Table 5: Gender statistics of uniformed peacekeeping personnel (2005-2010)\textsuperscript{134}

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<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>military staff</td>
<td>police staff</td>
<td>military staff</td>
<td>police staff</td>
<td>military staff</td>
<td>police staff</td>
<td>military staff</td>
<td>police staff</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2005</td>
<td>total: 37</td>
<td>n/a</td>
<td>total: 32</td>
<td>n/a</td>
<td>total: 13'801</td>
<td>n/a</td>
<td>total: 6'684</td>
<td>n/a</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>female: 0</td>
<td>n/a</td>
<td>female: 1</td>
<td>n/a</td>
<td>female: 150</td>
<td>n/a</td>
<td>female: 96</td>
<td>n/a</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>0%</td>
<td>n/a</td>
<td>3.1%</td>
<td>n/a</td>
<td>1.1%</td>
<td>n/a</td>
<td>0.9%</td>
<td>n/a</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2006</td>
<td>total: 39</td>
<td>total: 33</td>
<td>total: 33</td>
<td>total: 216</td>
<td>total: 8’037</td>
<td>total: 8037</td>
<td>total: 7047</td>
<td>total: 96</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>5.1%</td>
<td>0%</td>
<td>1.9%</td>
<td>1.3%</td>
<td>0.9%</td>
<td>1.0%</td>
<td>1.0%</td>
<td>1.1%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2007</td>
<td>total: 22</td>
<td>n/a</td>
<td>total: 33</td>
<td>n/a</td>
<td>total: 10’787</td>
<td>n/a</td>
<td>total: 7036</td>
<td>n/a</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>female: 0</td>
<td>total: 268</td>
<td>female: 1</td>
<td>n/a</td>
<td>female: 256</td>
<td>n/a</td>
<td>female: 127</td>
<td>n/a</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>0%</td>
<td>1.5%</td>
<td>1.5%</td>
<td>1.3%</td>
<td>2.4%</td>
<td>1.3%</td>
<td>1.8%</td>
<td>1.1%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2008</td>
<td>total: 9</td>
<td>total: 35</td>
<td>total: 17’347</td>
<td>total: 268</td>
<td>total: 7391</td>
<td>total: 7391</td>
<td>total: 7032</td>
<td>total: 1145</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>0%</td>
<td>1%</td>
<td>1.9%</td>
<td>1.5%</td>
<td>1.3%</td>
<td>1.3%</td>
<td>1.3%</td>
<td>1.1%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2009</td>
<td>total: 8</td>
<td>total: 35</td>
<td>total: 17’343</td>
<td>total: 126</td>
<td>total: 7002</td>
<td>total: 7025</td>
<td>total: 7034</td>
<td>total: 1316</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>0%</td>
<td>1.8%</td>
<td>1.5%</td>
<td>1.8%</td>
<td>1.3%</td>
<td>1.8%</td>
<td>2.0%</td>
<td>1.7%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2010</td>
<td>total: 8</td>
<td>total: 8</td>
<td>total: 19’351</td>
<td>total: 402</td>
<td>total: 9’623</td>
<td>total: 1’324</td>
<td>total: 8’744</td>
<td>total: 3240</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>12.5%</td>
<td>2.9%</td>
<td>2.1%</td>
<td>3.6%</td>
<td>2.6%</td>
<td>14.5%</td>
<td>1.6%</td>
<td>4.3%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

\textsuperscript{134} For recent missions detailed statistical information is available for each month. I took the data of December for each year. As ONUB was already deployed in December 2006, the data for this mission are from November 2006. The variance between the months is marginal.
Table 5 illustrates that the percentage of women as uniformed UN staff increases both in complex UN missions and in all UN missions. In 2000, women made up 1.9% of the uniformed components whereas in 2010 3.3% of the uniformed personnel were female. The female percentage in the selected complex, multi-dimensional UN missions is lower than the overall female percentage. This result is surprising. I assumed that missions with police components have more women as UN peacekeepers. Despite some drawbacks in deploying more women in UN peacekeeping missions every year, the overall tendency shows efforts in realizing this aim. The female percentage of the police personnel has only been registered since 2009. In the selected multi-dimensional missions, women police forces make up 7.3% in 2009 and almost 9% in 2010. Thus, even in the short time of registration the percentage of women in the UN police forces is increasing and is more than three times higher than in the military. UNMIL is the only mission where the female percentage in the police forces has decreased from 14.5% (in 2009) to 13.9% (in 2010).

Until 2009, UNMIK was the only mission that had exclusively male peacekeeping personnel. In 2010, the female percentage of the police personnel rose to 12.5%. The considerable increase in only one year relates to the small size of the mission. In total numbers, one women police officer was deployed in UNMIK in 2010. Considering the complete period of investigation, UNOCI is the mission with the lowest female percentage (on average 1.3%). The difference between the number of women in the military and the police forces was with 0.2% (in 2009) and 0.4% (in 2010) rather
negligible. The mission with the highest female participation is UNMIS. Particularly the female percentage in the police forces was with 13.0% (in 2009) and 17.3% (in 2010) exceptional. On average, 1.4% of the military personnel were female. The result that more women work in the police strengthens an intuitive expectation and is not surprising. Yet, surprising is the comparison across single missions. In the largest UN mission in Congo (MONUC/ MONUSCO) the difference between the female percentage in the military and in the police with approximately 1% is rather negligible. Both components, however, show generally poor female representation. Another astonishing result is the variance of women’s participation in the medium-sized missions UNMIL and UNMIS on the one hand; UNOCI on the other hand. The former have a considerable female percentage in the police (13.9% and 17.3% in 2010) whereas UNOCI remains with 1.7% in 2010 far below the average of women in UN police missions. In 2009, even fewer women worked in the police than in the military unit of UNOCI. This result correlates with the absence of women in senior management positions in this particular mission. And the exceptional high female percentage of 8.0% (2006) in ONUB correlates with a female SRSG in the mission. Finally, the few women in the military and police components of UNMIK are counter-intuitive. The strong European engagement in this mission and the tight connection with European integration policies would have suggested more efforts in gender-balanced staff. This result correlates as well with the absence of women in senior management positions.

The low percentage of female peacekeeping personnel in UN missions is inherently linked to the military practice in personnel contributing countries. Many countries continue to prohibit women from military service, and only few allow women to serve in combat roles (DAW 1995: 1). Yet, the major personnel contributing countries are similar for all three missions: Bangladesh, Nigeria, Pakistan for UNMIL; Bangladesh, India, Pakistan for UNMIS; Bangladesh, Jordan, Pakistan for UNOCI. Personnel changes in small missions have evidently a supererogatory high influence on the relation between male and female staff.

It is often mentioned that women in UN peacekeeping still face tremendous discrimination and abuse. This makes potential female peacekeepers reluctant to volunteer for a multi-national mission, in which she is one of very few women (Willett 2010: 152). The pilot project of an all-female police unit from India addresses this

135 See also Gina Tinde who proofed with her data analysis that female senior officials more likely than men in a similar position advocate for the role of women in peace and security operations (2009: 144).
problem. They served in Liberia in 2007.\textsuperscript{137} The first impression shows an increasing willingness of women to apply for a UN mission, in which only women with the same cultural background serve.\textsuperscript{138} In 2008, Sweden followed the example and deployed an all-female police contingent to the peacekeeping mission in East Timor (Hudson 2010: 55). In 2010, an all-female police unit from Bangladesh served in MINUSTAH after the earth-quake in Haiti.\textsuperscript{139}

The outlined changes in UN peacekeeping’s staff towards a more gender-balanced composition could be considered as effort to make the UN peacekeeping bureaucracy more democratic. Both men and women should be represented in the international bureaucracy. Thus, this component of norm adaptation addresses the polity of the international bureaucracy (Baumgärtner 2010: 15).

3.3.3 New Bureaucratic Units

Secondly, SC-Res. 1325 urges the SG to ensure that, where appropriate, field operations include a gender component. The deployment of gender advisers as well as the establishment of gender units (GU) and code and discipline units (CDU) is considered as measures to realize this call.

In general, changes in the bureaucratic structure mark the institutionalization of new ideas and rules (Finnemore and Sikkink 1998: 900; see also Hänggi and Scherrer 2008a; True and Mintrom 2001). In doing so, the promotion of a norm no longer depends on committed individuals, who are by accident in the right position at the right time, but is embedded in the institutional structure (cf. Cohn 2008: 193). If senior staff takes the implementation of SC-Res.1325 seriously, gender advisers and code and discipline units are included in the decision-making process of planning and running a mission. Thus, one might consider the integration of gender components as changes in the politics of UN peacekeeping (Baumgärtner 2010: 15; see also True and Mintrom 2001).

The analysis in this section distinguishes again between the international secretariat in New York and the headquarters in the field missions. To my knowledge, there is neither coherent statistics on gender advisers in UN peacekeeping at the international and the field level nor comprehensive data on gender units and code and discipline units in field missions. In order to document the bureaucratic changes towards gender


\textsuperscript{138} See interviewee 15, p.7.

equality referring to gender components, I draw on diverse sources, including the web pages of individual missions and UN peacekeeping components, DPKO’s progress report “Gender Mainstreaming in Peacekeeping” (2005) as well as information derived from expert interviews.

As outlined in Table 6 and 7, the establishment of single gender advisers and gender units (GU) that comprise more staff dedicated to mainstream a gender perspective in daily peacekeeping activities begins earlier at the field level than in the peacekeeping bureaucracy in New York. The first GU ever was established in UNTAET in 2000.\footnote{Henry Carey alleges that the first GUs was established in Kosovo and East Timor in 1999 (2001: 58). Yet, according to the experts I interviewed, the GUs was established in 2000 and 2003 respectively (see also DPKO/DFS 2010b: 40).} From 1999 until 2005 a gender specialist worked in the Human Rights Division of UNAMSIL (DPKO 2005: 33). In 2005, a gender unit with at least on full-time gender adviser was established in that mission. Although the mandates of UNMIK and MONUC show no reference to “gender” or “women”, MONUC established a GU in 2002; UNMIK in 2003 (Hall-Martin 2011: 45; Whitworth 2004: 130). MINUSTAH was the first mission that disposed a GU right from the beginning of the mission’s deployment in 2004. In 2004, the first gender adviser was appointed in DPKO in New York to provide policy guidance gender advisers in the field (DPKO/DFS 2010b: 40). In 2005, the shocking news about UN peacekeepers’ involvement in sexual exploitation and abuse resulted in immediate bureaucratic changes. Six of seven UN missions active in 2005 established a code and discipline unit in the very year. In 2005, a CDU was also established in DPKO. Two years later it was established in DFS, the partner agency of DPKO. It deals with accusations of incidences of sexual exploitation and abuse by contacting the member states and informing the victims about initiated disciplinary measures.\footnote{See online at: http://www.un.org/Depts/dpko/CDT/index.html, 07/25/2013.} Furthermore, CDU develops training tools to increase the gender awareness of newly deployed UN staff. Today, all multi-dimensional UN peacekeeping operations have a CDU.\footnote{See online at: http://cdu.unlb.org/AboutCDU/OurMandate.aspx, 07/25/2013. Unfortunately, not all missions provide information when they exactly installed a CDU. If there is no detailed information available I assigned the creation of the CDU to the year the mission was established.} Since 2005, every multi-dimensional UN peacekeeping mission has at least one gender adviser. According to the mission’s web pages, MONUSCO has 7 female and 2 male
professionals in the gender teams in the office in Kinshasa and in the Eastern Regional Office;\textsuperscript{143}

UNMIL indicates 5 female and 3 male professionals in the code and discipline unit.\textsuperscript{144} There is a correlation between female staff in senior positions and the number of gender advisers in field missions. UNMIL, MINUSTAH, ONUB, UNMIS and MONUSCO have women as SRSG or DSRSG and the gender units comprise five people minimum, often male and female staff.

Table 6: Gender Components in the Field Missions

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<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>2000</th>
<th>2001</th>
<th>2002</th>
<th>2003</th>
<th>2004</th>
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<th>2007</th>
<th>2008</th>
<th>2009</th>
<th>2010</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>UNMIK</td>
<td>GU</td>
<td>CDU</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>UNAMSIL</td>
<td>gender adviser (1999)</td>
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<tr>
<td>UNTAET</td>
<td>GU</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>UNMISET</td>
<td>GU + CDU</td>
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<tr>
<td>MONUC</td>
<td>GU</td>
<td>CDU</td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>MONUSCO</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>UNMIL</td>
<td>GU</td>
<td>CDU</td>
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<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>UNUB</td>
<td>GU + CDU</td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>UNMIS</td>
<td>GU + CDU</td>
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</table>

The structural changes towards gender-equality at the field level show an impressive speed. Whereas the structural changes at in the DPKO and the DFS, by contrast, are rather slowly exercised. In the DPKO in New York the first gender adviser was appointed in 2003 (see Table 7).\textsuperscript{145} Prior to the appointment of Comfort Lamptey as gender adviser at P4-level, SG Kofi Annan had strengthened the importance of the creation of new posts to gender mainstreaming in DPKO for several years (see also Chapter 1.2.3). In 2007, an additional P5-level post for gender mainstreaming was


\textsuperscript{145} See, A/57/776, paragraph 31; online available at: http://daccess-dds-ny.un.org/doc/UNDOC/GEN/N03/312/45/PDF/N0331245.pdf?OpenElement, 02/05/2012.
created. Comfort Lamptey was upgraded and Clare Hutchinson took her P4-level position. By 2009, the overall team in the DPKO’s GU counts seven persons. The main responsibility of the gender advisers in New York is to develop coherent system wide strategies and to support gender advisers in the field missions.

In general, the documentation of gender-related components and gender advisers in the field missions is far better than the gender-related documentation in the DPKO/ DFS. The public information about gender advisers in the OMA and the UNPOL is even worse. According to my interviewees, the UNPOL started with a gender focal point in 2007. That means a person is appointed to manage gender-related activities on top of one’s general work load. In 2008, the focal point was transformed to a full-time gender adviser. Recently, the UNPOL set up an International Network of Female Police Peacekeepers. It aims at providing a platform to promote the contributions of female police officers to peacekeeping operations and at encouraging women to take part in national police service and UN missions to increase participation of female police in UN missions.

OMA has a gender adviser since 2009.

Table 7: Gender Components in the International Secretariat

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>2000</th>
<th>2001</th>
<th>2002</th>
<th>2003</th>
<th>2004</th>
<th>2005</th>
<th>2006</th>
<th>2007</th>
<th>2008</th>
<th>2009</th>
<th>2010</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>DPKO/ P5</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>DPKO/ P4</strong></td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>DPKO/ GU</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>2</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>5</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>DFS/ CDU</strong></td>
<td>x</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>x</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>OMA</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>gender adviser</td>
<td>gender adviser</td>
<td>gender adviser</td>
<td>gender adviser</td>
<td>gender adviser</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>UNPOL</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>gender focal point</td>
<td>gender adviser</td>
<td>gender adviser</td>
<td>gender adviser</td>
<td>gender adviser</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The formation of gender components in the UN peacekeeping bureaucracy inherently relates to the deployment of dedicated staff that upholds the gender perspective in all aspects of UN peacekeeping. The specialized staff organizes, for instance, gender-sensitive trainings for UN personnel both in field missions and in the DPKO/ DFS. It seeks to incorporate gender-related measures right from the beginning of a planning phase of new UN missions. The initiative to change UN peacekeeping activities

146 This information is derived from the interview with Clare Hutchinson in 2009.
towards gender equality is rooted in the SC-Res.1325. It “[recognizes] the urgent need to mainstream a gender perspective into peacekeeping operations”. Herewith, the realization of gender equality as emergent norm results in policy changes of the UN peacekeeping bureaucracy (Baumgärtner 2010: 15). This third aspect of changes in the peacekeeping activities builds the final part of this section.

3.3.4 Broad Range of Gender-Related Activities

SC-Res.1325 highlights gender-related activities in different phases of international engagement. It “[c]alls on all actors involved, when negotiating and implementing peace agreements, to adopt a gender perspective”; It recognizes “[t]he special needs of women and girls during repatriation and resettlement and for rehabilitation, reintegration and post-conflict reconstruction”; Or it calls for “[m]easures that ensure the protection of and respect for human rights of women and girls, particularly as they relate to the constitution, the electoral system, the police and the judiciary”. Furthermore, it addresses local conflict parties and “[c]alls to take special measures to protect women and girls from gender-based violence, particularly rape and other forms of sexual abuse, and all other forms of violence in situations of armed conflict”. Finally, the resolution “[e]mphasizes the responsibility of all States to put an end to impunity and to prosecute those responsible for genocide, crimes against humanity, and war crimes including those relating to sexual and other violence against women and girls”.

Thus, the range of proposed gender-related activities in the SC-Res.1325 comprises on the one hand different phases of international engagement and addresses on the other hand different actors.

The very aim of the UN peacekeeping bureaucracy is to prepare and support UN missions in the field. And the very basis of peacekeeping activities in the field is to fulfill the mission’s mandate. In order to document changes in UN peacekeeping activities towards gender equality, I draw on the initial mandates of the selected twelve complex, multi-dimensional peacekeeping operations. The mere reference to activities related to gender equality gives the norm legitimacy and serves as a constant reminder (Hicks Stiehm 2001: 45). I do not include progress reports what measures are actually conducted. And I do not include assessments whether the activities have a positive impact on the process of gender-sensitive peace consolidation in the host society. These dimensions depend on numerous aspects that exceed the scope of this dissertation. Instead, the analysis of the initial mission mandates offers insights how
the UN peacekeeping bureaucracy at the international and the field level realizes gender equality in everyday situations. What gender-related measures are proposed in the mandates of multi-dimensional missions? Do the activities change throughout the period of investigation? And what actors are addressed?

The most fundamental finding of the investigation is that all mandates of multi-dimensional UN peacekeeping missions deployed after 2000 (except SC-Res.1410, which mandated UNMIS) refer explicitly to SC-Res. 1325 (see also Hudson 2010: 55). This is strong evidence that the decision-makers recognize the relation between sustainable peace and gender equality in post-conflict situations. The mandates of UNAMSIL and UNTAET contain gender-related references even though they were launched already in 1999. The need for appropriate training of UN personnel, including gender-related provisions, is highlighted in exactly the same wording:

“The Security Council […] [u]nderlines the importance of including in UNAMSIL personnel with appropriate training in international humanitarian, human rights and refugee law, including child and gender-related provisions”.\textsuperscript{148}

“The Security Council […] [u]nderlines the importance of including in UNTAET personnel with appropriate training in international humanitarian, human rights and refugee law, including child and gender-related provisions”.\textsuperscript{149}

UNMIK and MONUC that were also established in 1999 have no gender-related reference in their mandates. Table 8 provides an overview which actors are addressed and what gender-related measures are proposed in the mandates.


Table 8: Gender-Related Measures in Mission Mandates

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>ACRONYM</th>
<th>SC RESOLUTION</th>
<th>ADDRESSEES</th>
<th>DETAILS OF GENDER-RELATED MEASURES</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>UNMIK</td>
<td>1244 (1999)</td>
<td>no reference</td>
<td>gender-sensitive training</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>UNAMSIL</td>
<td>1270 (1999)</td>
<td>UN</td>
<td>gender-sensitive training</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>UNTAET</td>
<td>1272 (1999)</td>
<td>UN</td>
<td>gender focal points</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>UNMISET</td>
<td>1410 (2002)</td>
<td>UN</td>
<td>gender-focal points</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>UNMIT</td>
<td>1704 (2006)</td>
<td>local parties</td>
<td>gender-sensitive relief and recovery assistance</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>compliance with zero-tolerance policy on sexual exploitation and abuse</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>disciplinary measures in cases of misconduct</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>MONUC</td>
<td>1279 (1999)</td>
<td>no reference</td>
<td>protection of women against sexual and gender-based violence</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>MONUSCO</td>
<td>1925 (2010)</td>
<td>local Government</td>
<td>compliance with zero-tolerance policy on sexual exploitation and abuse</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>disciplinary measures in cases of misconduct</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>UNMIL</td>
<td>1509 (2003)</td>
<td>local parties</td>
<td>gender-sensitive DDR protection of human rights, with particular attention to vulnerable groups, including women</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>UNOCI</td>
<td>1528 (2004)</td>
<td>local Government</td>
<td>gender-sensitive DDR gender-sensitive repatriation/resettlement human rights protection, including violence against women; end impunity</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>MINUSTAH</td>
<td>1542 (2004)</td>
<td>local Government</td>
<td>gender-sensitive police reform consistent with democratic policing standards, including gender-sensitive training gender-sensitive DDR administrative assistance to ensure representative voter participation, including women human rights protection, including violence against women; accountability for abuses gender-sensitive humanitarian assistance</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ONUB</td>
<td>1545 (2004)</td>
<td>local Government</td>
<td>human rights protection, including violence against women; end impunity gender-sensitive DDR</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>UNMIS</td>
<td>1590 (2005)</td>
<td>local parties</td>
<td>prevention of sexual violence against women gender-sensitive DDR</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>compliance with zero-tolerance policy on sexual exploitation and abuse disciplinary measures in cases of misconduct need for appropriate gender expertise in peacekeeping operations</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>gender-sensitive pre-deployment training disciplinary measures in cases of misconduct</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
The mandates of early missions, such as UNAMSIL, UNTAET and UNMISET address the UN to provide appropriate training that includes gender-related provisions or to establish focal points for gender and HIV/AIDS.

UNMIL and MINUSTAH direct the proposed measures to put gender equality into practice solely to local parties and the transitional government in the host country. They highlight the need for particular attention to women in human rights promotion as well as in DDR programs. The mandate of MINUSTAH additionally underlines a gender-sensitive police reform consistent with democratic policing standards, including gender-sensitive training. Furthermore, SC-Res. 1542 highlights administrative assistance to ensure representative voter participation, including women. No other mandate refers to gender-sensitive police reforms towards democratic standards or a democratic representation of voter participation. Gender-sensitive DDR programs, gender-sensitive humanitarian assistance, and special protection of women against sexual violence are measures that are proposed in several mandates.

SC-Res. 1592 (2005) that mandates UNMIS includes for the first time the call for compliance with the zero-tolerance policy on sexual exploitation and abuse as well as the demand for disciplinary measures in cases of misconduct. The resolution directs this call to the UN as well as troop contributing countries. The mandates of UNMIT (2006) and MONUSCO (2010) repeat the demands for compliance with the zero-tolerance policy on sexual exploitation and abuse as well as disciplinary measures in cases of misconduct. The former addresses the call, however, towards the UN and the member states more generally; the latter considers the UN and the local Government as responsible to realize these gender-related measures.

The proposed measure of gender-sensitive training for UN personnel as underlined by the mandates of UNAMSIL and UNTAET is not repeated in following mission mandates. Only SC-Res. 1592 that mandates UNMIS includes the proposal for gender-sensitive pre-deployment trainings -this time for troop contributing countries.

The proposal of establishing gender components is even more diverse. The mission’s mandate of UNMISET proposes gender focal points; UNOCI underlines the need for a gender and child protection component; and MONUSCO considers the establishment of women’s protection advisers as most important.

One might argue that later missions’ mandates contain more aspects of gender equality and describe the activities more detailed. Yet, Table 8 illustrates that the mission’s mandate of MINUSTAH, which was launched in 2004, contains far more concrete
aspects of gender equality than SC-Res. 1704, which mandates UNMIT (2006). The latter contains rather general statements to include gender-sensitive relief and recovery assistance, gender mainstreaming in mission’s policies, pre-deployment training and compliance with zero-tolerance policy on sexual exploitation and abuse. The investigation shows that there is neither a coherent procedure of what is proposed as gender-related measures in the mission mandates nor who is responsible to realize them.

3.4 Findings I: Strong rhetorical commitment, weak procedural coherence

Ten years after SC-Res. 1325 had passed, the official commitment to integrate gender equality in UN peacekeeping is striking: a you tube video on the entry website of the Department for Peacekeeping Operations, for example, informs on the issue; the International Peacekeepers Day 2009 was dedicated to women; the contributions of women in UN missions are highlighted; and "gender and peacekeeping" is a separate issue-category on the website of the DPKO as well as on several mission’s websites. But what are the implications of these gender-related announcements? Do they represent a changing culture of UN peacekeeping and do they imply measures to realize gender equality (cf. Hwang and Suarez 2005)? Or do they stand for a rhetorical adoption of the name “gender equality” but more dimensions of the concept are not translated into the new context (see fundamentally Brunsson 1989; Czarniawska and Sevón 2005: 9; cf. Goertz and Mazur 2008: 22ff.)?

From a statistical perspective, the number of female staff has been constantly growing, several all-female police units have served in multi-dimensional UN missions all over the world, all current field missions have established a gender unit with at least one dedicated gender adviser, and after SC-Res. 1325 was adopted, almost all mission mandates refer to it. Thus, empirical evidence shows: gender equality has developed from a marginal to a salient issue in UN peacekeeping.

A closer look behind the label “gender and peacekeeping”, however, reveals a broad range of activities and a broad range of actors involved in the realization of the emergent norm. The planning and set up of a UN peacekeeping mission follows more or less standardized operating procedures. Yet, there is no coherent standard operating procedure to realize gender equality in multi-dimensional UN peacekeeping. The decision-makers of an individual mission mandate decide whether they include gender-sensitive trainings for UN personnel or for troop contributing countries or for both; whether they highlight the need for democratic reforms of the local police force
and voting participation in the host society or whether they concentrate on the compliance with the zero-tolerance policy on sexual exploitation and abuse. According to organizational theory, the existence of standard operating procedures marks an important step of organizational change towards new external demands (Allison and Zelikow 1999: 169; Brunsson 2000: 8). This step in regard to putting gender equality into practice has not been taken place in the UN peacekeeping bureaucracy.

All of these measures are important aspects of translating the abstract norm of gender equality into concrete UN peacekeeping practice. But the vagueness of the norm allows actors to stick to their own interpretations (Baden and Goetz 1997; Van Kersbergen and Verbeek 2007: 221).¹⁵⁰ This room for maneuver bears the risk that actors undertake activities that are easy for them to implement but that do not target the core problems of reproducing gender inequality in the context of UN peacekeeping. In the abstract, gender equality is supported unanimously. But when it comes to the level of implementation, disputes over the meaning and specific actions often occur (cf. Sandholtz 2008: 103f.; Wiener 2008).

Even the standardized establishment of Gender Units and Code and Discipline Units in the UN peacekeeping bureaucracy is only a limited indicator for the realization of gender equality on the ground. Is the gender unit staffed adequately? Are the gender components involved in the strategic planning of the mission? And what activities are exercised to realize gender equality? At best, the establishment of a separate gender unit at headquarters level could provide systematic guidance for otherwise isolated gender activities. It helps to bring the issue to the awareness of highest ranking debates on mission’s strategic and budgetary planning. At worst, the gender unit exists only pro forma. The lack of adequate funding and personnel limits the opportunities to make any difference towards gender-sensitive peacekeeping. Another negative effect might be that peacekeeping staff considers the separate gender units to be responsible for the realization of gender equality and do not reflect on different needs and perspectives of women and men in their respective area (DPKO 2004: 16). This reaction even contradicts the idea of gender mainstreaming that aims at integrating a gender perspective systematically in projects and activities at all levels (cf. Bendl and Schmidt 2012: 7; Carey 2001; Rao and Kellehrer 2005).

Finally, the analysis of the mission mandates reveals that concrete proposals to increase the female percentage of UN peacekeeping staff are not mentioned at all. This is astonishing as this aspect is explicitly outlined in SC-Res.1325. One might argue

¹⁵⁰ The lack of clear definitions of what the problem of gender equality eventually is and possible solutions has been criticized for many years in different issue areas (see e.g. Lombardo 2008; Zalewski 2010).
that mission mandates concentrate on the peacekeeping activities in the host society and do not include measures that refer to the composition and internal matters of the bureaucratic units. Several mission mandates, however, include gender-sensitive training of the UN staff or the UN’s and member states’ compliance with the zero-tolerance strategy against sexual exploitation and abuse in their canon of gender-related measures. In their independent experts’ assessment Elisabeth Rehn and Ellen Johnson Sirleif pick up the aspect of gender-balanced staff and propose a broadening of the qualifications that are considered as necessary for leadership positions in UN peacekeeping. If experiences in economic development, nation building and reconstruction (in addition to military experiences) are included in the terms of reference, the pool of candidates would be broadened and women would be motivated to apply (2002: 65). Other gender experts, I interviewed, mentioned the need for a quota to attract more women in UN peacekeeping. As in all other working contexts, such as the business world or political appointments, the introduction of a quota system is being controversially discussed in the international peacekeeping bureaucracy. The outlined measures proposed by gender experts to increase the female percentage of UN peacekeeping staff regard different treatment of men and women as means to realize gender equality. Opponents of a quota system or a re-definition of leadership qualifications highlight that gender equality can only be realized by treating men and women strictly equal. Thus, the individual norm interpretation is considered as decisive element in this dissertation in terms of what affects the realization of gender equality in the context of UN peacekeeping. The following chapter further elaborates on this point. The discourse analysis of the interview transcripts reveals internal perspectives on interpreting and framing gender equality in the organizational subunits of the UN peacekeeping bureaucracy. Part 3 of the next chapter enlarges the investigation of the meaning making process towards UN peacekeeping documents. In a ten-year’s period the discursive changes on gender equality in UN peacekeeping is reconstructed.

151 See e.g. interviewee 7, p. 13.
152 See e.g. interviewee 2, pp. 1+4.
4. Shifts in the Discursive Construction of Gender Equality in the UN Peacekeeping Bureaucracy

This dissertation takes a constructivist approach and views UN peacekeeping as a system that produces particular meanings when peacekeepers adapt external norms (see also Duncanson 2009; Orford 1999; Paris 2001a; Whitworth 2004). This chapter takes an internal perspective to the organizational subunits of the UN peacekeeping bureaucracy that deal with the introduction of the new binding norm of gender equality.

To this end, the analysis of this chapter is based on empirical material from the ground. On the one hand, transcripts of expert interviews with UN officials in the respective organizational subunits serve as valuable source to get insights in their understanding and daily practice of realizing gender equality in UN peacekeeping. On the other hand, organizational guidelines that help to translate the vague norm in concrete situations reveal the meanings associated with the norm. Finally, UN peacekeeping strategy papers and regular mission reports are included in the analysis of the discourse on gender equality. It is also crucial to study the relevance of gender equality in documents that do not particularly address the issue.

As derived from several strands of IR theory on norm development and cultural approaches of organizational theory in Chapter 2, the basic assumption of this dissertation is that the individual peacekeeping components need to interpret the meaning of gender equality before they can translate the idea to their respective working environments.

The outline of the gender cultures in the organizational context of UN peacekeeping in Chapter 2.2.3 reveals that the uniformed personnel and the gender advisers bear different gender cultures that can be distinguished as masculine and feminist cultures in UN peacekeeping. Each of them shape varying meanings of gender and translate gender equality differently into their daily working practices. I therefore argue that the significant variance of measures to realize gender equality and of modes for reasoning why gender equality is important is a result of the varying cultures.

Both components translate the new norm in a way that resonates with existing perceptions of the most pressing security problem and appropriate solutions. Discursive shifts in the external environment of the peacekeeping bureaucracy, however, further influence the meaning-making process of gender equality in the UN peacekeeping context. The human security discourse or the evolution of multi-
dimensional UN peacekeeping as most appropriate answer to international security problems changes the perceptions of both uniformed personnel and gender advisers. But their socialization background still differs significantly and it is assumed in this dissertation that the two organizational subunits stick to their habits how new norms are translated in their particular working context.\(^{153}\)

A second argument derived from the literature review is important for the analysis of empirical documents: norm entrepreneurs strategically frame the new norm in a way that resonates with the existing relevant audience group. According to the strategic framing argument outlined in Chapter 1.2.3 it is assumed that gender advisers strategically frame gender equality as part of solving security problems in post-conflict societies. Taking this perspective, norm adaptation increases the effectiveness of UN peacekeeping.

Surprisingly, the analysis of UN peacekeeping documents does not support this second argument. Taking a long-term perspective, the “effectiveness-frame” has not become dominant in the UN peacekeeping documents. Instead, a combination of “effectiveness-frame” and “equity-frame” evolves. The process of realizing gender equality in the UN peacekeeping bureaucracy cannot be described as incremental rapprochement to the dominant military-oriented masculine culture. The norm adaptation can rather be described as interactive process of creating a new understanding of the norm which is fuelled by both the masculine and feminine culture of UN peacekeeping.

The remainder of this chapter is structured into four parts. The first part reveals the internal perspectives on interpreting gender equality whereas the second part focuses on the particular framings of the emergent norm in the organizational subunits. Chapter 4.3 undertakes the comprehensive documentary analysis. And the summary of the findings with possible explanations is outlined in the fourth part of this chapter.

### 4.1 Internal Perspectives on Interpreting Gender Equality

The following part elaborates on the concrete interpretations of gender equality by the interviewed UN peacekeeping personnel. It takes an internal perspective on how the emergent norm is interpreted by those who are responsible for realizing it in their working environment.

As explained in Chapter 2.4.3, twelve interview transcripts are analyzed to extract the individual peacekeepers’ interpretation and framing of gender equality in their

\(^{153}\) For a similar argumentation see (Czarniawska 2005: 11).
SHIFTS IN THE DISCURSIVE CONSTRUCTION OF GENDER EQUALITY IN THE UN PEACEKEEPING BUREAUCRACY

working context. Six interview partners are uniformed staff and therefore members of the military component of the UN peacekeeping bureaucracy; six are gender advisers working in the gender units of the UN peacekeeping bureaucracy.

The questions I asked in the interviews addressed the definition of gender equality, the perceptions of its relevance and concrete translations in the respective working context (see also the topic guides in Annex IV).

In order to transparently document my interpretation of the interview transcripts, I left the quotes in the original language, which is English and German. The main aspects and arguments of the transcripts are summarized before or after the quotes.

The information derived from the interview transcripts serve as interpretation template for the documentary analysis in Chapter 4.3.

4.1.1 Norm Interpretation According to the Uniformed Personnel

The following section deals with the interview transcripts of the uniformed UN personnel. The analysis offers detailed information about how the military component of the UN peacekeeping bureaucracy makes sense of the newly introduced norm of gender equality in its working context. The uniformed personnel work at different functional components, namely the police and the military one, and at the international headquarter in New York and in the field missions.

4.1.1.1 Gender Equality as Equal Job Opportunities

All of the six interviewed uniformed peacekeepers define gender equality explicitly or implicitly as equality between men and women. They mostly focus on equal job opportunities.


“I just think we need to give women the same opportunities as men. […] I would wanna do Special Forces but I couldn’t do it. I am not authorized because of my sex. Ok? And I think it should be about competence and ability. Not about sex. If a woman can do it? Knock him out, she can do it. But they should be treated the same as the man and allowed to at least try” (Interviewee 5, p.8).

“And by the way gender mainstreaming is always re-confusing. It’s not about female. Ok? I mean also the things I say what is gender mainstreaming? Oh, it’s about getting female police officers to police organizations. It’s not about it. It’s the equality
between male and female. […] But you see most of the problematique is about and female promotion” (Interviewee 6, p.4).

The last statement indicates the discrepancy between equal and different treatment to realize gender equality. The interviewee named the female proportion as the biggest part of the problematique referring to gender equality. This results in the promotion of female officers. But does this mean that female applicants are differently treated than male applicants?

Only one (female) uniformed interviewee called for a quota system. Yet, she doesn’t relate this to a special treatment or positive discrimination of women. She rather sees qualified women who do not apply for UN peacekeeping positions: “And those women once they being interviewed and qualified they are given preference. Ok? And finally I understand that that’s part of the whole – gender mainstreaming. […] In the UN you gonna have to implement a quota system. In the beginning. […] Because that’s the only way. […] Because there are women out there. They want careers and don’t wanna be at home with their crying babies” (Interviewee 5, p.1f.).

All uniformed interviewees highlighted qualification as decisive criteria for recruitment and assured that women are qualified and able to fulfill the same tasks as men. The following statement summarizes the majority opinion on this point:

“I think it would be wrong to set a quota. What would be right? What I personally would think is right is to take the ones with the right experience for the job. Ok? It doesn’t matter what kind of job it is. It can be Secretary General. If the candidate is the best qualified person that should be the Secretary General. You can’t say you have five, six departments and they have to be female and they have to be male. […] And I always believe that women can do the same as men. So I can’t say, let’s compromise a bit to get more female” (Interviewee 6, p.8).

Gender equality means for the majority of the interviewed uniformed peacekeeping personnel equal treatment or the active promotion of equal opportunities for men and women. Equal treatment encompass recruiting procedures but also the access to all units of combat, for instance. Here, the national regulations vary across different countries. The US army, for instance, does not allow women to serve in Special Forces; whereas the German army has women in all divisions. Here, equal treatment even includes using the male salutation of military grades.
„Manche Nationen haben Einschränkungen bei Kampftruppen. Wir haben keine. Wir haben bewusst darauf verzichtet, wir haben also Frauen in allen Bereichen der Armee eingesetzt, sogar als Panzerkommandanten oder als Flugzeugführerinnen. Selbst auf U-Booten haben wir Frauen mittlerweile eingesetzt. Schiffen sowieso. Also, da machen wir keine Unterschiede“ (Interviewee 2, p.3f.).


One female uniformed interviewee deviates from the equal-treatment-definition of gender equality. On the one hand, she highlighted that men in the military (in contrast to civilian organizations) have a rather gentlemen-like behavior, such as opening the door for women, helping in the coat etc. She perceives this unequal treatment as expression of respect towards woman. On the other hand, however, she noticed that women, particularly in leadership positions, are under critical review and need to prove their competence. Male colleagues with higher ranks do not need to deliver such a proof; they are respected because of their official rank.

„[…] also im Vergleich zur Bank, muss ich sagen, finde ich werde ich respektvoller, wesentlich respektvoller behandelt bei der Bundeswehr. Also, ich habe immer das Gefühl, dass so die alten Offizierstugenden also vom wirklich Mantel aufhelfen und Tür aufhalten das ist schon noch ein anderes Niveau- als ich das wirklich so bei der Bank erlebt habe“ (Interviewee 3, p.3).

„Und dann machte ich die Tür auf und dann starrten mich ungefähr 300 Offizieren an, multinational. Und ich war die einzige Frau soweit das Auge… Und dann guckten die mich alle so an nach dem Motto ‚Diese Frau hat sich in Zeit und Raum vertan.' […] Also, was mir aufgefallen ist, ist das mir wesentlich mehr Fragen gestellt wurden. […] Also schon so ein bisschen das Gefühl, dass man mir auf den Zahn fühlt. Und ein tschechischer Offizier, der auch da war, hat mir gesagt, er war total verblüfft, dass ich den Vortrag halte, weil das wär in seiner Armee eher unüblich, dass Frauen Vorträge halten“ (Interviewee 3, p.4).

„Ich kenne aber auch andere Fälle, wo eine junge Frau eher ein weicherer Typ ist und ‚ne Gruppe führen muss und fast daran zerbricht, weil die die auch überhaupt nicht akzeptieren. Es gibt so einen gewissen militärischen Duktus wie man spricht also mit Leuten. Und ähm, das kriegt sie für sich nicht so richtig geregelt. Und…und dadurch
dass sie spürt, dass die Akzeptanz nicht so hoch ist, ist es für sie sehr schwierig.“ (Interviewee 3, p.5).

UB: „Wenn jemand dann da die Akzeptanz nicht kriegt, gibt’s so was auch bei männlichen Kollegen? […] Also, dass es da auch eventuell Personen gibt, die einfach keine Führungsqualität haben und dann dadurch auch die Akzeptanz der Gruppe nie bekommen? So ähnlich, wie’s der weiblichen Kollegin ging.“

Interviewee: „Ist‘ne ganz schwierige Frage, weil man irgendwo gibt’s natürlich auch noch den Dienstgrad und wenn jemand einen entsprechend hohen Dienstgrad hat und die Truppe aber nicht mit ihm zurechtkommt, würde ich sagen, werden die sehr lange alles tun, um es doch noch zu schaffen mit diesem Führer. Ne? Da es einfach noch ‘ne ganz klare Befehlsstruktur gibt“ (Interviewee 3, p.6).

One might say that only the first part of gentleman-like unequal treatment can be considered as part of gender equality in the sense of respectful interaction of men and women. The latter two examples of unequal treatment that only women in leadership positions are extraordinarily tested by male recruits rather reveal situations where gender equality is not realized.

Finally, only recently a debate has emerged in the German army how to deal with women soldiers that are pregnant and how they need a special treatment due to their physical restrictions.


To sum up, the interviewed uniformed UN staff predominantly interprets gender equality as equal job opportunities. Male peacekeepers strictly highlight the equal treatment of men and women, whereas some female peacekeepers also point to situations where different treatment seems more appropriate to realize gender equality. The following section documents reflections about the relevance of the newly introduced norm. What role plays gender equality in the working context of uniformed personnel?
4.1.1.2 Gender Equality as Add-on but Crucial for Success

For interviewees from military organizations gender equality is no issue for their daily work. They deal with tough security questions, local people and colleagues die, and they are responsible to establish and guarantee a secure environment.


„In einer Friedensmission […] mit UN-Blauhelmen und Militärbeobachter, die das cease-fire-agreement überwachen und Verhandlungen auf niedrigster Schwelle führen würde ich sagen…kaum ein Thema. Also, ich hab’s zumindest so erlebt. Es wurde nie zum Thema“ (Interviewee 4, p.8).

The police officer I interviewed was the only one that considered gender mainstreaming as a cross-cutting issue for the whole organization in every program and activity. But he highlights that this is a full-time job on its own. People who are dealing with security oriented policing cannot be responsible for introducing gender equality on top of their daily work. Special full-time officers are needed.

“We are trying to handle the cross-cutting issues of policing. Not limited but gender mainstreaming is one of the hundreds that we are trying to handle with on this hand. […] That is our biggest challenges and one of our biggest program for the organization, for the Police Division“ (Interviewee 6, p.1).

“You have to have dedicated people to work on this project. And not as a side-work. It’s a full-time work. […] It’s sometimes come to their mind. It’s a female. It can’t be as a priority where you have crisis in Sudan and Darfur, they are killing people etc. So, ok. Two people are hanging here…you know, injured, kidnapped or whatever…ok…let me focus on gender issue. So, I mean we are fighters” (Interviewee 6, p.3).

During the phase of establishing a field mission all activities are very ad hoc and peacekeepers require a high level of flexibility. Special treatment of gender equality is simply not possible according to this interviewee:

„Und im Kongo war ganz interessant, so würde ich das mal nennen […]. Da war die Mission, die 5.537 Personen umfassen sollte, noch im Aufbau begriffen. Aber die Lady […], die für gender equality zuständig war, die war schon da. Aber sie war ganz
alleine auf Deutsch. Und sie machte das, glaube ich, das erste Mal, hatte auch keine klaren Vorstellungen, was sie eigentlich machen sollte. [...] Also, ihre Vorstellungen waren völlig unrealistisch, weil sie glaubte, sie sei center stage. [...] Und da habe ich ihr doch [...] einen Eimer Wasser in ihre Flasche Wein hineingeschüttet und habe gesagt, so ginge das sicher nicht. [...] Alles hängt mit allem zusammen. Und alles kann auch nur gemeinsam erfolgreich sein oder gar nicht. [...] Und also müsste es ihr genauso ein Anliegen sein, dass die Kommunikation [...] funktioniert, denn nur wenn diese gesamte Kommunikation, die technische Ausstattung mit Fernmeldegeräten klappt, dann kann auch sie darauf rechnen, dass sie eine funktionierende Kommunikation hat. Aber sie kriegt sicher keine privilegierte und vorrangige Behandlung“ (Interviewee 1, p.1f.).

The overall opinion of uniformed peacekeepers is that gender equality is an add-on issue. According to them, the ones responsible for tough security activities cannot work on gender issues at the same time. So why do they think gender equality is necessary in UN peacekeeping at all?

Women are needed in multi-dimensional UN missions. The contact to the local population is necessary to build trust and support the transformation of the security sector towards democratic institutions. With respect to the local culture, particularly in Islamic countries, as well as due to atrocities against the civilian population during the conflict, female uniformed peacekeepers can more adequately contact local women and children. Furthermore, women are needed for particular tasks, such as security body checks of women or interrogations of female victims of sexualized violence.

„Es gibt eine Reihe von Tätigkeiten, die Frauen viel besser durchführen können als Männer. Gerade was im Bereich der interkulturellen Einsatzkompetenz angeht. Dann der ganze Bereich Verbindung halten zur Bevölkerung, wenn es um Frauenorganisationen geht, wenn es um Arbeit mit Kindern geht usw. Dem wird einfach, ich würde mal sagen, nach gesundem Menschenverstand Rechnung getragen, dass eben dann für solche Einsätze zunehmend Frauen genommen werden“ (Interviewee 2, p.2).


“But if I go to a country and I explain to them, they need you because they have thousands and millions of those IDPs [internally displaced persons, UB], displaced
people, women and children. They are scared to see uniform; you know uniform means a nightmare to them. Because that’s what comes to them during the conflict. They would not distinguish between bad soldiers and good soldiers. It’s a uniform issue. It’s the uniform that have tortured them for years and years during the conflict. So, giving them the message like female officers. Here is one of you. They see it automatically as help, as something you can open arm and welcome” (Interviewee 6, p.4).

The interview transcripts of the uniformed male staff reveal that although they do not see gender equality as issue of their personal daily work, they highly value the presence of women and the “female” UN activities of contacting the local population as crucial contribution for the mission’s success. The uniformed UN personnel reiterate the hierarchical structure of gender differences in UN peacekeeping practices.

4.1.2 Norm Interpretation According to Gender Advisers

Analogously to the uniformed personnel, I use six interview transcripts with gender advisers that work in gender units of the UN peacekeeping bureaucracy. Gender advisers work in different functional subunits, such as the military, the police and the civilian component as well as in the field missions. As they have similar socialization backgrounds and bear similarly the feminine culture of UN peacekeeping, they are summarized as gender advisers in this analysis.

4.1.2.1 Gender Equality as Equal Job Opportunities

Similarly to the uniformed personnel, gender advisers define gender equality most commonly as equal job opportunities for men and women. Gender experts further emphasize that gender is not equalized with women but is about the social relation between men and women. The organizational context with common expectations on requirements to participate is included in the analytic perspective. Unequal job opportunities for men and women, for instance, are laid down in the organizational context: Women have restricted access to military positions because of their physical strength and high-level positions are hardly compatible with family life. A re-definition of official requirements to participate would thus reduce structural imbalances and would foster gender equality due to interviewed gender advisers.

“But there is the consensus in the management not to make not to associate just women with gender. […] So for example at the police commissioner’s annual conference. It was not our [female] deputy police adviser who gave a presentation on
the gender. The findings of the survey I did but it was actually the [male] police adviser who gave the strategy” (Interviewee 10, p.3).

“Yes, we need women in decision-making positions. But we also need to change the structural imbalances that don’t allow women to be able to get there. That’s what gender equality is about. It’s not about getting women…or…to me it’s not about the female. […] If women are not good enough to fill the job they don’t have to fill the job. Neither should a man. And it should be about changing the structural role. The way how it is constructed. Women have a certain role and men have a certain role. […] [Y]ou don’t need to be strong in peace-building service now – or even in the military. […] You need brain. And women have the same opportunities than men” (Interviewee 7, p.4).

One strategy to overcome structural imbalances is the UN’s commitment to hire 50% women. Yet, the implications in a gender-balance strategy are diverse as a focal point for women in New York notes. It may have negative effects both for men and for women. Men might feel threatened by the positive discrimination of women and hence reject the policy of addressing gender equality. Women might feel uncomfortable with the positive discrimination of women and hence reject it, too.

“And it was clear from the study that gender balance or achieving gender balance is a concern not only for men who might feel threatened by the policy. Who might feel that they are not promoted because there should be a woman. But it’s also a concern to – women. Because – when women is promoted she might feel that it’s just because it is a woman. And there is a certain stigma related to promotions like that” (Interviewee 8, p.3).

4.1.2.2 Gender Equality as Combat against Sexual Violence, Exploitation and Abuse of Women

In addition to structural imbalances that hinder women to equally participate at all levels of decision-making, incidences of sexual violence, exploitation and abuse clearly contradict the idea of gender equality.

Highlighting the combat against such misconduct as part of realizing gender equality in UN peacekeeping, gender advisers include two other dimensions in their interpretation. On the one hand, they acknowledge the different experiences of men and women in a crisis situation. Sexual violence against women and children is strategically used as means to humiliate warring parties in current crisis (see Chapter 3.2.2). Therefore, the particular protection of women is part of efforts to realize gender equality according to gender advisers.
On the other hand, they point to sexual exploitation and abuse of women as severe human rights violations that are even committed by UN personnel itself. Secretary General Kofi Annan shares this opinion and launched the campaign “Zero tolerance for sexual exploitation and abuse” in 2003 (see also Chapter 2.2.3).154 “Because we deal with misconduct overall, sexual exploitation and abuse certainly has been the focus and the reason why this [to mainstream gender equality, UB] all started. [...] And again unfortunately the nature of the world as such the victims have to be women and children more than men. Although there are men as well but not really as many” (Interviewee 9, p.2).

“Regarding men and women relations we are still trying to demonstrate that women’s bodies are human’s bodies. Which is obvious, I think. But we have to demonstrate. [...] How can I have to demonstrate that? It’s a human being” (Interviewee 11, p.5). Contrastingly, some uniformed UN peacekeepers deliberately exclude this dimension from their interpretation of gender equality.

„[...] [A]lles das, was es mit...Ich sag mal der Abwehr sexueller Gewalt zu tun hat. Das ist weniger... nicht wirklich was, was mit gender equality zu tun hat, aber natürlich im Grunde eine zentrale Aufgabe, die man im Umfeld...unbedingt mitberücksichtigen muss und... Ich hab mit Kofi Annan persönlich ziemlich im Klinsch gelegen, weil ich es nicht verstanden habe, warum er diese zero-tolerance-Forderung aufgestellt hat. Und zugleich, hab ich gesagt, und hab ich auch international... ich wurde von der BBC noch vor relativ kurzer Zeit, BBC World-Service, interviewt, und hab gesagt: ‘In einer idealen Welt ist diese zero-tolerance kein Problem. Aber in der Welt, in der wir leben, halte ich sie für nicht durchsetzbar’ (Interviewee 1, p.2).

The whole complex of sexual exploitation and abuse needs thorough and fair investigations for the accused UN personnel as well as assistance and transparence for the victims. In this regard, gender equality has a strong legal connotation. “It’s the nature of trying to be careful, trying to tend that public information is needed, trying to keep senior management informed and tracking information etc. Making sure that everybody’s rights are observed and legal processes etc. etc. It’s a complicated process” (Interviewee 9, p.5).

Incidences of sexual exploitation and abuse committed by UN peacekeeping personnel in post-conflict societies, e.g. Côte d’Ivoire or Congo, even places the whole goal of the mission at risk. UN peacekeepers enjoy public confidence and act on a firm ethical basis. Even accusations of sexual exploitation and abuse shatter the moral legitimacy and cooperation with the local population, which at times even affect the security risk for UN personnel.

„D.h. alles, was mit Côte d’Ivoire zu tun hatte, war einfach nur noch sexual exploitation and abuse. Das hat dann auch wieder ganz viele Sicherheitsrisiken mit sich für die Mission geführt…so was bedroht dann auch das Mandat der Mission. Es war klar in diesem ganzen Land, die UN Leute vergewaltigen unsere Frauen. Da ist natürlich die Bereitschaft zur Zusammenarbeit nicht mehr besonders groß“ (Interviewee 12, p.2).

Gender advisers in the UN peacekeeping bureaucracy translate the zero-tolerance strategy into training programs that peacekeepers have to consult before and during their deployment. Gender advisers prefer the inclusion of more men in the raising-awareness campaigns. As for young European women it is very difficult to give lessons about respectful sexual behavior in front of a large group of young men from Bangladesh, Jordan or Nigeria to mention the large troop contributing countries only. Men with a similar cultural background have a better access to the target group.


“Perhaps with the military trainings it’s probably better to send a man and we did learn that in Liberia. The chief who usually does…goes to the training and she is very good but she does send one of her deputies who is the conduct and discipline officer to the military. He is an African male and he needs to address the African male and it certainly makes a difference” (Interviewee 9, p.8).

“So that’s pre-deployment training which is good because they need to hear it while they are in their country…They need to be aware. And they need to hear it from their own people. […] You know put in the cultural context and the language if that pertain from their own commanders” (Interviewee 9, p.6).

Referring to the combat against sexual exploitation and abuse the interviewed gender advisers strongly call for more male participation. Peacekeeping activities that are
ascribed as “feminine” should be exercised by male peacekeepers, according to gender advisers; and hierarchical gender differences should be reduced.

4.1.2.3 Gender Equality as Cross-Cutting Issue

With regard to the perceived relevance of introducing gender equality in UN peacekeeping, gender advisers emphasize the cross-cutting nature of gender mainstreaming. According to them, it has to be integrated at the core of every policy program. Gender experts should be consulted already in the planning phase of senior leadership.

“The idea of mainstreaming is still difficult because it means actually putting gender at the core of every policy and program. So it's not just adding it afterwards“ (Interviewee 7, p.7).

“As a gender adviser I have to support the mission…the mission leadership to integrate the gender perspective in peacekeeping agenda” (Interviewee 11, p.1).

Gender advisers perceive the realization of gender equality not as an extra topic that has to be introduced additionally to core security policies. Rather, gender equality is regarded as an indispensable necessity for sustainable peace and long-term reconstruction. A professional new security policy should provide separate financial and human resources for gender advisers.

“You always have to demonstrate that gender equality is after all important. […] You have to convince people that gender equality is not something else but something that we have to add value to our works. Because you cannot achieve peace. You cannot achieve security if you don’t work with men and women. And it’s important for us to show that” (Interviewee 11, p.2).

“We need…and I want money for women… and we need for every project of the mission to have a women component” (Interviewee 11, p.3).

Gender advisers are deployed in the UN peacekeeping bureaucracy to introduce the new norm gender equality into the context of security-related UN peacekeeping activities. This is accompanied by reflecting on traditional peacekeeping practices, on gender dimensions of international security situations as well as on a gendered division of work within the “male” military activities that are more dangerous and more important for the overall mission and the “female” activities that encompass lower civilian tasks.

In order to give concrete advice and to actually change every day practices gender advisers translate the general reflections on gender constructions in specific
recommendations. They emphasize that treating women differently is needed to overcome structural imbalances; that the support from men, particularly from the senior leadership, is important for the acceptance of the norm and that gender equality is a core aspect of international security and the very basis of the mission’s moral legitimacy.

4.1.3 Summary: Interpretations correspond to gender cultures

The main conclusions of this discourse analysis are that the uniformed personnel share a similar interpretation of gender equality, which can be delineated from the gender advisers’ interpretation. Furthermore, the interpretation templates proposed by the interviewed UN peacekeeping staff correspond with the features of a masculine and feminine culture of UN peacekeeping derived from the academic literature in Chapter 2.2.3.

In the following, the concrete results are summarized and Table 9 provides a further illustration. Both uniformed personnel and gender advisers define gender equality as equal job opportunities for men and women. The uniformed personnel, however, highlight the strength and capacity of individual women to fulfill UN peacekeeping tasks whereas gender advisers address the reduction of structural imbalances to realize equality between men and women. In doing so, uniformed peacekeepers and gender advisers propose different measures to realize equal job opportunities.

The majority of uniformed staff emphasizes that women and men should be trained in all kinds of military activities, including Special Forces. And if women are qualified they should be appointed to those positions, which are in some national armies reserved for men. In this regard, one female uniformed peacekeeper favors a quota system but only if the women are appropriately qualified and trained for the positions. Thus, men and women should be strictly equally treated.

Gender advisers, by contrast, underline that women and men have different roles in UN peacekeeping. The limited access to all military areas as well as to high-level positions is not caused by less qualification and trainings; it results from the prescribed roles for female peacekeepers according to the gender advisers. Thus, their propositions to realize gender equality point to the different treatment of men and women. Women, for example, have less physical strength. But the ability to oversee a situation and take the right steps in a crisis situation should be also considered as decisive criteria for recruitment. At the same time, a strict adherence to a 50/50, gender-balanced recruitment is also questioned by some gender advisers. A strict quota
might have negative effects on men’s and women’s support for gender equality measures.

In line with the feminine culture of UN peacekeeping described in Chapter 2.2.3, gender advisers do not limit their interpretation to the liberal argument of equal opportunities. The perception that combating sexual violence, exploitation, and abuse is part of gender equality shows a more complex perspective on the norm. The call of gender advisers to recognize the particular protection of female victims of violence reveals a fundamental different understanding of security. According to this understanding, security is not realized when a cease-agreement is signed. Sexual violence occurs during but also after the conflict officially ends. The security understanding of gender advisers refer to human security as described in Chapter 3.2.2. The comprehensive understanding of security, favored by gender advisers, also explains the inclusion of sexual exploitation and abuse in the interpretation of gender equality in UN peacekeeping. Uniformed peacekeepers reject to address this issue as they highlight their core military activities in a fragile security environment. Gender advisers, however, emphasize that incidences of sexual exploitation and abuse committed by UN personnel shatters the very ground for legitimate UN engagement in post-conflict societies.

The discussion on the different understandings of security leads us to the final difference of interpreting gender equality within the UN peacekeeping bureaucracy. The uniformed personnel consider gender equality as an additional issue that should be addressed by specialized personnel. They argue that well-trained female peacekeepers and dedicated gender advisers enhances the missions’ effectiveness. To the contrary, for gender advisers the overall peacekeeping priorities and structural components change by introducing gender equality. Gender-related differences of wartime experiences should lead to new priorities, new local partners, and new modes of interaction between men and women in general. Gender equality is a crucial aspect for all kind of activities and should be therefore treated as cross-cutting issue for all senior management from the beginning of planning a UN mission, according to the interviewed gender advisers.
Table 9: Summary of Interview Transcripts on Norm Interpretation

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<th>Definition</th>
<th>Realization</th>
<th>Relevance</th>
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<td><strong>UNIFORMED PERSONNEL</strong></td>
<td>- Equal job opportunities</td>
<td>- Equal treatment</td>
<td>- Gender equality as add-on</td>
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<td>- Female peacekeepers fulfill special tasks and herewith contribute to the overall success of the mission</td>
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<tr>
<td><strong>GENDER ADVISERS</strong></td>
<td>- Equal job opportunities</td>
<td>- Different treatment</td>
<td>- Gender equality as cross-cutting issue</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>- Protection of women against sexual violence</td>
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<td></td>
<td>- Legal investigations of human rights abuses, such as sexual exploitation and abuse</td>
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The following part of this chapter describes the individual framing strategies in detail. In doing so, the second leading argument of this dissertation is addressed: successful norm entrepreneurs frame gender equality in a way that resonates with the existing masculine peacekeeping culture.

To this end, the following section analyzes the interview transcripts with regard to the particular framing of gender equality. In doing so, two questions are crucial: Who should put gender equality into UN peacekeeping practice? And why is gender equality important for UN peacekeeping?

4.2 Internal Perspectives on Framing Gender Equality

“[C]ommissions have stressed that gender-sensitive analysis should be an integral part of the development and monitoring of policies and programmes. They have called for enhancing the participation of women in the design of policies and programmes within their mandate, and for empowering women, in particular through access to productive resources, including education and training” (ECOSOC 1997: 24).

“[T]he presence of women does make a difference -- a positive difference. Women’s presence improves access and support for local women; it makes men peacekeepers more reflective and responsible; and it broadens the repertoire of skills and styles available within the mission, often with the effect of reducing conflict and confrontation. Gender mainstreaming, then, is not just fair, it is beneficial” (DPKO 2000: 4).

These quotes make it obvious that gender mainstreaming has different connotations for the two UN organizations. The Resolution of the Economic and Social Council is based on the UN Conferences on Women. The organization usually targets
developmental, educational and cultural activities of the UN, but aims in the quoted
document at introducing gender mainstreaming in all UN commissions and
organizations; including the ones in the peace and security area. It associates gender
mainstreaming with equal participation and women’s empowerment and upholds the
principals of equity and justice.
The Department for Peacekeeping Operations by contrast emphasizes that gender
mainstreaming is also beneficiary for the organization. The core argument is that UN
peacekeeping operations need women to fulfill its multi-dimensional mandates.
Realizing gender equality becomes a matter of effectiveness.

It is not accidental that the two UN organizations highlight different meanings of
gender equality. Words in policy documents are the result of negotiations. They
underline compromises and indicate political strategies and respective interpretations
of gender equality. The particular framing of a norm is driven by strategic political
interests. For the purpose of this dissertation, however, I concentrate on the discursive
construction of meanings. Drawing implications on the political interests behind the
framings would require additional information on power constellations and larger
strategic aims that exceed the scope of this dissertation.
The following section analyses the statements of the interviewed UN peacekeeping
staff concerning the questions: Who should be involved in realizing gender equality?
And why should gender equality play a role in this context? In doing so, this section
sheds light on a second dimension of meaning construction that takes place internally
in the UN peacekeeping bureaucracy.

4.2.1 Gender units, all-female units, or senior leadership responsible for norm
realization?
The rapid establishment of separate gender units in all field missions and in the
peacekeeping bureaucracy in New York was celebrated as an important contribution
towards realizing gender equality (Chapter 3.4). Surprisingly, the majority of
interviewed peacekeepers, male and female/ uniformed and gender advisers were
skeptical about the impact of separate gender units. They are not seen as supportive for
mainstreaming a gender perspective in all components of peacekeeping; the tight
cooperation with the thematic departments is regarded as more important. One
interviewee considers gender units even as counter-productive as they do not match
with the overall spirit of the mission.


“Personally I think it could be more effective if it’s integrated because those I can see no difference, although I am with the gender unit, but I am sitting with the police. I am with the police. It provides me access to all the police expertise, in terms of knowledge” (Interviewee 10, p.4).

“First of all I don’t think they [gender units, UB] are necessary. […] I think they hinder the advance. Because they become very dictatorial. And that’s not what you need. You need to mainstream. To mainstream, to become part of the team” (Interviewee 5, p.4).

Only one gender adviser emphasized the positive role of gender units, who constantly raise awareness for gender issues, that would have otherwise not been integrated in peacekeeping activities. Yet, she regards the units also only necessary in a transitional period until a gender perspective is actually mainstreamed.

“If we don’t have a gender unit we would not take it up. You need somebody to be afraid you need to have somebody to say ‘you need to doing this.’ The idea is that eventually to have people who would take it up on their own without gender units. But until you have that…” (Interviewee 7, p.12).

A second proposal of who should be involved in realizing gender equality is the deployment of all-female uniformed peacekeeping units. NGO representatives and gender advisers celebrate this proposal as a role model. They argue that more women would apply for UN peacekeeping if they knew they will serve in an all-female unit.

In 2007, the UN mission in Liberia deployed an all-female police unit. The feedback of the gender advisers was mostly positive whereas the uniformed personnel had very divergent perceptions of the experiment. One uniformed peacekeeper said that the women were not adequately trained for the sensitive tasks of interrogating victims of violence. Instead they were well prepared for tough military tasks. Another uniformed peacekeeper argued in the opposite way. He said the all-female unit proved that women could manage peacekeeping.

“I think that went perfect. They have changed three Commissioners. All of them were very great and happy with their performance” (Interviewee 6, p.6).

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156 See interviewee 9, p.9.
157 See interviewee 15, p.7.
Indien hat dann mal eine Polizeikompanie weiblich geschickt. Dann hatten wir plötzlich 190 Frauen, aber mit denen war nichts anzufangen. Von diesen konnte man keine einzige für diese eben angesprochenen, ganz spezifischen, Polizei-Sonderaufgaben einsetzen, weil die hatten gelernt, zackig zu grüßen und schneidig zu marschieren und schießen konnten die alle. Und im Nahkampf brachten die also jeden Mann zur Strecke“ (Interviewee 1, p.6).

There was an unanimous perception among the interviewed peacekeepers about the involvement of senior leadership personnel as a third group responsible for gender-related changes. Senior management makes the decisions where resources are allocated and personnel deployed. Gender-sensitive leadership personnel make a crucial difference in the overall recognition of gender equality in a mission, including the integration of gender-related measures in the mandates. If the senior leadership vice versa does not support gender-related changes, it is hardly impossible for gender advisers and other personnel to make a difference.

“I think that the first thing that is required for anything to be achieved is support from the senior leadership at the very very top” (Interviewee 8, p.5).

“I don’t think we can do much about it [more resources, UB]. Unless we are going to the highest level at the member states and promoted at the ambassador’s level, at the capital level, at the SGs-level and then we have to talk to the delegations of the countries then we can be successful” (Interviewee 6, p.5).

“But unless you have it [support for gender mainstreaming, UB] from the highest level it doesn’t work” (Interviewee 7, p.3).

„Wenn Sie einen Macho als Force Commander oder als Special Representative of the Secretary General haben, dann stößt man rasch an die Möglichkeiten an die Grenzen der Handlungsmöglichkeiten“ (Interviewee 1, p.4).

Yet, the argument that women in senior leadership positions were particularly supportive for realizing gender equality did my interviewees not support.

“UB: So, your experience is, also with a male SRSG you can put the gender agenda forward.
Interviewee: Absolutely.
UB: Would you say it could have had even a bigger impact if you have a female SRSG?
Interviewee: I don’t personally think so. No” (Interviewee 7, p.3).\textsuperscript{158}

These passages of the transcripts reveal that the interviewed UN peacekeeping personnel support the findings of the first chapter: there is no coherent procedure to realize gender equality in UN peacekeeping. Do gender units foster the norm adaptation process towards gender equality? Should more all-female units be deployed? Are female SRSGs the prerequisite for gender equal field missions? The answers to these questions diverge even within the groups of uniformed personnel and gender advisers. Despite some disagreements within the components of the UN peacekeeping bureaucracy, proposals to realize gender equality can be generally assigned to the respective bureaucratic unit (see also Table 7).

4.2.2 Effectiveness or equity as reason for norm realization?

As outlined in the previous part of this chapter, the uniformed personnel highlight that in multi-dimensional UN missions some activities can be better fulfilled by women, such as the interrogation of female victims of sexualized violence\textsuperscript{159}, or the interaction with local women’s groups\textsuperscript{160}. Such “feminine” or “soft” peacekeeping activities complement the “hard” security related peacekeeping activities, which are accomplished by male peacekeepers.

Recruiting more women is the prior activity towards realizing gender equality. It helps to improve the performance of the overall mission. Women are needed for successful peacekeeping. This argumentation refers to the effectiveness of the mission and is therefore labeled as “effectiveness-frame” or “effectiveness-argument”.

Gender advisers, by contrast, underline the long-term aim of mainstreaming a gender perspective in all departments and areas of UN peacekeeping. Men and women should be involved in realizing gender equality. According to them the norm adaptation process is not reduced to integrate special gender-related measures. It rather represents an overall re-thinking of UN peacekeeping practices taking a gender perspective seriously. Most gender advisers support a quota system for a transitional phase to change existing recruiting procedures and structural inequalities; a considerable rise of female uniformed UN peacekeeper would fundamentally change the organizational culture as well as the image of UN peacekeeping missions in the host societies; the

\textsuperscript{158} See also interviewee 9, p.8; interviewee 11, p.2.
\textsuperscript{159} Interviewee 1, p.6.
\textsuperscript{160} Interviewee 2, p.2; interviewee 3, p.10; interviewee 6, p.4.
appointment of female SRSGs is seen as sign of equity between men and women. Gender-related measures proposed by gender advisers point to structural changes towards gender-equality.

Thus, gender advisers refer to arguments that are rooted in the women’s movement. Here, the political, social, and economic empowerments of women as well as legal prosecutions of human rights violations against women are two central claims. The revaluation of women, e.g. in political decision-making positions, and the end of women’s discrimination can be associated with fairness and justice. The meaning construction that highlights these aspects when realizing gender equality is therefore labeled as “equity-frame”.

4.2.3 Summary: Framings correspond to gender cultures

Similar to the norm interpretation, the analysis of the framings of gender equality in the interview transcripts show analogies to the distinct gender cultures of the organizational subunits. As Table 10 illustrates, the uniformed UN peacekeepers emphasize the positive effect of gender-sensitive (female) senior leadership staff on norm realization. This perception is strengthened by the gender advisers. In doing so, the empirical material supports the argument, which is also highlighted in the academic literature on norm development processes (e.g. Checkel 2001; Payne 2001; see also Chap.2.2.3).

The experiment of all-female peacekeeping units is perceived differently by the uniformed staff. Some comment on the all-female deployment as role models; others consider it as an unsuccessful idea. Interestingly, the assessments strongly relate to the perceptions of appropriate peacekeeping behavior for women. The supporter of the all-female deployment emphasizes that men and women are able to do peacekeeping and that female peacekeepers have a positive effect on local women to participate in security institutions. The opponents of the all-female deployment referred to the “unfeminine” behavior of the female peacekeepers and said that they are not trained for the “feminine” peacekeeping activities, such as the sensitive interrogation of female victims.
Table 10: Summary of Interview Transcripts on Norm Framing

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Who Should Realize Gender Equality?</th>
<th>Why Should Gender Equality Be Realized?</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>UNIFORMED PERSONNEL</td>
<td>- senior (female) leadership</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>GENDER ADVISERS</td>
<td>- senior (male and female) leadership</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>- all-female units</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The overall negative perception of gender units as a long-term measure to realize gender equality is another astonishing result of the analysis. Even the gender advisers highlight that the establishment of gender units should only be for a transitional period of time. In the long run, the individual components should take over the initiative to integrate gender equality in UN peacekeeping practice. Thus, the explicit aim of gender advisers is to make gender units needless and to abolish their positions.

The reasoning for the realization of gender equality of the organizational subunits clearly adheres to the respective gender cultures: the uniformed personnel highlights effectiveness-arguments whereas the gender advisers emphasize that gender equality is a matter of equity.

To conclude, the first argument that organizational culture matters for the concrete translations of the abstract norm of gender equality into concrete UN peacekeeping behavior is supported by the discourse analysis of the interview transcripts. The following third part of this chapter deals with the second argument that a norm is strategically framed in a way that resonates with the relevant audience group. To this end, the discourse on gender equality in UN peacekeeping documents is analyzed.

4.3 Discursive Changes in Constructing Gender Equality (2000-2010)

This third part of the chapter provides a detailed long-term analysis of the discursive construction of gender equality in UN peacekeeping documents on multi-dimensional peacekeeping. The aim is to trace back the process of meaning construction in the first ten years of SC-Res.1325’s existence. The analysis includes UN documents that explicitly aim at serving as guiding tools to translate the abstract norm of gender equality into concrete UN peacekeeping activities as well as documents on overall UN peacekeeping strategies and field mission reports.

Based on the interpretation templates derived from the interview transcripts, the following discourse analysis focuses on four leading questions. (1) What are the gender-related challenges? (2) Who is responsible for realizing gender equality? (3)
What are the recommendations for gender-related UN peacekeeping activities? (4)
What frames of gender equality are used?
Table 6, 9 and 10 highlight that norm interpretations according to uniformed peacekeepers and gender advisers deviate most visible in these questions. Strictly spoken, uniformed peacekeepers consider the contact to the local (female) population as most relevant challenge for complex UN peacekeeping missions; regard female UN peacekeepers responsible to realize gender equality; recommend activities that underline equal treatment of male and female peacekeepers; and frame gender equality as matter of effectiveness. Gender advisers, by contrast, define structural imbalances between men and women as core challenge for complex UN peacekeeping; consider male and female UN peacekeepers responsible to realize the norm; recommend different treatment of male and female personnel; and frame gender equality as matter of equity.
Obviously, the two outlined templates are ideal-typed categories. The real norm interpretations of UN peacekeeping personnel are mixed forms. Yet, for the sake of academic clarity these templates serve as important point of reference that helps to categorize the empirical data.

Referring to the second argument, which is drawn from the academic literature on norm development dynamics, it is assumed that the template of the uniformed personnel will dominate the long-term interpretation of gender equality in the UN peacekeeping documents as it represents the relevant audience group.
The analysis, however, reveals an interactive dynamic of norm adaptation. The interpretations and framings of the uniformed personnel and the gender advisers converge in the long run.

4.3.1 Analysis of gender mainstreaming in UN peacekeeping documents
Three types of documents are included in the following analysis (1) SC resolutions, (2) reports of the SG and (3) organizational guidelines that explicitly address gender mainstreaming in UN peacekeeping. The following Table 11 shows all documents in detail.
The documents that explicitly tackle the introduction of gender mainstreaming in UN peacekeeping are written with considerable assistance from gender experts, both in the international peacekeeping bureaucracy and in the NGO Working Group on Women, Peace and Security. Thus, I expect a stronger alignment with the norm interpretation template of gender advisers in these documents.

4.3.1.1 Security Council Resolutions on Women, Peace, and Security

Five Security Council resolutions, several reports of the Secretary General (SG) as well as numerous strategy papers and organizational guidelines describe how the new norm of gender equality can be realized in the context of UN peacekeeping. In the following, I describe the norm interpretations of the individual documents in detail.


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(2010) focus on sexual violence in situations of armed conflict in particular against women and children. The resolution “[r]eaffirms that sexual violence, when used or commissioned as a tactic of war or as a part of a widespread or systematic attack against civilian populations, can significantly exacerbate and prolong situations of armed conflict and may impede the restoration of international peace and security” (p.3). Thus, it affirms the re-definition of international security and the integration of gender-related security risks in the planning of international measures.

The first two resolutions include the SG in the list of responsible actors for realizing gender equality. He/ she should “appoint more women as special representatives and envoys to pursue good offices on his behalf” (SC-Res. 1325 (2000); p.2) and should encourage dialogue between appropriate UN officials (SC-Res. 1820 (2008); p.3). The other resolutions put emphasis on member states, local conflict parties or traditional and religious leaders to take action. Herewith, these documents identify member states and actors in the post-conflict society—not the international peacekeeping bureaucracy— as being primarily responsible for realizing gender equality.

The proposed concrete gender-related measures in the documents range from training guidelines (SC-Res. 1325 (2000); p.2), military disciplinary measures against all forms of sexual violence against civilians (SC-Res. 1820 (2008); p.3), the appointment of a SRSG and the deployment of a team of experts to situations of particular concern with respect to sexual violence (SC-Res. 1888 (2009); 4). The inclusion of gender equality in the mission mandates as well as the appointment of gender advisers and the development of effective financial and institutional arrangements to guarantee women’s full and equal participation in the peacebuilding process are further proposals for realizing gender equality (SC-Res. 1889 (2009); pp.3+5). Finally, it is proposed to annually report on “detailed information on parties to armed conflict that are credibly suspected of committing or being responsible for acts of rape or other forms of sexual violence” (SC-Res. 1960 (2010); p.3).

All of these measures propose new initiatives that should be integrated in UN peacekeeping additionally to existing activities. New posts should be created to realize gender equality or additional financial resources should be established to guarantee women’s participation. Thus, the resolutions favor treating gender-related measures as additional and different measures to existing peacekeeping behavior. They do not highlight that men and women must equally fulfill the criteria to be appointed as peacekeeping personnel. To the contrary, expert teams and gender advisers should be appointed to develop strategies that acknowledge the different needs of women and
girls in post-conflict situations. And additionally to the newly deployed gender experts, local traditional and religious authorities as well as military leaders are considered responsible for realizing gender equality.

The interpretation of gender equality in the SC-Res. on “Women, Peace, and Security” so far can be clearly assigned to the template proposed by gender advisers. The need for effective coordination mechanisms for gender equality is the only exception that rather resembles the interpretation of uniformed peacekeepers. Yet, the particular framing of gender equality in the documents does not always fit the “feminist template” where gender equality is a matter of equity. SC-Res. 1820 (2008) highlights that obstacles to women’s participation in peacekeeping measures may have negative impacts on durable peace, security and reconciliation; moreover the persistence of sexual violence may impede the restoration of international peace and security (p.2). Here, gender equality is rather a matter of effectiveness. One year later SC-Res. 1888 calls both for equal rights of men and women by ensuring judicial mechanisms to deal with sexual violence and the need for women’s participation in UN peacekeeping. Both demands have indirect effects on the peace and stability of a (post-) conflict society. The former fosters general reconciliation and the rights of the victims, the latter may encourage local women to participate in the national armed and security forces. Thus, the framing could also be considered as a question of effectiveness. SC-Res. 1889 (2009) defines the increase of women’s participation, measures to guarantee equal rights as well as special support to protect women from sexual violence as means to realize gender equality. And SC-Res. 1960 (2010) reiterates these measures but relates them to more general effects of the peace, reconciliation and security situation of a (post-)conflict society.

To conclude, the particular framing of gender equality in the SC resolutions does neither coherently reflect one particular template of norm interpretation nor does it show an evolution towards the effectiveness-frame.

4.3.1.2 Annual Reports on Women, Peace, and Security of the Secretary General

The annual report on Women, Peace, and Security of the SG is the second type of UN document that elaborates on the progress in realizing gender equality in UN peacekeeping. The first report was issued in 2002 and encompasses 12 pages. From 2004 the report has been launched annually in varying sizes. In 2005 the report had 59
pages but the average is 20 pages per report. Throughout the years, the SG reports on Women, Peace, and Security list different gender-related core challenges. The 2002 report is the only one that sheds light on structural imbalances that prevent women’s participation in the peace process. “Women do not enjoy equal status with men in any society. Where cultures of violence and discrimination against women and girls exist prior to conflict, they will be exacerbated during conflict. If women do not participate in the decision-making structures of a society, they are unlikely to become involved in decisions about the conflict or the peace process that follows” (S/2002/1154; p.1). “Often women are excluded [from the peace process, U.B.] because they are not military leaders or political decision-makers or because they did not participate in the conflict as combatants. Women are assumed to lack the appropriate expertise to negotiate, or they are left out owing to discrimination and stereotypical thinking” (S/2002/1154; p.5). The lower social status of women before a conflict or the different roles during conflict as a prerequisite for women’s lacking involvement in peace processes is never mentioned again in a report of the SG.

The other reports highlight the different needs of women and men (S/2004/814; p.14), the consistent and effective coordination of measures to advance the role of women in peace and security (S/2005/636; p.14), the comprehensive use of gender expertise (S/2006/770; p.9) or the effective monitoring for the implementation of SC-Res.1325 (S/2007/567; 2) with measurable indicators (S/2010/173; p.12) as most pressing gender-related challenges that should be addressed by UN peacekeeping.

In 2008 and 2009 the reports recognized that security threats might be differently perceived by men and women. The end of actual fighting does not necessarily result in an end of sexual violence against women. “For women, the lawlessness of many post-conflict situations, with its widespread violence, is as dangerous as a situation of armed conflict” (S/2008/622; p.2). “Cessation of hostilities does not guarantee an end to the perpetration of sexual violence. On the contrary, evidence shows that even after conflict has ended, high levels of sexual and gender-based violence tend to persist, creating long-term threats to security and to women’s health, livelihoods, and their ability to participate in reconstruction and peacebuilding efforts” (S/2009/465; p.3).

These statements correspond with a constructivist approach on gender and security that is most frequently taken by gender advisers.

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In terms of responsible actors addressing gender equality in UN peacekeeping all reports point to UN entities. Some specify that particularly the involvement of senior managers is crucial (S/2004/814; p.9) or that all actors, men and women have the responsibility to ensure attention to gender equality (S/2002/1154; p.5). Additionally, some reports mention member states as well as civil society organizations as important actors in the realization of gender equality.

The recommendations for gender-related peacekeeping activities in the reports unequivocally favor different treatment: i.e. the additional inclusion of gender equality in the mission mandates with separate budgetary provisions (S/2002/1154; p.6), the establishment of specific units in police stations to assist victims of sexual violence (S/2004/814; p.8), new training strategies (S/2009/465; p.6) or special measures to enlarge the number of qualified female peacekeepers (S/2008/622; p.10), including all-female contingents (S/2007/567; p.6). Some reports expand their recommendations into rehabilitation measures for (post-)conflict societies, such as quotas facilitating women’s participation in the electoral process (S/2007/567; p.5) or the development of national action plans to implement gender equality (S/2008/622; p.6).

For two reports I summarized the proposed activities in Annex V as “mixed treatment”. S/2004/814 ascribes gender units and advisers the task to ensure efforts to mainstream gender perspectives into all functional areas of peacekeeping (p.7). S/2006/770 documents that fifty member states participated in a DPKO policy dialogue to review strategies to increase the number of women in military and police personnel deployed in UN peacekeeping missions (p.4). Both recommendations address existing peacekeeping activities, which should be revised as a result of the introduction of gender equality. According to my interpretation these are rather examples of “equal treatment”. Peacekeeping activities in all functional areas as well as the recruiting procedures for peacekeeping personnel are revised to eliminate gender discriminated actions. Yet, the reports also highlight new gender-related activities additional to traditional peacekeeping measures as well. This conforms rather to “different treatment”. That is why I choose the description of “mixed treatment”.

So far, the interpretations of gender equality in the SG reports also reflect the template proposed by gender advisers.

Due to the regular publishing of annual reports of the SG on “Women, Peace, and Security” the long-term development of norm interpretation referring to the particular framing becomes visible. The effectiveness-argument for the inclusion of a gender perspective in UN peacekeeping dominates the reports of 2002 and 2004-2007. Here,
the reports highlight for example that “[p]eacekeeping missions benefit from contacts with and access to the knowledge and expertise of local women’s organizations” (S/2002/1154; p. 6); “[w]omen’s contributions to preventing conflicts are particularly important in ‘people to people’ diplomacy. Women can call attention to tensions before they erupt in open hostilities by collecting and analysing early warning information on potential armed conflict” (S/2004/814; p.4); “[w]hile gender equality is increasingly recognized as a core issue in the maintenance of international peace and security, the role of women in peace processes generally continues to be viewed as a side issue rather than as fundamental to the development of viable democratic institutions and the establishment of sustainable peace” (S/2006/770; p.17); or that “[i]n order to enhance their effectiveness, United Nations entities organized a wide scope of gender-awareness training for different categories of personnel engaged in disarmament, demobilization and reintegration activities” (S/2007/567; p.9).

After the report of 2007, the need for women’s participation has been gaining more and more importance: “There is growing support for women’s equal participation in peace processes, enhanced capacity-building efforts for women’s empowerment and their increasing numbers in decision-making and peacekeeping and security forces” (S/2008/622; p.19); “The Council expressed its continuing deep concern about the persistent obstacles to women’s full involvement in the prevention and resolution of conflicts and their participation in post-conflict public life” (S/2010/173; p.1). In 2009, the report even formulates the participation of women in the local electoral process as an aim of UN peacekeeping. UN peacekeeping is no longer concentrated on the security situation and women are needed to contact local women or give early warning information on potential re-escalations of conflicts. UN peacekeeping now aims at establishing a democratic society where women have equal opportunities to participate. According to the SG report of 2009 the integration of women at senior UN level is favored in order to foster the participation of local women in public life. “Emphasis was placed on the importance of women participating in the electoral process in order to create a multiplier effect throughout different communities” (S/2009/465; p.10f.). “Especially in the context of peacekeeping missions, the paucity of women at senior levels weakens the ability and clout of the United Nations to advocate effectively for change at national levels” (S/2009/465; p.14).

The increasing importance of the effectiveness-arguments until 2007 and its decreasing importance afterwards can even be extracted from the quantitative use of the words “effective”, “effectively” or “effectiveness” in the annual reports. In 2002,
the words are mentioned seven times, and in 2004 16 times. The 2005 report shows a peak of 19, the usage of “effective”, “effectively” or “effectiveness”. In 2006 they are used 15 times; in 2007, they are mentioned 18 times. The report in 2008 mentioned them only 12 times. In the report of 2009 I count five “effective”, “effectively” or “effectiveness”. And in 2010 they are only mentioned four times.

The shift in framing gender equality from a matter of effectiveness between 2002 and 2007 towards a matter of participation in the period of 2008 until 2010 could correspond to the normative framing in the SC resolutions. The resolutions in 2009 and 2010 show a mixture of arguments for the integration of gender equality. The need to guarantee women’s participation, the respect for equal rights and the establishment of special disciplinary measures against sexual exploitation and abuse are equally highlighted in the resolutions as well as the welcoming of women in UN peacekeeping to increase its effectiveness in terms of achieving durable peace, security and reconciliation. The preliminary finding of long-term shifts in framing gender equality is re-checked in the following analysis of other UN documents that address the introduction of gender mainstreaming in UN peacekeeping.

4.3.1.3 Organizational Guidelines for Gender Mainstreaming in UN Peacekeeping


The documents vary significantly in their size. The Policy Directive (2006/2008) covers eight pages, whereas the GRP (2004) is elaborated on 228 pages. The size of the other six documents is more similar and encompasses 40 pages on average. All of them intend to translate the principle or general policy of gender equality into concrete UN peacekeeping practice (e.g. DPKO 2000: 6; DPKO/DFS/UNIFEM 2010: 2). Some are written as guidelines that propose concrete gender-related peacekeeping activities (e.g. DPKO 2004; DPKO/DFS 2010a). Others are reports that document gender-related peacekeeping activities (e.g. DPKO 2005; DPKO/DFS 2010b). The Police Guidelines serve explicitly as “[…] standard-setter in promoting gender-sensitive policing in post-conflict countries. […] When the time comes to transfer executive police responsibility to local counterparts, UN Police should use these guidelines to ensure an effective transfer of knowledge and practice” (DPKO/DFS 2008a: 4+6).

All documents highlight the recognition of women’s special needs as a result of different experiences during conflict and in the (post-)conflict society and crucial for the UN peacekeeping. In this regard, some documents even take a constructivist perspective and identify the reflection on gender perspectives and the re-definition of gender roles as a core peacekeeping priority (e.g. DPKO/DFS 2010b: 5). “[…] What may appear to be good planning when only men are concerned, e.g. a plan to issue the equivalent of one condom per day per peacekeeper to prevent the spread of HIV/AIDS, can look quite different when seen from the perspective of local women who may see such a policy as fostering sexual activity, the exploitation of women” (DPKO 2000: 14). “Understanding the cultural norms of the host country is also essential to minimizing security threats to both female and male peacekeeping personnel” (DPKO 2004: 63). “The impact of peacekeeping missions in supporting gender-sensitive security sector reforms has been mixed. […] The culture of most national security institutions remains unfriendly to women; discrimination and sexual harassment of female officers are widespread. […] Most security institutions have

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patriarchal organisational cultures and few incentives for women to join them” (DPKO/DFS 2010b: 10+26).

Such a constructivist approach on gender relations in the context of UN peacekeeping is atypical for the DPKO/DFS documents. Here, the characteristic style is rather straight forward to the identification of measurable security problems and the propositions of effective solutions as outlined in the next section of the documentary analysis. The use of constructivist arguments supports the assessment that the DPKO/DFS documents that address explicitly the implementation of gender mainstreaming are written by gender advisers that have most frequently an academic background and knowledge of gender studies. Furthermore, the changing nature of UN peacekeeping with its multi-dimensional challenges is underlined as fertile ground for integrating a gender perspective (DPKO 2004: X). Multi-dimensional peacekeeping requires the engagement of all stakeholders in efforts to build peace (DPKO 2005: i.) and necessitates direct interactions between military peacekeepers and local populations (DPKO/DFS 2010a: 8).

Finally, the Analytical Inventory (2010) includes the re-definition of security in its assessment of core peacekeeping challenges as did SC-Res. 1960 (2010): “[…] [T]he restoration of security requires not only protection from physical violence, but establishing a protective environment and finding a lasting political solution” (DPKO/DFS/UNIFEM 2010: 9). “When wars end, violence against women continues and often escalates” (DPKO/DFS/UNIFEM 2010: 17). “This new prioritization of sexual violence reflects an understanding that the credibility of peacekeeping operations is at stake if they are unable to protect civilians under imminent threat of physical violence, including sexual violence” (DPKO/DFS/UNIFEM 2010: 12). The last statement makes obvious that the fight against sexual violence is not only defined as an additional peacekeeping priority. It is rather considered as a problem that could shake the very basis of UN peacekeeping: its moral integrity. “There needs to be a wider appreciation that while gender units are responsible for overseeing the rationalisation and coordination of gender activities, and for providing technical guidance to staff, gender mainstreaming is a collective responsibility” (DPKO 2005: 3). This statement further exemplifies that all documents under review favor a mainstreaming approach. That means the realization of gender equality in UN peacekeeping is not restricted to gender advisers or gender units but all staff is considered to be responsible. Some explicitly highlight that male and female peacekeepers should be involved (e.g. DPKO 2004: 4) others pledge for the stronger involvement of senior staff and local leaders (e.g. DPKO/DFS 2010b: 9).
The majority of documents address both the UN and the national level of the host society with its gender-related activities. Only the organizational guidelines for the UN police and the UN military component are exceptional in this regard. The gender-related recommendations of the Police Guidelines (2008) focus very much on the newly established police force in the host society. The transformation of responsibility to the local leadership is a core priority of the document: “Successful transformation requires strong support from senior leaders in the police and government” (DPKO/DFS 2008a: 21). The Military Guidelines (2010), by contrast, direct the gender-related recommendations almost exclusively to personnel in the UN military component: “The guidelines are intended for use by all military personnel in UN peacekeeping missions” (DPKO/DFS 2010a: 7). Obviously, the police and the military component within the DPKO have different understandings of who should be primarily responsible in realizing gender equality in this context.

The problem of misconceptions or rather different norm interpretation is also indicated in the following statement: “The misconception persists that gender mainstreaming is synonymous with increasing the number of women in peacekeeping. In reality it is a commitment to identifying the differential impacts of conflicts on the lives of women, men, girls and boys, and to proposing practical solutions to respond to the specific needs identified” (DPKO 2005: 2).

Referring to the concrete recommendations outlined in the documents proposals that imply a different treatment of men and women in UN peacekeeping clearly dominate. The establishment of additional gender-related capacities is an important and visible step towards gender equality. Focal points are appointed to promote awareness (e.g. DPKO 2000: 12); gender advisers are deployed and should participate at all stages of the planning process in DPKO as well as in the multidimensional peacekeeping operations (e.g. DPKO 2004: 5; 2005: 1); and gender components in each mission should have appropriate funding and staff (DPKO 2000: 19). In field missions, the integration of women requires facilities of separate accommodation, bathrooms, and medical services (DPKO/DFS 2010a: 12). The Police Guidelines take a holistic and self-reflected perspective and include considerations to make “serving with the new police force an attractive career option for women […]. [Furthermore,) the police service [must be equipped] with the means [to] deal with the post-conflict pandemic of gender-based violence” (DPKO 2008: 28). The proposal to “create a public complaint procedure, which is accessible to women and includes the possibility to complain confidentially to female officers about sexual and other misconduct of police
officers’ (DPKO 2008: 16), also recognizes the involvement of police officers in inappropriate behavior. Thus, norm implementation is related to additional resources and to a broadening of the existing canon of peacekeeping activities. Particularly in terms of recruiting procedures that aim at increasing the female percentage of peacekeepers as well as representatives in local public services, recommendations underline that women and female candidates should be treated differently than men. “Experience has shown that unless there is a proactive search for women candidates, women’s representation in missions will not increase, particularly at the decision-making levels” (DPKO 2004: 71). “With the introduction of a mandatory gender quota for new recruits, the percentage of female officers [in UNMIK Police, UB] as of July 2005 stands at thirteen percent” (DPKO 2005: 10). “There has also been a significant increase in the representation of women in legislative bodies in most countries reviewed; this has been greater in countries that adopted quotas or reserved seats for women” (DPKO/DFS 2010b: 9+20).

Reflections on the influence of structural imbalances about the participation of women in UN peacekeeping are also addressed in the documents as well as the impact of a female presence in UN military and police units on the local population. “By overlooking those who do not fit the category of a ‘male, able-bodied combatant,’ DDR activities are not only less efficient, but run the risk of reinforcing existing gender inequalities in local communities and exacerbating economic hardship for women and girls participating in armed groups and forces” (DPKO 2004: 120). “Jointly assign male and female officers to all patrols, whenever possible; emphasize foot patrols as a way to break down barriers between the police and the community” (DPKO 2008: 15). “The advisory role of military peacekeepers with regard to national armed forces presents opportunities to encourage the adoption of polices and measures that advance equal career opportunities for women and men” (DPKO/DFS 2010a: 21).

Again, the Police Guidelines is a document that goes even beyond the understanding that visible gender equality in UN units fosters equal opportunities of men and women in post-conflict societies. It highlights that police forces that do not adequately represent all groups of a diverse society must be considered as a security risk. “A homogeneous police force working in diverse society has been one of the principal factors in fostering internal conflict. In such situations, police lacked the legitimacy that stems from being representative of the society at large” (DPKO 2008: 20f.).

The alignment of norm interpretation in the various documents corresponds clearly with the interpretation template proposed by gender advisers: the realization of gender
equality implies the recognition of women’s special needs, including structural gender-related inequalities, all peacekeeping staff is responsible for norm implementation and measures that favor different treatment of men and women are proposed. Accordingly, the framing of gender equality in GM 2000 refers to the Beijing Conference and underlines the need for women’s participation: “Since the Beijing Conference, women have been arguing strongly that their stake and their interest in peace is so great that they should participate in peace negotiations even if they do not represent armed organizations” (DPKO 2000: 7). Yet, the document also highlights that “[…] the presence of women does make a difference - a positive difference. Women’s presence improves access and support for local women; it makes men peacekeepers more reflective and responsible […] Gender mainstreaming, then, is not just fair, it is beneficial” (DPKO 2000: 4). Herewith, GM 2000 presents the aim of gender mainstreaming also as matter of effectiveness. The effectiveness-frame predominates all following documents: “This [gender mainstreaming, UB] improves the effectiveness with which peacekeeping operations discharge their mandates and is, therefore, integral to their success” (DPKO 2004: V). “[…] Integrating a gender dimension into human rights programming will ensure that the peacekeeping mission discharges its human rights and protection mandates more effectively” (DPKO 2004: 81). “The operational imperative of having a critical mass of female military peacekeepers is widely acknowledged, as it enables better access to women in post-conflict environments to support mandate implementation” (DPKO/DFS 2010a: 13). “The perception of communities, especially women, is that their security has improved in conflict-affected areas where the UN supports active protection measures, such as Joint Protection Teams, patrols and escorts. (DPKO/DFS 2010b: 33). The Ten-year Impact Study further highlights the need for legal and judicial sector reforms to ensure that the “differentiated needs and priorities of women, men, girls and boys are taken into consideration and that discriminatory laws and practices are eliminated” (DPKO/DFS 2010b: 28).

As noted above, the changing nature of UN peacekeeping towards multi-dimensional enterprises fuels the re-definition how to measure its effectiveness. In those missions the decisive factor of success is not only a secure environment but also the cooperation with the local population and the efforts to support the establishment of democratic local institutions (see also DPKO 2000: 8).

The analysis of the UN documents that explicitly address the introduction of gender mainstreaming in UN peacekeeping shows that the definitions of core challenges
responsible actors and proposed recommendations most widely correspond with the interpretation template offered by gender advisers. This result supports the assessment that the respective gender experts in the bureaucratic units took the lead in formulating the reports and guidelines. Furthermore, the documentary analysis supports the expected development of norm framing. Whereas in 2000 the participation of women is still mentioned as reason for realizing gender equality in UN peacekeeping, the effectiveness-argument increasingly gains importance throughout the years of norm implementation. The documents that are written with assistance of the gender experts even show the strongest alignment with the effectiveness-frame. The most recent reports of the SG, by contrast, rather highlight the need for women’s participation as aim for its own.

With regard to the particular framing of gender equality the forewords of Margot Wallström, SRSG on Sexual Violence in Conflict, and Lieutnant General Obiakor, Military Adviser in DPKO, to the Analytical Inventory (2010) are most interesting. “Yet efforts to combat conflict-related sexual violence remain woefully weak. My mandate is focused on this urgent agenda, based on Resolutions 1820 and 1888, which recognize sexual violence as a security issue that demands a security response. Accordingly, peacekeepers must be armed with examples and information to help them operate effectively on the ground. [...] By taking a proactive posture towards sexual violence as a generator of instability, peacekeepers challenge its acceptance as an inevitable byproduct of war” (DPKO/DFS/UNIFEM 2010: 2). “The military component of peacekeeping operations can play a vital role in the protection of women and children as part of its mandated task of protecting civilians. This means not only protecting women from the violence itself, but also supporting individual social and economic recovery afterwards. In support of these goals, we aspire to recruit more women in uniform to help provide this critical aspect of security in peacekeeping operations, and to ensure that all of our personnel understand that enhancing women’s safety enhances mission success. [...] Responding to sexual violence as part of the challenges of conflict is an emerging field in peacekeeping. [...] The blue helmet must remain an emblem of hope, peace and progress for all civilians – men and women, boys and girls” (DPKO/DFS/UNIFEM 2010: 3).

Margot Wallström underlines in her statement that the combat against sexual violence needs to remain an urgent issue on the peacekeeping agenda and that the examples and information provided in the report help peacekeepers to operate effectively. She identifies UN peacekeepers as responsible for taking action and demonstrates that sexual violence is a generator of instability. Lieutnant General Obiakor highlights in
his statement that women are not only subjects of protection from violence but also agents that need to be empowered in social and economic recovery. Women’s participation increases the mission’s success. According to him, UN peacekeepers must recognize sexual violence as core peacekeeping challenge and act accordingly. Although Wallström can be easily categorized as a gender adviser and Obiakor as a representative of the uniformed peacekeeping personnel, the framing of gender equality is surprisingly similar. In particular, Obiakor’s statement shows a development of interpreting gender equality which was known by gender advisers and representatives of the women’s movement. He defines women as agents that need to be empowered, underlines the increasing effectiveness, due to women’s participation, and publicly recognizes that the moral integrity of UN peacekeeping itself is damaged by sexual violence (committed also by UN peacekeepers).

These two statements suggest that the framing of gender equality does not evolve in a one-way-direction towards the interpretation template proposed by uniformed peacekeepers as this is the relevant audience group. Instead, the DPKO Military Adviser adopts arguments from the group of gender advisers and put it in his working context. In the UN peacekeeping bureaucracy, the process of norm interpretation shows an interaction and change of arguments between the relevant targeted group of uniformed peacekeepers and gender advisers as former norm entrepreneurs. The documentary analysis in the following two sections will demonstrate if this first suggestion of an inter-active norm interpretation process holds also true for general UN peacekeeping documents and mission reports.

4.3.2 Analysis of UN peacekeeping strategy papers

Chapter 3 describes in detail the evolution of UN peacekeeping. The scope of activities as well as the underlying understanding of the very aim of UN peacekeeping has changed significantly in the last 60 years as a result of changing political constellations in the Security Council and the general Zeitgeist. The documents analyzed in this section mark again the ever-changing character of UN peacekeeping practice. This section analysis a variety of general strategy papers on UN peacekeeping published by the SG as well as DPKO and DFS. In concrete terms, the following documents enlisted in Table 12 are analyzed.
Table 12: General Strategy Papers on UN Peacekeeping

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>GENERAL STRATEGIES FOR UN PEACEKEEPING</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Comprehensive review of the whole question of peacekeeping operations in all their aspects (A/55/305-S/2000/809)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>“No Exit Without Strategy” (2001) (SG)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No exit without strategy: Security Council decision-making and the closure or transition of United Nations peacekeeping operations (S/2001/394)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Handbook on United Nations Multidimensional Peacekeeping Operations</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Overview of the financing of the United Nations peacekeeping operations: budget performance for the period from 1 July 2004 to 30 June 2005 and budget for the period from 1 July 2006 to 30 June 2007 (A/60/696)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Comprehensive report on strengthening the capacity of the United Nations to manage and sustain peace operations (A/61/858)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>United Nations Peacekeeping Operations. Principles and Guidelines</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>“A New Horizon” (2009) (DPKO/DFS)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A New Partnership Agenda. Charting a New Horizon for Peacekeeping</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Comprehensive review of the whole question of peacekeeping operations in all their aspects. Administrative and budgetary aspects of the financing of the United Nations peacekeeping operations (A/64/633)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The general strategies for UN peacekeeping were written by the senior leadership of DPKO/DFS and the SRSGs. Thus, the interpretation of gender equality is probably more coherent with the template of the uniformed peacekeepers.

4.3.2.1 Reports of the Secretary General on UN Peacekeeping

The SG presents in his reports with suggestions on how to increase UN peacekeeping’s effectiveness – both in terms of efficient resource management and in terms of its impact on the ground. Furthermore, the three DPKO/DFS publications, “Handbook on United Nations Multidimensional Peacekeeping Operations” (hereafter, Handbook) (2003), the “United Nations Peacekeeping Operations. Principles and

Guidelines” (hereafter, The Capstone Doctrine) (2008)\textsuperscript{172} and “A New Partnership Agenda. Charting a New Horizon for Peacekeeping” (hereafter, A New Horizon) (2009)\textsuperscript{173} provides insightful information how the international peacekeeping bureaucracy reacts to lessons learnt from previous missions and adapts to changing expectations. The inclusion of these documents that formulate general UN peacekeeping strategies in the documentary analysis of interpreting gender equality intends to complete the picture of norm interpretation. It delivers additional information how salient the emergent norm is in the UN peacekeeping context and what particular meaning of it is constructed in this environment.


In particular the Brahimi Report, No Exit Without Strategy, the Report on DFS, and the Global Field Support Strategy are very similar in their name, structure and style. The impetus to prepare these reflections is grounded in the perceived need of improving the UN’s performance in its very fundamental area of activity: the maintenance of peace and security.

\textsuperscript{172} Online available at: http://pbpu.unlb.org/pbps/library/capstone_doctrine_eNg.pdf, 07/25/2013.
In 2000, the SG “convened a high-level Panel to undertake a thorough review of the United Nations peace and security activities, and to present a clear set of specific, concrete and practical recommendations to assist the United Nations in conducting such activities better in the future” (A/55/305-S/2000/809; p.i). “The challenges in providing effective logistical, human resources and administrative support and management to all United Nations field operations are immense. The efficient and prudent management of the resources authorized for each mission during its entire life cycle is equally critical. It is in recognition of the importance of both of those elements and the scope and breadth of the responsibilities involved that I propose to create the Department of Field Support” (A/61/858: p.23f.). “Today [in 2010, UB], the typical field environment is remote, austere and, increasingly, dangerous, sometimes openly hostile to a United Nations presence. [...] Many factors determine the success of a support operation, including effectiveness and transparency in the use of resources. From the point of view of those being served, however, speed and quality are two of the most critical dimensions. Unfortunately, either or both of these attributes have all too often been absent — resulting in a direct impact on the credibility of United Nations intervention and the professional standing of the Organization. The need to achieve a better balance and performance in this regard is the major impetus for the development of a global field support strategy” (A/64/633; p.1f.).

The orientation of the reports to increase the UN peacekeeping’s effectiveness is overwhelming. The Brahimi Report uses the words “effective”, “effectively” or “effectiveness” 96 times on 74 pages. That means the wording occurs more frequently than once on a page. The frequent use of the wording also applies for the Exit Without Strategy. On 13 pages “effective”, “effectively” or “effectiveness” is mentioned 10 times. And the Global Field Support Strategy has 30 pages and mentions “effective”, “effectively” or “effectiveness” 19 times. In order to do so, the formulation of clear, credible and achievable mandates (A/55/305-S/2000/809; p.10f.), the rapid deployment of personnel and material resources (A/55/305-S/2000/809; p.15f.; A/64/633; p.6) and the efficient management of financial, personnel and environmental resources are outlined as key priorities. “Gender” is mentioned 8 times in the Brahimi Report and twice in the Global Field Support Strategy. In Exit Without Strategy the word “women” is mentioned once. In all three reports the issue of gender equality is put in relation to women’s participation as UN peacekeeping staff or as partners in conflict reconstruction: “[...] the Panel recommends that the Secretary-General compile, in a systematic fashion, and with input from Member States, a comprehensive list of potential SRSGs, force commanders, police commissioners and
potential deputies, as well as candidates to head other substantive components of a mission, representing a broad geographic and equitable gender distribution” (A/55/305-S/2000/809; p.16). “In addition, to ensure effective mission leadership, a new approach is required to the recruiting, training and support of senior leadership with the goal of achieving improved gender balance, obtaining the right oversight and strengthening performance management so as to increase accountability” (A/64/633; p.10). “Promoting economic and social rehabilitation and transformation. This involves fostering conditions for resumed economic and social development […] stimulation of maximum involvement of civil society, especially women, and of national non-governmental organizations” (S/2001/394; p.4).

Peace Operations 2010 represents a chapter of a comprehensive report on budgetary planning. There is no gender-related reference at all in this document.

Obviously, gender equality is not a topic of major concern for the SG’s general UN peacekeeping strategy. It is marginally mentioned and not specified how an equitable gender distribution could be realized. The introduction of a quota system or a positive discrimination of female applications is not formulated. This indicates that men and women should be treated equally. In terms of framing, the participation of women in senior staff positions or as partners in conflict rehabilitation is the context of reference. Although the overall aim of the reports is to increase the effectiveness of UN peacekeeping missions, the introduction of gender equality is framed as question of participation. The positive impact of women’s participation on the effectiveness of UN peacekeeping as highlighted in most SG reports on “Women, Peace, and Security” is not mentioned in five of six reports.

The only exception is the Report on SSR. Here, two themes of changes in the UN peacekeeping are highlighted: “The first is that security, human rights and development are interdependent and mutually reinforcing conditions for sustainable peace. The second is the recognition that these fundamental elements can be achieved only within a broad framework of the rule of law” (A/62/659-S/2008/39; p.3). Thus, the basis of the report is a broad understanding of security that is not limited to the provision of physical security but focuses also on human rights and development issues. As a result of its human security approach, the report underlines changes of the rule of law as prevalent field of UN peacekeeping activity. Effective responses to violence and insecurity must be based on recognizing the different impact of the armed conflict on women and girls, according to the report (A/62/659-S/2008/39; p.4). And it is the only document of the general UN peacekeeping strategies that frames gender
equality exclusively as matter of effectiveness. Whereas, UN peacekeeping’s effectiveness is perceived as intrinsically interlinked with democratic governance and a gender-sensitive approach as necessity to establish inclusive security sector institutions: “Equally, security sector reform underscores that effectiveness, accountability and democratic governance are mutually reinforcing elements of security. […] Gender-sensitive security sector reform is key to developing security sector institutions that are non-discriminatory, representative of the population and capable of effectively responding to the specific security needs of diverse groups” (A/62/659-S/2008/39; pp. 6+11).

4.3.2.2 Strategy Papers published by the Department for Peacekeeping Operations and the Department of Field Support

The Brahimi Report DPKO and later the DPKO/DFS regularly published information materials for new recruits and UN peacekeeping practitioners. The publications define key concepts and areas of UN peacekeeping, reflect on past operations to draw lesson learnt, and outline core challenges to make recommendations for improving UN peacekeeping. Well known are The Capstone Doctrine (2008) and A New Horizon (2009). Yet, DPKO published also a Handbook in 2003 that is also included in this documentary analysis.

The Handbook 2003 varies significantly in its characteristic style and intensity of integrating gender equality in comparison to The Capstone Doctrine and A New Horizon. In the very beginning it highlights that multi-dimensional peacekeeping is “composed of a range of components, including military, civilian police, political affairs, rule of law, human rights, humanitarian, reconstruction, public information and gender” (DPKO 2003: p.1). It uses gender-neutral language in the description of the responsibilities of the SRSG, although in 2003 no woman ever served in this position.

“In many mission areas, a Special Representative of the Secretary-General (SRS) provides, in addition to his or her other responsibilities, overall coordination for the UN funds and programmes working in the mission area” (DPKO 2003: pp.2+10). Almost every paragraph includes a reference to gender equality and Chapter IX is dedicated to “Gender Mainstreaming”. Particularly this chapter resembles a document written by gender experts. It defines “gender” and “gender equality” in a social constructivist manner: “Gender refers to the socially constructed, rather than physical or biological, roles ascribed to women and men. Gender roles vary according to socio-economic, political and cultural contexts and are also affected by other factors such as age, race, class and ethnicity. […] Women and men both may face de facto
discrimination if they venture outside of their socially accepted gender roles; men may not be treated seriously or may face ridicule if they seek jobs in nursing or childcare, while women are not likely to be hired for traditionally ‘masculine’ jobs, such as construction, mining, police and correctional services, and may even be legally barred from them (DPKO 2003: p.113f.). The impetus for the UN to address gender equality as a cross-cutting issue and as a core priority of UN peacekeeping results from the international community’s commitment to overcome structural inequalities and the different experiences of men and women in conflict situations (DPKO 2003: p.114). The Handbook addresses the UN as a core responsible actor for realizing gender equality and proposes a broad variety of activities. For example can “reconciliation be advanced by bringing women’s groups together on issues central to women, irrespective of differences in their ethnic, religious or other backgrounds” (DPKO 2003: 40). And the “[h]uman rights components have also produced reports on specific themes such as torture, pre-trial detention, fair trials, prison conditions and conflict-related sexual and gender-based violence” (DPKO 2003: 40). The former highlights a different treatment of women, whereas the latter proposal outlines the equal treatment of gender-based violence in the reporting of human rights components. Thus, the concrete gender-related practices proposed in the Handbook represent a mixed treatment.

Finally, the framing of gender equality in the Handbook takes up the effectiveness-argument: “A peacekeeping operation will enjoy greater success in the implementation of its mandate if planners and implementers take the differing needs of women and men and girls and boys into account” (DPKO 2003: 115). In addition, the Handbook argues that women should be able to participate at local elections or in DDR programmes (DPKO 2003: 118f.) and that UN peacekeeping should implement “protection measures for vulnerable groups, including protection from sexual and gender-based violence” (DPKO 2003: 174).

Compared to the Handbook, The Capstone Doctrine and A New Horizon include gender equality far less intensively. The words “gender”, “gender-related”, or “gender-specific” are mentioned 7 times in the Capstone Doctrine and only once in A New Horizon. The latter encompasses the issue in the statement for effective communication: “Effective communication of the mission’s role and functions to local actors is essential. In the past, the effectiveness of UN peacekeeping has been hampered by ineffective communication, often exacerbated by a limited understanding of local culture, the diversity of views in the population, and divisions along ethnic, gender and other lines” (DPKO/DFS 2009: 15).
It is not possible to extract concrete recommendations from this general and short statement. The framing seems to follow the effectiveness-argument. But again, the short statement does not allow for sound conclusions about the norm interpretation. The Capstone Doctrine includes gender equality also in a rather abstract form but presents the issue in a more comprehensive and reflective way than A New Horizon: “In building national capacity, women and men should have equal opportunities for training. Targeted efforts may need to address gender inequalities” (DPKO/DFS 2008b: 40). “Social impacts such as different cultural norms of mission staff and host country customs may create friction (e.g.: employment of women in nontraditional gender roles, mixing and socialization amongst genders, drinking, gambling, inappropriate behaviour, etc.). […] All of these have the potential for creating friction and discontent within the local population and they should be continuously monitored and managed by the mission’s leadership” (DPKO/DFS 2008b: 82). Both statements reflect on structural imbalances of men and women. The former calls to provide women and men with equal opportunities for training. The latter suggests respecting culturally-related different treatment of men and women. Here, the way gender equality is translated in the UN peacekeeping context resembles rather the template proposed by gender advisers than the effectiveness arguments favored by the majority of the uniformed personnel.

The Capstone Doctrine fuels the above described suggestion that both groups – gender advisers and the uniformed personnel – adopt arguments from the other and the norm interpretation process proceeds with an interactive dynamic. The discourse analysis of the Report on SSR provides similar findings. The basic definition of the security situation includes a gender perspective, different treatment of men and women is proposed and the introduction of gender equality is justified as increase in UN peacekeeping’s effectiveness, which is intrinsically linked to democratic governance structures. Thus, both documents on general peacekeeping strategies that were written in 2008 offer features of the interpretation template that is originally proposed by gender advisers. The Handbook offers the same interpretation scheme but it was already published in 2003. In this regard, it does not further fuel the suggestion of inter-active norm interpretation.
4.3.3 Analysis of UN peacekeeping mission reports

The final part of this chapter deals with the interpretation of gender equality in the UN documents that regularly report from field mission’s experiences. It encompasses the annual reports of the DPKO/DFS as well as the regular reports of the SG on the individual UN field operations. The reports were written by the senior leadership of the DPKO/DFS and the SRSGs. Thus, the interpretation of gender equality is probably more coherent with the template of the uniformed peacekeepers.

4.3.3.1 Annual Report of the Department for Peacekeeping Operations and Department of Field Support

The DPKO/ DFS publication is called Year in Review (YiR) and presents current challenges and selected examples of best UN peacekeeping practice. Since 2004, the YiR has been launched every year and counts 50 pages on average. The documents also contain pictures that offer further information on relevant priorities. The aim of the reports is to inform the UN member states about current developments of the security situation in the host society, projects of recovery and the general mission’s performance. On the one hand, reports on field operations help to understand everyday challenges of UN peacekeeping on the ground. On the other hand, the reports provide information on general peacekeeping strategies as well as the degree of recognition for gender equality in the individual missions.

The YiR generally reflects on the changing conflict situation in a host society of UN missions, including gender-based violence, and the changing nature of UN peacekeeping, namely multi-dimensional mandates, as most prevailing gender-related challenges of UN peacekeeping: “As the expression of the collective will of the international community to assist societies moving from armed conflict to peace, peacekeeping continued to grow in scope and complexity” (YiR 2005; p.1). “[…] Today’s operations are increasingly called upon to perform a wide range of multi-dimensional and exceptionally sensitive tasks – such as supporting peace processes, building sustainable institutions of governance, reforming security sectors and building the rule of law, protecting civilians, combating sexual and gender-based violence, assisting national elections, promoting security of UN staff and helping to nurture the often fragile seeds of peace” (YiR 2010; p.3).

Some reviews dedicate a separate paragraph on “sexual violence”, such as YiR 2006 or YiR 2007. Yet, sexual violence is not always explicitly referred to violence against women: “Also during 2008, the Security Council, in resolution 1820, declared sexual violence to be a threat to peace and security, used as a weapon of war, destroying the lives of thousands of people in ongoing conflicts” (YiR 2008; p.5). “It is a horrendous fact that rape is still used as a tactic of war” (YiR 2010; p.5). In such descriptions it is not clear whether the reference to sexual violence implicitly means sexual violence against women or if sexual violence against men and boys is deliberately included.

In 2004, the first YiR put focus on the internal code of conduct and denounced sexual exploitation and abuse (SEA) committed by UN peacekeeping personnel: “In 2004, the UN also saw an increase in allegations of sexual abuse and exploitation committed by UN peacekeepers, both civilian and military, against host populations” (YiR 2004; p.2). The severity of the SEA-issue is highlighted in several reviews: “In addition to the trauma inflicted on individual victims, sexual exploitation and abuse undermines the reputation of the vast majority of Blue Helmets who serve honourably with pride and purpose and it erodes the trust between the peacekeepers and the local population so essential for the operation to successfully fulfill its mandate” (YiR 2006; p.21). In 2010, a separate paragraph tackles this issue.

The YiR 2009 and 2010 are the two documents that integrate gender equality most systematically in the descriptions of various aspects of UN peacekeeping. Both reviews include interviews with Alain Le Roy and Susana Malcorra, the heads of DPKO and DFS. Interestingly, Alain le Roy is not asked about gender equality and he does not mention it in the YiR 2009. Susana Malcorra, by contrast, was asked: “How can we attract more women to peacekeeping?” (YiR 2009; p.10). In 2010, Alain le Roy was asked about responses to sexual violence in conflict situations more generally, whereas Susana Malcorra was asked about SEA committed by UN peacekeepers. Thus, the male and the female heads of department were treated differently in terms of dealing with gender equality. It is rather expected from Susana Malcorra that the integration of women in UN peacekeeping and the consequent combat against misconduct committed by peacekeepers were topics on her working agenda.

Regarding the question of who is responsible and what measures should be realized, the vast majority of YiR formulated similar answers. Both the UN and member states are responsible actors to realize gender equality. And the proposed measures highlight different treatment of men and women: “[...] [T]he UNOCI mandate includes [...] the
national programme for the disarmament, demobilization and reintegration of the combatants (DDR), with special attention to the specific needs of women and children” (YiR 2004; p.4). “We are also taking into consideration things like gender in our designs [of the missions, UB]. One thing I always take into consideration is ablutions and bathrooms when I visit camps. [...] It is not very appealing for a woman to have to walk 250 meters in the middle of the night to get to the bathroom” (YiR 2010; p.13). The more recent reports even propose measures that bear directly on structural imbalances: the infrastructure must be convenient for male and female peacekeepers that have different needs.

Further, the formulated aim to increase the number of women is treated differently in the reviews. The proposed measures range from all-female contingents and pre-selected female candidates on rosters to ameliorating the conditions to balance family life and working in UN peacekeeping: “The first deployment of an all-female police contingent to a peacekeeping mission was widely considered one of peacekeeping’s biggest innovations in 2007” (YiR 2007; p.25): “Successful candidates are placed on pre-approved rosters, from which peacekeeping operations can select candidates for vacant positions without further additional administrative steps. Male candidates remain on the roster for two years, while female candidates remain three years” (YiR 2010; p.22). “Our main problem is in mid-career, because retaining women in their thirties, women who have made a choice to have a family, not only to work, and retain them in the places where we serve, is very difficult. We need to first improve the conditions of living in those places, but also we need to improve conditions for them to return should they take some time off. Being able to keep track of those who left and welcome them back and not penalize them is part of what we need to do” (YiR 2009; p.10).

Finally, the framing of gender equality varies across the YiRs. The effectiveness-argument is most prominently used in the YiR 2006: “It is now widely understood that successful implementation of complex, multidimensional peacekeeping mandates depends on women serving in meaningful numbers and making major contributions. [...] All participants agreed that the deployment of female peacekeepers is an operational imperative” (YiR 2006; p.18). Before and after 2006, arguments which foster women’s participation are more often mentioned in the context of norm adaptation than the effectiveness-argument. It is important to note, that before 2006 “participation of women” meant the participation of local women in political bodies in the post-conflict society. After 2006, the integration of women in UN peacekeeping
staff, including in police and military components, was additionally subsumed under “participation of women”. “Democracy is extended as a result of UN involvement in such elections. For example, women are serving in significant numbers in elected bodies in Afghanistan, Kosovo and Timor Leste, thanks to UN support” (YiR 2004; p.18). “Liberians made history in November when they voted into office Africa’s first elected woman head of state, Ellen Johnson-Sirleaf, under the watchful eye of UN peacekeepers” (YiR 2005; p.4). “As of 31 December, there were 1,484 police officers, including 78 women, serving with UNMIT” (YiR 2007; p.37). “The number of female police officers has doubled to eight per cent of UN Police in the past two years, including a significant increase in senior posts” (YiR 2008; p.40). “It is hoped that partnership with UN Women will also enhance women’s participation in peace processes from the peacekeeping phase to the peacebuilding and development phases” (YiR 2010; p.27).

The very definition of effectiveness has changed over the years, too. Until 2006, the effectiveness of UN peacekeeping had been bound to the performance of the mission and its staff. After 2006, effectiveness is rather seen as a result of women’s participation. Female peacekeepers empower and motivate local women to take active part in local security institutions and political bodies: “The effectiveness of a mission depends on the quality of the services that a mission provides, as well as on the ability of its staff to uphold the highest standards of conduct” (YiR 2004; p.22). “The exclusion of large sectors of Nepal’s population from public life, including women from most communities, remains a challenge for the peace process. UNMIN’s mandate includes paying special attention to the needs of women and traditionally marginalized groups, and throughout the year the mission advocated strongly for the need for dialogue with these groups as well as for an increase in the representation of women in all fields of public life” (YiR 2007; p.38). “The point is not to achieve gender parity for its own sake. The imperative is to draw on the unique and powerful contribution women can make,’ said Secretary-General Ban” (YiR 2009; p.16). “By empowering women to become law enforcers and guardians of public security we are not only making police services more effective and representative, but we are also changing the role model: women are also seen as protectors and not only as victims. This has a huge impact in many countries around the world,’ said UN Police Adviser Ann-Marie Orler” (YiR 2010; p.28).

To sum up the analysis of DPKO’s regular mission reports, the norm interpretation reveals several parallels with the gender advisers’ template. Gender-sensitive security
threats are recognized, different treatment of men and women is proposed, including
the elimination of structural imbalances, and women’s participation is increasingly
perceived as very end of UN peacekeeping and herewith as step towards the mission’s
effectiveness.
Particularly in 2009 and 2010, most senior staff, such as SG Ban Ki Moon and UN
Police Adviser Ann-Marie Orler, underlines the positive impact for UN peacekeeping
and the empowerment of local women thanks to the integration of female
peacekeepers and their special qualities. Thus, the discourse on gender equality in the
military dominated DPKO reproduces more and more arguments that are formerly
exclusively highlighted by gender experts. And whereas before 2006 the definition of
the mission’s effectiveness focuses solely on its operational efficiency, the YiR 2010
highlights the positive impact of female role models in security institutions. Thus, the
definition of effectiveness becomes more reflective and comprehensive throughout the
period of investigation.

4.3.3.2 The Secretary General’s regular reports on field operations
The following final part of this section documents the development of norm
interpretation in the SG reports on the individual multi-dimensional UN peacekeeping
operations. Although this study focuses on the twelve multi-dimensional missions led
by the UN between 2000 and 2010, the empirical material is overwhelming. The SG
publishes on average four reports per year for each mission. That results in over 200
reports; each covers approximately 20 pages. It is therefore not possible to summarize
each report. Instead, I will concentrate on the most important findings of the
documentary analysis.
As the reports are prepared by SRSGs in the field, it is assumed that they are similar to
the norm interpretation template favored by the uniformed peacekeepers.

The presentation of the results here is structured in two parts. Firstly, I will describe in
detail which report contains a separate paragraph on “gender issues”. And secondly, I
will shortly summarize the relevance and individual interpretations of gender equality
in each field operation in the period of investigation.
Annex VI illustrates that there is no systematic integration of a separate paragraph on
“gender issues” in the SG reports on the individual missions after the year 2000 as
called for in SC-Res. 1325. Furthermore, the titles of the respective paragraphs vary.
Some reports chose “gender issues” as heading, others simply “gender”, “gender
mainstreaming” or “gender affairs”. In some reports gender-related references are
SHIFTS IN THE DISCURSIVE CONSTRUCTION OF GENDER EQUALITY IN THE UN PEACEKEEPING BUREAUCRACY

outlined under the headline “protection of women and children”, “women’s rights” or “sexual and gender-based violence”. These titles indicate already a particular norm interpretation.

Some reports additionally contain a paragraph on “code and discipline”. Here, the SG outlines activities referring to SEA or other forms of misconduct committed by UN staff. The strict adherence to the zero-tolerance strategy against SEA is most commonly repeated in this paragraph. Sometimes the SG lists concrete numbers of accusations and proceedings. Yet, in most reports the paragraph on “code and discipline” does not contain specific gender-related references. Thus, direct implications regarding the norm adaptation process cannot be drawn as it is not clear whether the incidences concern SEA of women, minors, children or other groups.

In general, the SG reports quarterly to the SC about current developments in UN field operations. The number of reports per year, however, varies. In particular in the first and the last year of the mission’s presence there are often less than four reports. In Annex VI a cross indicates the existence of a separate paragraph that deals with gender-related developments and activities –no matter under what precise title they are listed. Three missions (UNMIK, UNTAET and UNMISET) never address gender-related references in a separate paragraph; two missions (UNMIT and ONUB) do so only in very few reports.

It is difficult to find a reason for that finding. The missions neither are very early missions nor do they operate in a similar geographic region. UNMIK and UNTAET started already in 1999 and one might think that the realization of gender equality is not very advanced yet. But ONUB (2004-2006) and UNMIT (2006-2012) are rather late missions and gender equality should be well known as an aspect of UN peacekeeping at that time.

A closer look reveals that the missing of a separate gender paragraph does not mean that the report contains any gender-related reference at all. To the contrary, the SG reports on UNMIT are among the most reflective ones with comprehensive descriptions of gender-related activities and gender perspectives on UN peacekeeping. From 2004 on, the integration of a gender paragraph in the SG reports takes place very regularly. In 2005, seven out of nine field operations address gender issues separately in its reports and in 2010 all multi-dimensional field operations -except UNMIK- contain gender paragraphs. UNMIL, UNOCI and UNMIS are the missions which address gender issues most frequently in separate paragraphs. They are all deployed in the middle of the 2000-years (2003, 2004, 2005) and operate in African countries. A
long-term analysis of SG mission reports shows that the overall tendency of integrating a separate paragraph on gender issues is rising.

The integration of a gender paragraph in the SG mission report is an important indicator for the mission’s recognition of the emergent norm in their daily working context. Yet, the mere existence of a paragraph is not sufficient to serve as evidence for a mission’s active engagement in realizing gender equality in its everyday practices of UN peacekeeping. On the one hand, SG reports, such as the reports on UNMIT, show a comprehensive sensitivity for a gender perspective without summarizing gender-related activities in a separate paragraph. On the other hand, gender paragraphs, such as those in the reports on UNOCI, constantly repeat the importance of gender mainstreaming, but refer only to workshops and trainings to raise awareness instead of concrete measures that are needed to improve the situation of women.

The following qualitative analysis of the SG reports on the twelve multi-dimensional peacekeeping missions helps to make clearer distinctions of the actual relevance of gender equality in UN peacekeeping practices and the individual norm interpretations of the field missions in a long-term perspective.

**UNMIK**, established in 1999 in Kosovo, is one of the first multi-dimensional UN-led peacekeeping missions ever. It is still active today. The SG continues to regularly report to the SC on current developments although the European Union has been leading the mission since 2008. Due to its continuous presence, the SG has written the highest number of reports, namely 39, on UNMIK between 2000 and 2010.

**Table 13: The Secretary General’s Reports on the United Nations Mission in Kosovo**


The overall awareness of gender issues in the reports is very low. The reports in 2009 and 2010 contain no reference at all to gender-based violence, female representation in
political elections or equal rights for men and women. Instead, S/2010/562 reports on riots after a basketball match in the paragraph “the security situation”: “On 11 September, following the Serbian basketball team loss to Turkey in the semi-finals of the basketball world championship tournament, approximately 150 Kosovo Albanians while celebrating this event tried to cross the main bridge in Mitrovica shouting anti-Serbian slogans” (p.6).176

The protection of minorities and the participation of all ethnic groups in newly established security institutions and political elections are more prominently addressed in the SG reports than measures to realize gender equality. Between 2005 and 2008, gender-related references are only mentioned in the “Technical Assessment of Progress in Implementation of the Standards for Kosovo”, an annex of the SG reports that documents Kosovo’s progress towards European integration. The reports in the years 2000-2004 show some references to gender-related challenges and activities. The problem that “women are underrepresented overall in the Provisional Institutions” (S/2004/613; p.6) is repeatedly mentioned. To address the problem of female underrepresentation in political bodies and newly established security institutions, such as the Kosovo Police Service, measures concerning the different treatment of men and women were undertaken. The establishment of a Municipal Gender Officer as senior civil servant or the introduction of a quota for ethnic minorities and women are only two examples: “In each of the 30 municipalities, a position of Municipal Gender Officer has been established as a senior civil servant, funded under the Kosovo consolidated budget. […] However, despite such provisions Kosovo still has poor record in hiring women at senior level and managerial positions” (S/2003/996; p.4).

“UNMIK has set goals of 15 per cent minority representation and 25 per cent female representation for the future KPS [Kosovo Police Service, UB]” (S/2000/117; p.11). Women’s participation in public institutions is a central aspect of gender-related references in the reports. The other one is women’s protection against gender-based violence. Particularly, trafficking for the purpose of prostitution is a security risk for women and a severe human rights abuse. Again, special measures to protect women, i.e. different treatment, are proposed to alleviate the problem: “Trafficking of women for the purpose of prostitution is emerging as a major regional criminal and human rights concern. During the reporting period, there was an increase in incidents of forced prostitution of women who had been abducted in third countries and brought to Kosovo. […] A shelter for women at risk was opened on 18 February through the

cooperation of UNMIK, KFOR and international non-governmental organizations” (S/2000/117; p.14).

The gender-specific measures are directed to the Transitional Authorities in Kosovo that represent the member state in this case. The realization of gender equality in UN authorities or by UN staff is barely mentioned in the SG reports. The interpretation of gender equality as a special measure for increasing women’s participation and for providing protection remains constant throughout the period of investigation.

In contrast to UNMIK, UNAMSIL in Sierra Leone regularly reported from the third year of deployment on about gender issues in separate paragraphs. UNAMSIL was also an early mission with the tripartite structure of military, police and civilian component of UN personnel in the field. The mission was deployed from 1999 to 2005 and produced 23 reports of the SG about the situation on the ground.

Table 14: The Secretary General’s Reports on the United Nations Mission in Sierra Leone


In the first year after the introduction of gender equality, the reports formulate gender-based violence committed by ex-combatants as a core concern. They only propose special measures to protect women: “UNAMSIL is undertaking preparations for a data-gathering project on war-related sexual violence against women and girls that will commence in January 2001. The data will be used to advocate for better protection and programming on the ground” (S/2000/1199; p.8).  

Requests to transform the elections towards a broad democratic participation as well as an assessment report that aims at enhancing the effectiveness of the mission do not include any gender-related reference: “Following the events that occurred early in May 2000, I sent a high-level multi-disciplinary assessment team, led by Mr. Manfred Eisele, former Assistant Secretary-General in the Department of Peacekeeping Operations, to Sierra Leone to review the operations of UNAMSIL and report on measures that could be taken to make the operation more effective” (S/2000/751; p.9).

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In the following years, the framing of gender equality in the SG reports on UNAMSIL changed. The participation of women’s groups in the peace process became increasingly important and in 2005 an SG report even highlighted the critical role of women for democratic governance in Sierra Leone: “Women have played a critical role in ensuring a return to democratic governance in Sierra Leone. Continued support is vital for efforts to empower women, and for promoting their role as peacemakers, peacebuilders, and leaders in the governance and future development of Sierra Leone” (S/2005/273; p.12). The recognition of women’s participation in public affairs as an aspect of gender equality goes along with the recognition of the guarantee of equal rights as an aspect of gender equality. On the one hand, measures to realize equal rights for men and women encompass national law reforms to reduce discriminatory inheritance (S/2005/777; p.8) and marriage rights (S/2005/596; p.8). On the other hand, investigations of reported cases of sexual abuse of women committed by nationals (S/2004/724; p.9) or UN staff (S/2002/267; p.12) complement the catalogue of activities to realize gender equality. Thus, gender-related measures are no longer restricted to member states but address also UN personnel and UN agencies: “UNAMSIL continues to attach high priority to the training of its all civilian and military personnel on the prevention of sexual exploitation and abuse, in line with the United Nations policy of zero tolerance. […] The Mission also conducted training workshops for the sexual exploitation and abuse focal points established in United Nations agencies operating in the country” (S/2005/596; p.8).

The SG reports on UNAMSIL reveal a colorful mix of gender-related challenges for UN peacekeeping as well as norm interpretations. The condemnation of gender-based violence refers to the interpretation of gender equality as protection of women; the call for public hearing of victims of gender-based violence in the Truth and Reconciliation Commission as well as law reforms indicate the interpretation of gender equality as equal rights of men and women; and the emphasis on the need to return to democratic governance in Sierra Leone and the need for women’s empowerment stress the interpretation of gender equality as participation of women. For the SG reports on UNAMSIL no tendency of norm interpretation can be identified in the six years of deployment.

UNTAET (1999-2002), UNMISET (2002-2005) and UNMIT (2006-2012) are the successive UN missions in East Timor. All together the SG wrote 25 reports on the three missions. Only two contain separate paragraphs on gender issues. Yet, as
indicated above, the reports show nonetheless a gender-sensitive perspective on peacekeeping.\textsuperscript{178}

**Table 15: The Secretary General’s Reports on the United Nations Missions in East Timor**

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In 2000, the first report already highlights the work of the Special Rapporteur of the Commission on violence against women (S/2000/53; p.11) as well as maternal and child care as an integral part of the restored health care system (S/2000/53; p.14). Referring to the equal participation of women, the reports inform about female representation in the new national police service (e.g. S/2003/944; p.6), at the local elections (S/2005/99; p.2) and pay special tribute to the exceptional efforts of the men and women of UNMISET (S/2004/333; p.22). The insufficient equal integration of women in programs for DDR is criticized in S/2004/333; p.2. Different treatment in terms of special strategies for women are developed by focal points for gender affairs (S/2002/432; p.10) and the Gender Affairs Unit (S/2002/80; p.3). Furthermore, the protection of women is part of the missions’ interpretation of gender equality –both in describing issues of concern and efforts that are undertaken: “Domestic crime in East Timor is of special concern, with drastic increases in reports of violence against women and children” (S/2002/80; p.7). “It [Timor-Leste’s Justice System, UB] has also favoured an increased reliance on a traditional dispute settlement, even where they may not provide adequate protection for the rights of the minorities, vulnerable groups and women” (S/2003/449; p.5). “UNMISET and the national police have also undertaken joint efforts to address gender-based violence. The establishment of a Vulnerable Persons Unit within the police force is noteworthy in this regard, although institutional capacities to implement gender-responsive measures remain

underdeveloped given the high number of reported incidents of gender-based violence and sexual abuse in all districts“ (S/2005/99; p.9).

The reports on UNTAET and UNMISET most frequently address local groups in the member state to protect women or take efforts to integrate them in public affairs. The reports on UNMIT, however, include systematically UN staff and UN agencies as addressees of gender-related proposals. In general, the level of reflection on gender-sensitive peacekeeping is remarkable in the reports on UNMIT. In addition to standardized documentations of sex-disaggregated data on national as well as UN staff in all UNMIT reports, S/2006/628 highlights the inclusion of gender experts at the mission’s management level. The provision of a gender-sensitive budget is another very progressive demand that most European countries and municipalities do not fulfill: “[...] [A] senior gender adviser would be included within the office of the Special Representative to facilitate, support and provide technical guidance to mission managers and staff across all components to ensure coordination in gender mainstreaming efforts in all activities” (S/2006/628; p.39). “The United Nations can build on its ongoing support to the budget oversight and gender mainstreaming capacity of the Parliament to further enhance Timorese sectoral analytical capacities and strengthen gender-responsive budgeting” (S/2010/85; p.30).

The reports shed light on the structural barriers preventing women from fully participating in newly established security institutions or in political parties, as well as on the need to revise traditional dispute settlement mechanisms: “Gender-sensitive conditions of service are important in the recruitment, promotion and retention of female officers. Similarly, in F-FD TL [Forca de Defensa de Timor-Leste, UB] recruitment of women remains low, and there have been allegations of discrimination in the treatment of women, including lactating mothers. Any review of F-FD TL thus needs to ensure gender expertise in the assessment team, as well as an assessment of gender concerns relating to the operational aspects of F-FD TL, including standards of promotion and the treatment of female personnel who have given birth“ (S/2006/628; p.29). “Some of the reasons cited for the poor outcome for women included the closed list of candidates, the prevailing patriarchal culture where men decide for women, the law excluding women from political parties and the absence of child care”( S/2010/85; p.34). “Gender-based violence remained a major human rights concern. Cases were frequently ‘resolved’ through traditional dispute resolution mechanisms, which were not always victim-centred and were not regulated by a legal framework” (S/2008/501; p.8).
The presence of the SRSG at the discussion forums with women’s organizations on political participation and women’s rights protection increases its importance and recognition: “These forums [organized by civil society organizations and UN agencies, UB] brought together about 120 women representing civil society, parliament and the Government to discuss women’s participation in political processes and the protection of women’s rights. My Special Representative participated in both discussions” (S/2010/522; p.3).

Finally, the reports on UNMIT are the only mission reports that include the interpretation of gender equality as part of the mission’s effectiveness: “[…] [W]omen and youth, in their various roles, including as mothers, sisters and daughters, are in a unique position to contribute to peace-building efforts, community healing and the disarmament of civilians, and so it is critical that they be fully involved in such efforts” (S/2006/628; p.29). “Civil society’s capacity to engage on issues pertaining to security sector reform remains limited, in particular in the area of women’s security concerns. A small number of non-governmental organizations deal with security sector reform issues and could help broaden national ownership of such processes and increase public confidence in security institutions. […] while enhancing the accountability and effectiveness of the police through, inter alia, development of capacities in operations, administration and management, disciplinary procedures, police-community liaison, respect for human rights and gender awareness” (S/2010/85; p.14f.).

The various quotations illustrate that the reports on UNMIT contain a comprehensive repertoire of proposed and realized measures to promote gender equality in the particular peacekeeping mission. The measures advocate a mixture of equal and different treatment of men and women. They address local groups of the member state as well as UN staff and agencies. Gender equality is interpreted as a matter of female participation in political and security institutions, as a matter of women’s protection and even as a matter of effectiveness. In the long-term perspective, the reports on the three missions in East Timor reveal an increasing level of reflection and knowledge on gender issues in UN peacekeeping. Interestingly, the interpretation of gender equality as a matter of effectiveness goes along with a high level of gender-sensitivity. Thus, this particular norm interpretation reflects to a lesser extent the perspective of the uniformed UN personnel, who are realizing gender equality in UN peacekeeping. The mentioning of the positive contribution of women and youth in the peace-building process is rather a sign of acknowledging the value of gender equality as a high priority towards the mission’s effectiveness.
The two UN peacekeeping missions in the Democratic Republic of the Congo (DRC) (MONUC; 1999-2010 and MONUSCO; 2010 to date) highlight sexual and gender-based violence as a core challenge referring to gender equality in UN peacekeeping.

### Table 16: The Secretary General’s Reports on the United Nations Missions in the Democratic Republic of the Congo

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<td>MONUSCO</td>
<td>S/2010/512; S/2010/164</td>
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Women are mostly framed as victims of violence during and after the crisis and gender equality is strongly associated with the protection of women and girls in the 35 reports of the SG. “Women and children are among the groups the most affected by the crisis” (S/2000/888; p.9). “It has been reported that in Mboko-Swima and in Fizi (Uvira), RCD [Rassemblement congolais pour la démocratie, UB] soldiers engaged in the rape of women and young girls. […] In general, refugees and internally displaced women are often preyed upon by armed elements and have been the victims of torture, sexual and other abuse and ethnically motivated killings. Rape has been used as a weapon of war” (S/2001/970; pp.7f.).

After 2002, the SG reports regularly contain separate paragraphs on gender issues. The majority of these paragraphs are headlined with “sexual and gender-based violence”. Members of the national security services are identified as worst offenders. Thus, efforts of the UN missions to address the problem are predominantly directed at the member state: “Sexual and gender-based violence remains endemic throughout the Democratic Republic of the Congo, with security services among the worst offenders” (S/2007/671; p.10). “However, significant challenges remain, relating to the continued presence of FDLR and LRA [Forces démocratiques de liberation du Rwanda and Lord’s Resistance Army, UB]; […] the persistence of serious human rights violations,

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179 SG reports on MONUC and MONUSCO are publicly available at:
including sexual and gender-based violence by FDLR, LRA, and elements of the Congolese Army, including some who have been recently integrated” (S/2010/164; p.6). Yet, it was in the DRC where incidences of sexual misconduct committed by UN staff became publicly known. In 2004, the SG reported on the consequences of such an incidence: “In addition, an international civilian staff member was removed from the Mission in late October and is facing judicial hearings in his home country on charges of rape, sexual aggression, corruption of female minors and possession of pornographic pictures of female minors” (S/2004/1034; p.16). As a result, UN staff that was responsible with carrying out measures to combat SEA as well as gender-based violence intensified the cooperation between senior leadership staff of the mission and national agencies: “On 24 August, I requested my Special Representative on Sexual Violence in Conflict, Ms. Margot Wallström, to work with MONUSCO senior leadership and the United Nations country team in coordinating the United Nations response and follow-up to the 30 July-2 August attack” (S/2010/512; p.9).

A second dimension of realizing gender equality, the SG reported on MONUC and MONUSCO, emphasizing the equal participation of women in diverse settings. They called for integrating local women’s organization in the peace process (e.g. S/2001/572; p.9), mentioned male and female UN staff in the thank you note (e.g. S/2002/169; p.16), the mission tried to increase the number of women as military observers and civilian police (S/2003/211; p.11). Moreover, the sex-disaggregated data on participants of DDR programs (e.g. S/2009/472; p.11) and newly recruited combatants (S/2010/164; p.17) represent measures to treat men and women equally. Examples for different treatment are reforms of the electoral law aiming at increasing the female representation in political bodies (S/2007/671; p.11) or voter education programs in the radio that pursue the same goal (S/2006/759; p.8).

The SG reports on the UN missions in DRC show a norm interpretation that rather resembles the version favored by the uniformed personnel. The protection of women is the crucial aspect of realizing gender equality in MONUC and MONUSCO. Thus, the role of women as victims of gender-based violence is emphasized more than women’s active participation in the peace process. Finally, UN staff or UN agencies are only rarely addressed by gender-related measures. The bulk of activities seeks to change the situation for women in the DRC and aims at changing the behavior of nationals.

The missions in Liberia (UNMIL), Côte d’Ivoire (UNOCI) and in Sudan (UNMIS) were all deployed in the middle of the millennium years, are similar in their size (approximately 10,000 uniformed personnel) and report regularly on gender issues in
separate paragraphs from late 2004 on.\textsuperscript{180} For these reasons, the findings of the documentary analysis of the SG reports on the three missions are summarized here.

Table 17: The Secretary General’s Reports on the United Nations Missions in Liberia, Côte d’Ivoire and in Sudan

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<th>Mission</th>
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The individual interpretations of gender equality in the 65 reports (in total) also concentrate on the protection of women against sexual and gender-based violence as well as on women’s participation in political elections, in UN components or in national security institutions and their integration in DDR programs: “The attacks, which resulted in the deaths of 11 persons and in serious injuries to several others, created a sense of persistent insecurity and in many instances were accompanied by grave human rights abuses, including sexual violence and the reported rape of 12 women and girls” (S/2010/600; p.1). “The Government continued efforts to strengthen gender mainstreaming and women’s empowerment mechanisms. The women’s legislative caucus presented the draft Gender Equity in Politics Act requiring that a minimum of 30 per cent female candidates be put forward by political parties” (S/2010/429; p.13). “A major issue of concern, which President Johnson-Sirleaf has expressed determination to address, is the gender imbalance in the new Armed Forces of Liberia. As at 1 August, only 58 of the 2,000-strong army are women” (S/2009/411; 180 SG reports on UNMIL, UNOCI and UNMIS are online available at: http://www.un.org/en/peacekeeping/missions/unmil/reports.shtml, 07/25/2013; http://www.un.org/en/peacekeeping/missions/unoci/reports.shtml, 07/25/2013; http://www.un.org/en/peacekeeping/missions/unmis/reports.shtml, 07/25/2013.
The first all-female class, comprising 110 police recruits, graduated in December 2007, bringing the total number of women in the police force to 361 (10 per cent) (S/2008/183; p.5). “They [local civil society organizations, UB] also called on the United Nations to pay particular attention to the special needs of women and children associated with the former fighting forces when supporting the implementation of the disarmament, demobilization and reintegration programme and the envisaged civic service programme” (S/2007/275; pp.7f.).

The concrete measures towards realizing gender equality encompass equal and different treatment of men and women. Numerous reports contain sex-disaggregated data on the UN personnel (e.g. S/2005/177; p.4) as well as national military forces and police services (e.g. (S/2005/177; p.6), or the number of women that participate in DDR programs (e.g. (S/2005/177; p.5). One report on UNMIL even lists the percentage of female teachers that obtained certain certificates (S/2004/972; p.11). And one report on UNOCI and one on UNMIS mention the number of women that are appointed as regional politicians (S/2007/593; p.6) or as prison officers (S/2010/681; p.12) respectively. Detailed information on staff compositions referring to gender marks equal treatment of men and women. Measures that treat men and women differently are, for instance, special training programs to prevent and respond to sexual and gender-based violence (e.g. S/2006/958; p.12) or to inform newly deployed military, police and civilian staff about gender aspects in peacekeeping (e.g. S/2010/600; p.12), including specific training to prevent sexual exploitation and abuse (e.g. S/2005/57; p.22). National action plans to implement SC-Res. 1325 (S/2008/553; p.11) and particular legislation to increase the percentage of female candidates of political parties (e.g. S/2010/429; p.13) are further examples of different treatment.

Both the statistical information on female staff and the documentation of special measures to empower and protect women in the reports seem rather superficial. They lack comprehensive reflections on gender equality in the context of UN peacekeeping. For example structural imbalances, such as traditional and cultural norms in the host country that could contradict the newly emerged norm of gender equality, are rarely taken into consideration: “[…] [P]erpetrators of violations including rape, female genital mutilation and forced marriage enjoy impunity owing to the crisis and widely accepted traditional and cultural norms. […] the Ministry of Justice and Human Rights[…] organized a seminar for legal and judicial personnel aimed at designing appropriate actions to combat sexual and gender-based violence” (S/2008/451; p.12).

The regular reporting on gender-related measures in the SG reports on UNMIL, UNOCI and UNMIS show a certain degree of standardization. Gender equality is
defined as protection or as participation of women and mixed measures, ranging from 
sex-disaggregated statistical information to special training programs. It is remarkable 
that the measures specified in the separate gender paragraphs mostly propose different 
treatment of men and women.

The UN mission in Haiti and ONUB in Burundi are the two last missions that are 
considered in this analysis. Both missions are deployed in 2004. Whereas ONUB 
lasted two years, MINUSTAH is still active today.
The 15 SG reports on the mission in Haiti (MINUSTAH) contain fairly regularly 
separate paragraphs on gender issues, in particular since 2008.181

### Table 18: The Secretary General’s Reports on the United Nations Stabilization Mission in Haiti


Right from the beginning of the mission’s existence the SG reports about gender 
activities that are directed at the UN staff in the various components, such as a gender 
sensitization campaign. In 2006, the training of UN personnel even takes up explicitly 
the issue of SEA: “MINUSTAH has also embarked upon a gender sensibilization 
campaign with the civilian, military and civilian police components of the Mission” 
(S/2004/698; p.12). “MINUSTAH is training all categories of Mission personnel in the 
prevention of sexual exploitation and abuse, conducting outreach activities with the 
local community, including women’s groups and non-governmental organizations, and 
enforcing off-limit locations” (S/2006/1003; p.13).
The mission reports address local authorities of the member states to support female 
representation at all levels of political decision-making (S/2009/129; p.11), to integrate 
women in economic recovery programs (S/2004/698; p.10) and to respect women’s 
rights adequately in national law (S/2008/586; p.10).
The police is a key area of concern in regard to the introduction of gender equality in 
MINUSTAH. There have been efforts to improve the facilities, welcoming female 
victims of violence and female officers are hired to encourage reporting of gender-

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181 SG reports on MINUSTAH are online available at: 
based violence. Further, the staff was trained to take a gender perspective in various settings: “MINUSTAH started implementing a pilot project in one police station aimed at improving facilities in police stations to receive women victims of violence who want to file a complaint” (S/2005/313; p.7). “Community policing bases staffed by female officers of the Haitian National Police and United Nations police have been established to encourage reporting of gender-based violence” (S/2010/200; p.8). “The main objective is to enhance the capacity of the police to develop prevention of, and response to, sexually transmitted diseases and HIV/AIDS with consideration for a gender perspective” (S/2004/908; p.9).

In addition to the participation-frame gender equality is also defined as protection of women like in all other mission reports. Women, however, are not reduced to their role as victims but are also recognized as perpetrators of armed violence: “In particular, the data indicate that a large number of rapes have been carried out under the intimidation of weapons, there has been a high occurrence of gang rapes and that as much as 50 per cent of the rape victims have been minors” (S/2006/60; p.12). “Several of the projects specifically target women, both as victims and as perpetrators of armed violence” (S/2007/503; p.8).

To sum up, the SG reports on MINUSTAH show a high level of reflection on gender equality. Although the security situation has been unstable in the period of investigation, particularly in 2009 when a flood devastated Haiti, the documented activities are concrete examples of how to realize gender equality in the context of UN peacekeeping. Furthermore, the reports underline the different roles of women in (post-)conflict situations.

Table 19: The Secretary General’s Reports on the United Nations Operation in Burundi


The eleven SG reports on ONUB contain barely separate paragraphs on gender issues. Yet, the reflection on gender equality is similarly high as in the reports on MINUSTAH. The SG’s concern about sexual violence refers to women, girls and boys: “During its meetings with civil society and government officials, the assessment mission was informed that incidents of rape, including gang rape, against women, girls
and boys, were on the raise and that individuals accused of witchcraft has been killed” (S/2004/210; p.6).

Secondly, women’s representation in the political arena is highlighted as part of realizing gender equality: “On 30 August, President Nkurunziza nominated ministers for the 20-member Cabinet, the composition of which generally complies with the Constitution and the power-sharing arrangements in Government agreed on in the Arusha Peace and Reconciliation Agreement for Burundi, which envisaged that the Government should consist of 60 per cent Hutu, 40 per cent Tutsi and 30 per cent women representatives” (S/2005/586; p.2).

And finally, the respect of women’s rights is systematically included in the SG reports. “The situation of women returnees, particularly widows, is further exacerbated by the lack of adequate legislation to address their inheritance and land access rights” (S/2005/728; p.7).

The gender-related measures encompass equal and different treatment of women and reflect comprehensive ways of interpreting the norm. Only the group of addressees is one-dimensional and restricted to national authorities. The thank you note for the tireless and dedicated work for the peace in Burundi is the only passage that refers to male and female UN staff.

The most important concluding remark for the analysis of the SG reports on multi-dimensional UN peacekeeping missions is the fact that the norm gender equality has entered everyday UN peacekeeping practice.

50% of all SG reports have a separate paragraph that is dedicated to the latest developments in realizing the norm (see also Annex VI). Even without separate paragraphs, almost all SG reports between 2000 and 2010 take up the emergent norm in their updates about current developments in the mission.

In the long-term perspective, gender equality has been gaining more and more importance. Both the number of reports that contain separate gender paragraphs and the level of reflection about gender perspectives have increased. From 2006 on, most SG reports relate more than one aspect to the introduction of gender equality. The reports highlight most prominently the need to protect women against sexual and gender-based violence as well as the need to get more women in public offices in political decision-making positions and in security institutions.

In the beginning years of the mission’s deployment, most reports propose measures that address member states and that treat men and women differently, such as the introduction of special trainings on gender issues. In the course of the mission’s
presence, the preparatory trainings and the behavior of UN staff is increasingly under review in the SG reports. Further, the canon of gender-related activities broadened and to also include equal treatment of men and women, such as the systematic documentation of male and female staff in various national institutions and UN components. The most reflective reports further reflect critically on inappropriate behavior of UN staff in terms of sexual exploitation and abuse (see also Annex V).

Yet, a general trend towards one particular meaning of gender equality can hardly be drawn from this analysis. In the first years of the missions’ existence, the reports interpret gender equality as protection of women. This interpretation may result from the direct experiences of sexual and gender-based violence against women during the crisis situations. Generally, the deployment of a UN mission directly follows a peace agreement and the experiences of violence are still vivid in the collective memory of the post-conflict society. Later on, the participation of women in public life gains increasingly prominence in the reports. After stabilizing the security situation the UN missions dedicate their work to (re-)building a functioning democratic state. They support the holding of elections and the establishment of democratic military forces and police services as core activities of theirs mandates. The introduction of a gender perspective in UN peacekeeping fosters the situation for women as female participation is considered as characteristic for the post-conflict democratic order. Only few SG reports define gender equality as realization of equal rights for men and women. The appointment of female judges is one concrete measure that is drawn from the equal rights-interpretation of gender equality. Another measure is the investigation of cases of violence against women. Perpetrators of violent attacks -former combatants, members of newly established security institutions, or UN staff- must be accountable for the misconduct. And the SG reports on UNMIT are the only ones that explicitly relate the introduction of gender equality to the effectiveness of the mission. The elaborations on gender-sensitive policing in the reports on MINUSTAH implicitly take on the effectiveness argument.

The framing of gender equality in the SG mission reports is particularly astonishing. The mission reports are prepared by the SRSG and senior mission staff that have a military background. Thus, I assumed that the interpretation of gender equality in the SG mission reports would concur clearly with the interpretation template proposed by the uniformed personnel. This is not the case. The framing in most SG reports resembles the answers of the gender advisers to the question of why peacekeepers should adhere to gender equality. In the interviews they highlight that gender equality
SHIFTS IN THE DISCURSIVE CONSTRUCTION OF GENDER EQUALITY IN THE UN PEACEKEEPING BUREAUCRACY

is a core aspect of restoring a democratic post-conflict order. The frequent description of the need for women to participate in the local peace process, political elections, and economic recovery programs goes along with this understanding. The emphasis of the uniformed personnel that the introduction of gender equality is a question of the mission’s effectiveness lacks broad correspondence with the SG mission reports.

A clear assignment towards the interpretative scheme of the gender advisers, however, lacks similarly empirical evidence. The SG reports on complex field missions contain both aspects that are favored by the uniformed personnel and aspects that are highlighted by gender advisers with regard to realizing gender equality in UN peacekeeping.

The introductory part of each report, for example, documents the overall security situation. A systematic integration of a gender perspective in this part of the reports does not take place. Sometimes, sexual violence against women is mentioned but further reflections on gendered security do not exist in the SG reports on the individual complex UN peacekeeping missions. To what extent the presence of military forces contributes to the security feeling of women, for instance, is no question of concern.

Gender-related challenges or gender-related measures that are realized or proposed to be realized are mostly dealt with in a separate paragraph on gender issues or in the passages on the human rights situation. Only the reports that inform systematically about the female percentage of national and UN staff show various gender-related references throughout all passages of the report. These proceedings to realize gender equality in UN peacekeeping missions resembles the answers of the uniformed personnel to the question of how relevant gender equality is for their work. The uniformed personnel consider security as their highest priority; gender equality can only be realized in a secure environment and should be executed by a separate staff.

Finally, the proposed concrete measures to realize gender equality in the SG reports offer a wide range of activities that take both approaches into account. On the one hand, the reports elaborate on the equal participation of women in the police and military component of the UN mission as well as in the newly established national military forces and police services. This corresponds to the approach favored by the uniformed personnel that no special measures are necessary to integrate gender equality. On the other hand, several reports point to the need of more women in political decision-making positions and that an obligatory quota system would help to increase the number of women in the political arena. Another example of the different treatment of men and women are the numerous reports on special trainings to sensitize
UN peacekeepers as well as nationals on the different dimensions of gender equality in the context of UN peacekeeping.
The following final part of this chapter put together all results of the diverse documentary analysis and offers possible explanations for the finding.

4.3.4 Findings II: Tendency towards Interactive Process of Norm Interpretation

The introduction of the idea that the different components of the UN peacekeeping bureaucracy bear different gender identities and that the divergent norm interpretations can be ascribed to this phenomenon sheds light on the confusing diversity of concrete proposals to realize gender equality in UN peacekeeping highlighted in Chapter 3.
The documentary analysis shows that those who are significantly involved in the formulation of the various documents shape the respective norm interpretation according to the respective gender culture they are socialized in.

In translating the prominent argument on strategic framing to the selected case, I assume that gender equality is framed according to the norm interpretation proposed by the uniformed personnel. The analysis shows that the documents that particularly address gender mainstreaming in UN peacekeeping follow exactly this logic. Whereas the definitions of core gender-related challenges, responsible actors and proposed recommendations most widely correspond with the interpretation template offered by gender advisers, the framing of gender equality highlights the chances to increase the mission’s effectiveness. Thus, the framing proposed by the uniformed personnel is adopted in the documents although they are written by gender experts.183

Taking the long-term process into account, the analysis of the documents on gender mainstreaming in UN peacekeeping as well as the documents on general UN peacekeeping strategies indicates an interactive dynamic of norm interpretation. The meaning of gender equality constructed in the documents does not follow a linear development towards the template proposed by the uniformed personnel. More recent documents show aspects and framings of gender equality proposed by both gender advisers and the uniformed personnel. This finding suggests that the discussions and interactions of the two groups results in a mutual adaptation process. On the one hand, it is recognized by all actors involved that the restoration of security in a (post-) conflict situation follows a utilitarian logic. Thus, gender advisers link the participation of women to an increase of the mission’s effectiveness in order to get

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183 For a similar perspective that new and old translations of a concept interrelate see (Frenkel 2005).
heard in this working context. On the other hand, it is likewise acknowledged that the empowerment of women and female representation in public offices in the host society are the prerequisite for long-term solutions and sustainable peace. Thus, the uniformed personnel adopt women’s empowerment as its own value and adopt the participation-frame.

The analysis of the annual mission reports of the DPKO and the DFS further supports the finding of an interactive process of norm interpretation. Here, gender-sensitive security threats are recognized, different treatment of men and women is proposed, including the elimination of structural imbalances, and women’s participation is increasingly perceived as very end of UN peacekeeping that fosters the mission’s effectiveness. Thus, the discourse on gender equality in the military oriented the DPKO/DFS documents reproduces more and more arguments that are formerly exclusively cited by gender experts.

Only the results of the analysis of the regular SG reports on the twelve multi-dimensional UN peacekeeping missions do not fit to the finding. The military oriented reports of the field missions most commonly highlight the protection of women against gender-based violence and the need for an increase in women’s participation in public offices. The majority of reports propose measures that emphasize a different treatment of men and women. Thus, the reports neither reflect the interpretative scheme proposed by the uniformed personnel as expected due to the socialization background of the mission staff. Nor do the reports show a development towards a mixed version of interpreting gender equality as result of a mutual adaptation process. Instead, references that correspond to the interpretation template proposed by the uniformed personnel and aspects that are favored by gender advisers seem to be randomly taken. One reason for the divergent result of the analysis of the SG mission reports may be that the logic of deploying and running a UN field mission is radical pragmatic. Reflections on general strategies and normative expectations are quite abstract. In everyday situations there is neither the time nor the human resources to think about different meanings of gender equality and variations in realizing the norm in the context of UN peacekeeping. The proposed measures and arguments that make sense to the uniformed personnel in the very situation on the ground are adopted. A second complementary explanation for this result is the highly political environment at the UN in New York. Strategy papers and reports launched by UN peacekeeping staff in the international headquarter are much more under supervision of civil society groups and
political analysts of the member states than SG reports on individual missions. Thus, a political positioning in terms of what are the priority activities of UN peacekeeping and how should the norm gender equality be realized is important.

The following conclusions add overall assessments to the outlined findings of the documentary analysis. In doing so, it relates the discursive changes in constructing gender equality in the UN peacekeeping documents to the structural changes described in Chapter 3. Finally, it refers to the theoretical strands elaborated on in Chapter 1 and highlights the conclusions for refining linear approaches on norm development.
5. Conclusions

This dissertation aims at understanding the norm adaptation process of gender equality in the UN peacekeeping bureaucracy. It asks what affects the norm realization in that specific context. To this end, insights from IR approaches on norm development, sociological perspectives on political changes, and feminist perspectives on putting gender equality into practice are drawn. Each strand highlights different aspects that most importantly influence the process of norm adaptation. This conclusion summarizes the theoretical arguments and discusses them with regard to the most important findings of the empirical analysis of the structural and discursive changes towards gender equality in the UN peacekeeping bureaucracy.

Linear approaches on norm development focus on increasing institutionalization as decisive element of structural changes in the bureaucracy towards the realization of a norm. The establishment of gender-related new bureaucratic units, the recruitment of a higher percentage of female staff, or the integration of gender-related issues in policy programs and mission mandates mark the institutionalization of gender-related aspects in the UN peacekeeping bureaucracy. Chapter 3 presents the comprehensive measures. It concludes that the number of female staff has been constantly growing, several all-female police units have served in multi-dimensional UN missions all over the world, all current field missions have established a gender unit with at least one dedicated gender adviser, and almost all mission mandates refer to SC-Res. 1325 ten years after the resolution has been adopted. Thus, empirical evidence shows: gender equality has developed from a marginal to a salient issue in UN peacekeeping. This dissertation, however, broadens the analysis and sheds lights not only on structural changes but also on discursive changes. Chapter 4 analyzes how gender equality is interpreted and framed by the organizational subunits of the international bureaucracy. Putting the parts together the following question comes up: Is there a relation between a high level of norm institutionalization and a reflective way of norm interpretation?

According to linear approaches on norm development and liberal feminist perspectives female senior UN peacekeeping staff is particular active in realizing gender equality and reinforces the overall process of norm adaptation. Numerous UN strategy papers highlight such a positive impact of female peacekeepers in realizing the norm as well. Yet, empirical evidence shows the contrary. The statistical analysis of the twelve multi-dimensional UN peacekeeping missions shows that eight women have been deployed in senior management positions. UNMIT, MONUC, MONUSCO, UNMIL,
MINUSTAH, ONUB and UNMIS had female SRSG and/ or DSRSG for a certain period of time. Only ONUB had a female SRSG present during the whole time of the mission. UNMIT, MONUC, UNMIL, MINUSTAH and UNMIS deployed female SRSGs or DSRSGs in a later stage. One might argue that the gender-related activities documented in the SG reports on MONUC can be explained by the female DSRSG. Leila Zerrougui, however, was only appointed as DSRSG in 2008. But the SG reports on MONUC have contained gender-related references since the very beginning, in 2000. There is no difference in the SG reports on MONUC in dealing with gender equality before and after 2008. This observation holds also true for the SG reports on UNMIT, UNMIL, MINUSTAH and UNMIS. The reflections on gender equality did not change after the appointment of female senior staff. Only the comprehensive treatment of gender equality in the mandate of MONUSCO and the SG reports on ONUB could be related to female leadership. Leila Zerrougui and Carolyn McAskie were DSRSG and SRSG right from the beginning of the mission’s deployment. Thus, the presence of female senior leadership in UN peacekeeping missions has no direct influence on the realization of gender-related measures. The peacekeeping personnel I interviewed equally neglected a reinforcing effect of female senior staff on the realization of gender equality. It might have though a great impact on the participation of local women in security institutions in the host society. Female UN peacekeepers serve as role models, changing traditional image constructions of males as keepers of the peace. Yet, further research on female proportions in national armies and police forces is needed to make a sound empirical argument regarding their influence on adapting gender equality in UN peacekeeping. According to the analysis of this dissertation a definition of a core set of gender-related UN peacekeeping activities in complex post-conflict situations and the construction of gender-sensitive peacekeeping culture of both male and female peacekeepers is more important for the norm adaptation process than the statistical number of women.

Reflexive approaches on norm development emphasize that the particular meaning of a norm is highly contested. The meaning construction of norms is a social process. Norm setters and norm followers compete over the social recognition of their version of the norm by creating a particular discourse or frame. Drawing complementarily on sociological approaches this dissertation highlights that the culture of the organizational subunits heavily affects the norm adaptation process. It argues that the construction of femininity and masculinity in the uniformed and gender adviser
component shapes the interpretation and framing of gender equality as newly emergent norm in UN peacekeeping.

The literature review of UN peacekeeping studies that take a cultural approach, studies on peace and war that take a gender perspective and organizational studies concludes that a masculine and a feminine culture of UN peacekeeping can be distinguished. The former defines gender equality as equality between men and women, underlines effectiveness-frames, proposes equal treatment as measures to realize gender equality and calls for more female peacekeepers to fulfill the special tasks in multi-dimensional UN missions. The latter underlines that men’s and women’s war-time experience is different and claims that the integration of gender perspectives leads to re-definitions of the very nature of UN peacekeeping. It proposes different treatment of men and women as measures to realize gender equality, such as the special protection of women against sexual-based violence or the special support of local women to participate in elections. The different meaning constructions, which are shaped by the respective organizational cultures, led to the diverse measures for putting gender equality into UN peacekeeping practice. Chapter 4 shows that both the interpretation and the framing of gender equality by the interviewed peacekeeping personnel correspond to the gender cultures proposed by the academic literature. Thus, the discourse analysis of the interview transcripts shows organizational culture matters in the norm adaptation process of gender equality in UN peacekeeping. The combination of reflexive IR approaches on norm development and organizational studies on gender cultures turned out to be fruitful for analyzing the norm adaptation process. Further research projects should continue on this way.

In terms of strategic framing reflexive approaches argue that new norms should be framed in a way that resonates with the existing dominant audience group. In the selected case of adapting towards gender equality this would mean the norm should be framed in a way that resonates with the masculine culture of UN peacekeeping. The process tracing of the meaning construction of the organizational subunits in Chapter 4, however, reveals that the interpretation and framing of gender equality in the UN peacekeeping bureaucracy occurs as an interactive process. Gender advisers, who bear a feminine culture of UN peacekeeping, and the uniformed personnel, which are socialized in a masculine, military culture, mutually adapt interpretations and framings. In doing so, the two relevant groups of actors, who are responsible for realizing the norm in everyday UN peacekeeping practice, cooperatively re-define the very problem UN peacekeeping is confronted with. The uniformed personnel increasingly include a gender perspective on their assessment of the security situations.
They equally acknowledge that many women are victims of gender-based violence during and after the official conflict and that sexual exploitation and abuse committed by UN personnel are severe human rights violations that require strict and transparent legal investigations. Furthermore, the perspectives on priority measures and the reasons why gender equality should be realized converged in the long-run discourse analysis of UN documents. Gender advisers recognize that the effective creation of a secure environment is a top priority in all UN peacekeeping missions. Female officers contribute to this end by contacting local women and women’s organizations and thus build up trust in the local population. In short, the participation of women in UN peacekeeping is also considered as a key factor in increasing the effectiveness of the whole enterprise. By discovering an interactive norm adaptation process this dissertation contributes a new aspect to the field of literature. Further research on norm adaptation processes in international bureaucracies is needed to consolidate this result.

Two overall developments strongly influence the norm adaptation process under investigation in this dissertation: the shift from a traditional concept of security towards human security and the re-definition of appropriate UN peacekeeping in multi-dimensional (post-)conflict situations. The two developments can be ascribed to the sociological perspectives described as policy change “from outside-in” and policy changes “from inside-out” in Chapter 2.2.

According to “the new institutionalism” the impetus for organizational change comes from its environment. The adaptation towards the collectively held values shows the organization’s ability to meet current external demands. Herewith, it secures its survival by increasing its legitimacy. Scholars that apply this approach to empirical studies often highlight inconsistencies in talk, decisions, and actions of organizations that may relate to inconsistent norms in their environment. The findings of the first empirical part in Chapter 3 mark a similar result. The UN peacekeeping bureaucracy shows a strong rhetorical commitment towards gender equality but weak procedural coherence and standardized operating procedures. Possible explanations might be that the individual commitment of the senior leadership is more decisive than institutional structures of gender units, gender advisers etc; that political pressures of nation states might impede norm adaptation as norm realization is costly and implies democratic values of equality between men and women some states are skeptical about; that “turf battles” between individual bureaucratic components and bureaucratic power politics might limit norm adaptation to a rhetorical modernization; or that the time period of ten years is too small for fundamental changes in the bureaucratic procedures. Further
research projects might go into details for explaining the two-folded result of Chapter 3.

The concept of organizational adaptation concentrates on the sequence of shifting beliefs and changing practices within an organization. Adaptation occurs as a result of internal organizational feedback processes. The evolution of UN peacekeeping towards multi-dimensional operations as elaborated on in Chapter 3.1 builds a fertile ground for including gender equality in the UN peacekeeping agenda. Expectations on appropriate peacekeeping behavior have changed as senior peacekeeping staff recognizes diverse experiences of men and women in crisis situations and as UN missions seek to transfer the responsibility to guarantee a secure environment as soon as possible to the local population. The presence of women in UN peacekeeping is highly valued as they civilize the macho culture that often dominates interactions within military organizations. From a superficial perspective, the integration of women in the UN police and military components is perfectly succeeded as they wear the same uniform and patrol with their male colleagues in (post-)conflict societies. Yet a closer look reveals that women in police or military services are predominantly occupied with interrogating female victims, communicating with the public, or doing secretarial work. In doing so, less physical strength and better communication skills associated with female attributes define the particular tasks women fulfill in the male environment. These “female” jobs in the militarized and UN peacekeeping context are considered as less important and prestigious than the “male” jobs, such as the participation in Special Forces. Thus, the binary construction of male and female jobs in a hierarchical order of domination and subordination is perpetuated. Paradoxically, measures that are aimed at fostering gender equality in UN peacekeeping, such as the deployment of more women in the military and police units as well as the establishment of dedicated gender units, contribute to the perpetuation of unequal gender hierarchies.

This dissertation provides a diverse and reflected picture of the norm adaptation process of gender equality in the UN peacekeeping bureaucracy. The sound empirical analysis of the structural and discursive changes reveals an interactive process of norm adaptation. In the time period of ten years, different organizational subunits exchange their norm interpretations and framings and converged their versions of gender equality. This dissertation suggests a refinement of existing IR approaches on norm adaptation and proposes a more intense exchange of organizational and IR studies in future research projects.
### Annex I: Overview UN peacekeeping missions*

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Start Date</th>
<th>Mission Description</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>05/1948 to date</td>
<td>United Nations Truce Supervision Organization in Palestine (UNTSO)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>01/1949 to date</td>
<td>United Nations Military Observer Group in India and Pakistan (UNMOGIP)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>06-12/1958</td>
<td>United Nations Observer Group in Lebanon (UNOGIL)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>07/1960-06/1964</td>
<td>United Nations Operation in the Congo (UNUC)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>07/1963-09/1964</td>
<td>United Nations Yemen Observation Mission (UNYOM)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>03/1964 to date</td>
<td>United Nations Peacekeeping Force in Cyprus (UNFICYP)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>05/1965-10/1966</td>
<td>Mission of the Representative of the Secretary General in the Dominican Republic (DOMREP)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>09/1965-03/1966</td>
<td>United Nations India-Pakistan Observer Mission (UNIPOM)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>06/1974 to date</td>
<td>United Nations Disengagement Observer Force in Israel/ Syria (UNDOF)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>03/1978 to date</td>
<td>United Nations Interim Force in Lebanon (UNIFIL)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>05/1988-03/1990</td>
<td>United Nations Good Offices Mission in Afghanistan and Pakistan (UNGOMAP)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>04/1989-03/1990</td>
<td>United Nations Transition Assistance Group in Namibia (UNTAG)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>04/1991 to date</td>
<td>United Nations Mission for the Referendum in Western Sahara (MINURSO)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>02/1992-09/1993</td>
<td>United Nations Transitional Authority in Cambodia (UNTAC)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>05-06 1994</td>
<td>United Nations Aouzou Strip Observer Group (UNASOG)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>02/1995-06/1997</td>
<td>United Nations Angola Verification Mission III (UNAVEM III)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>03/1995-10/1996</td>
<td>United Nations Confidence Restoration Operation in Croatia (UNCRO)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>03/1995-02/1999</td>
<td>United Nations Preventive Deployment Force (UNPRED)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>01/1996-01/1998</td>
<td>United Nations Transitional Authority in Eastern Slavonia, Baranja and Western Sirmium (UNTAES)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Date Range</td>
<td>Mission Name</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>---------------------</td>
<td>--------------------------------------------------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>01-05 1997</td>
<td>United Nations Verification Mission in Guatemala (MINUGUA)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>06/1997-02/1999</td>
<td>United Nations Mission in Angola (MONUA)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>08-11/1997</td>
<td>United Nations Transition Mission in Haiti (UNTMIH)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>06/1999 – date</td>
<td>United Nations Interim Administration Mission in Kosovo (UNMIK)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>05/2002-05/2005</td>
<td>United Nations Mission of Support in East-Timor (UNMSET)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>09/2003 to date</td>
<td>United Nations Mission in Liberia (UNMIL)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>04/2004 to date</td>
<td>United Nations Mission in Côte d’Ivoire (UNOCI)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>06/2004 to date</td>
<td>United Nations Stabilization Mission in Haiti (MINUSTAH)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>03/2005 to date</td>
<td>United Nations Mission in Sudan (UNMIS)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>07/2010 to date</td>
<td>United Nations Organization Stabilization Mission in the Democratic Republic of the Congo (MONUSCO)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Statistics UN DPKO\textsuperscript{184}

* Multi-dimensional missions that had been active before 2000 are marked red; Multi-dimensional missions that have been active between 2000 and 2010 are marked blue.

## Annex II: Senior staff in headquarters of complex, multi-dimensional UN peacekeeping missions*

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
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</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td><strong>SRSG</strong></td>
<td><strong>MFC</strong></td>
<td><strong>PC</strong></td>
<td><strong>SRSG</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2000</td>
<td>Mr. Bernard Kouchner</td>
<td>Mr. Hans Haekkerup</td>
<td>Mr. Oluyemi Adeniji</td>
<td>Mr. Sergio Vieira</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(France)</td>
<td>(Denmark)</td>
<td>(Nigeria)</td>
<td>de Mello (Brazil)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2001</td>
<td>Mr. Michael Steiner</td>
<td>Mr. Daudi Ngelautwa</td>
<td>Mr. Alan Doss</td>
<td>Mr. Dennis McNamara</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(Germany)</td>
<td>(Tanzania)</td>
<td>(UK)</td>
<td>(New Zealand)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2002</td>
<td>Mr. Hari Holkeri</td>
<td>Mr. Sajjad Akram</td>
<td>Mr. Joseph Dankwa</td>
<td>Mr. Sergio Rosario</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(Finland)</td>
<td>(Pakistan)</td>
<td>(Ghana)</td>
<td>(Brazil)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2003</td>
<td>Mr. Søren Jessen-</td>
<td>Lieutenant General</td>
<td>Major General</td>
<td>Lieutenant General</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Petersen (Denmark)</td>
<td>Holger Fabio Mini</td>
<td>Kamalesh Sharma</td>
<td>Shubhakshana Narain</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>(Italy)</td>
<td>(India)</td>
<td>(India)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2004</td>
<td>Mr. Joachim Rücker</td>
<td>Lieutenant General</td>
<td>Mr. Hudson Benzu</td>
<td>Mr. Kamalesh Sharma</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(Germany)</td>
<td>Yves de Kermabon</td>
<td>(Zambia)</td>
<td>(India)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2005</td>
<td>Mr. Lamberto Zannier</td>
<td>Lieutenant General</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(Italy)</td>
<td>Giuseppe Valotto</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2006</td>
<td>Mr. Farid Zarif</td>
<td>Lieutenant General</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(Afghanistan)</td>
<td>Roland Kather</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>2007</td>
<td></td>
<td>Xavier de Marnhac</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2008</td>
<td></td>
<td>Emilio Gay</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2009</td>
<td></td>
<td>Markus J. Bentler</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2010</td>
<td></td>
<td>Erhard Bühler</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*This table includes the names of senior staff members in the headquarters of complex, multi-dimensional UN peacekeeping missions. The table includes names of Special Representatives of the Secretary-General (SRSG), Military Force Commander (MFC), and Political Coordinator (PC). The table also shows the years covered by each mission and the countries of origin of the staff members.*
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th><strong>UNMIT (2006-2012)</strong></th>
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<tr>
<td>SRSR</td>
<td>Mr. Atul Khare (India)</td>
<td>Ms. Ameerah Haq (Bangladesh)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>DSRSG</td>
<td>Mr. Finn Reske-Nielsen (Denmark)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>DSRSG</td>
<td>Mr. Takahisa Kawakami (Japan)</td>
<td>Mr. Shigeru Mochida (Japan)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PC</td>
<td>n/a</td>
<td>Mr. Luis Miguel Carrilho (Portugal)</td>
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<th><strong>MONUC (1999-2010)</strong></th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>SRSR</td>
<td>Mr. Kamel Morjane (Tunisia)</td>
<td>Mr. Amos Namanga Ngongi (Cameroon)</td>
<td>Mr. William Lacy Swing (United States)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SRSR</td>
<td>Mr. Alan Doss (United Kingdom)</td>
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<tr>
<td>DSRSG</td>
<td>n/a</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>MFC</td>
<td>Major General Mountaga Diallo (Senegal)</td>
<td>Major General Somaila Iliya (Nigeria)</td>
<td>Lieutenant General Babacar Gaye (Senegal)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>MFC</td>
<td>Lieutenant General Vicente Diaz de Villegas (Spain)</td>
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<tr>
<td>PC</td>
<td>Mr. Adilio Custodio (Portugal)</td>
<td>Mr. Jean Monchanin (France)</td>
<td>Mr. Sudesh Kumar (India)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PC</td>
<td>Mr. Jorgen Kent (Sweden)</td>
<td>Mr. Cristian Gerardo Chaumont (Argentina)</td>
<td>Mr. Abdallah Wafy (Niger)</td>
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<tr>
<td>SRSR</td>
<td>Mr. Roger Meece (United States)</td>
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<tr>
<td>DSRSG</td>
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<td>Ms. Leila Zerrougui (Algeria)</td>
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<td>D S R S G</td>
<td>M F C</td>
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<td>PC</td>
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<td>Mr. Jean Marie Bourry (France)</td>
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<td>MINUSTAH (2004 to date)</td>
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<td>Mr. Juan Gabriel Valdés</td>
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<td>Mr. Edmond Mulet (Guatemala)</td>
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<td>Mr. Hédi Annabi (Tunisia)</td>
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<td>Mr. Luiz Carlos da Costa (Brazil)</td>
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# Annex III: Interview Arrangements

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<td>1) Male General</td>
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<td>St. Gallen, 03/03/2009</td>
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<td>5) Female Colonel/ Brigadier</td>
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<td>New York, 31/03/2009</td>
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<td>6) Male Officer</td>
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<td>7) Female gender adviser</td>
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<td>13) Female gender adviser</td>
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<td>19) Female National staff</td>
<td>Federal Department of Foreign Affairs (EDA), Switzerland</td>
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<td>20) Female National staff</td>
<td>Swiss Permanent Mission to the UN</td>
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</table>
### I. Personal Background

- How did you come to the UN?
- For how long have you been working in this position?
- The post as Gender Affairs Officer exists since when in DPKO?
- How would you describe a normal working day?
- How do you perceive the working atmosphere in DPKO?

### II. Gender Mainstreaming in UN Peace Operations

- On a scale from 1 (not important) to 5 (very important): How important is the strategy of gender mainstreaming for the conduct of peace operations today?
- Comparing to the beginning of your career. Is the dimension more/less salient?
- Do you remember a critical incident (positive or negative) in this context?
- What do you consider to be a violation of gender equality (in field mission or in your department)?

---

### I. Personal Background

- What are the differences between Gender Affairs Officer, Gender Advisor, Gender Focal Point?
- Are you only working in DPKO or also in other organizations within or outside the UN?
- Are you involved in the planning of a peace operation? In which way?
- Do you think your salary is adequate for the job?
- Do you remember any opposition towards the Gender Affairs Office?
- Which persons/organizations are addressing you?
- How do you achieve a work-life-balance?

### II. Gender Mainstreaming in UN Peace Operations

- Which concrete measures are taken? (e.g. gendered language?)
- Do you have direct contact to gender advisors in field missions? (male or female?)
- How many women are working in your department?
- What was the underlying reason for that?
- Has the atmosphere changed? Could you give an example?
- Has this ever happened to you?
- Which procedures are taken in such a case?
### III. Personal Perception on the Strategy and the Process of Implementation

- Which aspects of the strategy would you like to change? Which ones would you retain?
- To what extent do you consider the aim of gender equality to be realized?
  - On a scale from 1 (not realized) to 5 (completely realized)
    - (a) referring to the legal framework;
    - (b) referring to the implementation in everyday practices.
- Do you see any negative side-effects by supporting explicitly women in peace operations?
- Does the aim of gender-equality overlaps or even competes with other important goals of a mission?
  (e.g. competition between realizing gender-equality and the respect for the local culture)
- Are you in direct contact with the peacekeepers/gender focal points in the field?
- Can you give concrete examples?
- What else should be done?
- individual perceptions
- personal view beyond political correctness

---

**Are there any important aspects we have ignored so far?**
**Do you know other people who might be interesting for me to speak with?**
### Annex V: Norm interpretations in UN documents

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<th>SC-Resolutions</th>
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| SG reports | Structural imbalances | Exclude women | All actors (men and women) | Different treatment | Effectiveness | Different needs / Coordinated measures/ use of gender expertise | UN/ MS Different treatment Effectiveness | Different security threats/ country specific approach UN/ MS Different treatment Effectiveness | Different security threats/ different role of women is needed UN/ MS/ civil society Different treatment Participation/ effectiveness | Measurable indicators UN/MS Different treatment Participation |

| Other documents | Different needs and perceptions of peacekeeping | All actors/ senior staff/ MS | Different treatment | Participation/ | Different needs and perceptions of peacekeeping | UN/MS Different treatment | Participation/ equal rights/ effectiveness | Different needs/ sustainable peacekeeping | All UN military personnel Different treatment | Effectiveness |

<p>| Other documents | Different needs and perceptions of peacekeeping | All actors/ senior staff/ MS | Different treatment | Participation/ | Different experiences UN/MS Different treatment Participation/ equal rights/ effectiveness | Different needs/ “new” peacekeeping | All UN military personnel Different treatment Effectiveness |</p>
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**GENERAL STRATEGIES FOR UN PEACEKEEPING**

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- Military culture/gm as priority
- Senior staff/local leaders/MS
- Structural imbalances/different treatment
- Effectiveness/equal rights

Re-definition of security/different needs
Senior staff/local leaders
Structural imbalances/different treatment
Effectiveness
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**MISSION REPORTS**

### 2000
- **UNMIK**
  - Female representation/gbv
  - Different treatment
  - MS Participation

### 2001
- **UNAMSIL**
  - Gbv
  - Different treatment
  - MS Protection

### 2002
- **UNMIK**
  - Female representation/gbv
  - Equal treatment
  - MS Participation

### 2003
- **UNAMSIL**
  - Gbv
  - Different treatment
  - MS Protection

### 2004
- **UNMIK**
  - Female representation/gbv
  - Mixed treatment
  - MS Participation

### 2005
- **UNAMSIL**
  - Gbv
  - Different treatment
  - MS Protection

### 2006
- **UNMIK**
  - Female representation/gbv
  - Mixed treatment
  - MS Participation

### 2007
- **UNMIK**
  - Female representation/gbv
  - Mixed treatment
  - MS Participation

### 2008
- **UNMIK**
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  - Mixed treatment
  - MS Participation

### 2009
- **UNMIK**
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### 2010
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**UNMIT**

- **Female representation/gbv**
- **Mixed treatment**
- **MS/UN**
- **Participation/effectiveness**
- **Protection**

**MONUC**

- **Gbv**
- **Different treatment**
- **MS**
- **Protection**

- **GbV in peacekeeping**
- **Different treatment**
- **MS/UN**
- **Protection/participation**

**MONUSCO**

- **Gm in DDR**
- **Different treatment**
- **MS**
- **Participation/equal rights**

**UNMIL**

- **GbV**
- **Different treatment**
- **MS**
- **Protection/participation**

**UNOCI**

- **Human rights violations**
- **Equal treatment**
- **MS**

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Mc Adam, Dough, John D. Mc Carthy and Mayer N. Zald 1996. Comparative Perspectives on Social Movements. Political Opportunities, Mobilizing Structures, and Cultural Framings. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.


UN Documents


## Curriculum Vitae

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<td>Université de Genève</td>
<td>Scholarship of the exchange programme SOCRATES/ERASMUS; incl. seminars at the HEI (Institut universitaire de hautes études internationales)</td>
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<td>1998 - 2006</td>
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<td>Magister Artium (M.A.) in International Relations/ Peace and Conflict Studies (major), Sociology (minor), German Literature (minor)</td>
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### Employments and Practical Experiences

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<td>Research Assistant of Prof. Dr. Dr. Roland Kley, Chair of Political Theory</td>
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