

**REQUISITES FOR REACHING POSITIVE PEACE:  
WOMEN’S INCLUSION IN PEACEKEEPING  
OPERATIONS AND IN POST-CONFLICT ORDERS**

**By**

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# REQUISITES FOR REACHING POSITIVE PEACE: WOMEN'S INCLUSION IN PEACEKEEPING OPERATIONS AND IN POST-CONFLICT ORDERS

SEBAHAT DERİN ATIŞKAN

Formation of a peaceful order in a post-conflict environment requires not only an end to conflict and violence, but also the provision of equality within society. Hence, the integration of human society considers gender equality to be a crucial dimension of and its lack as a major obstacle against human development. The enlarged role of peacekeeping has given rise to the expanded role of women in these operations, which can also become a facilitator of the women's inclusion in the reconstruction process in a post-conflict country. In fact, many scholars posit that there are many benefits of women's presence in peacekeeping operations such as improving the reputation of peacekeepers among local populations, establishing better relationships with locals, and providing role models in the local community. But, the literature so far does not cover empirical studies that will test these arguments. This thesis aims to contribute to this discussion by focusing on the possible role that the presence of women in UN peacekeeping operations can play in the living conditions (economic, social and political) of women in post-conflict orders. In this study, Mozambique as a case from the period before the resolution 1325, when much less attention was given to gender sensitivity within peacekeeping operations; and Sierra Leone as a case from the period after the resolution 1325 are selected to compare and contrast the impact of gender focused approach on the peace process. This study concludes that the role of women in the selected missions did not have a solid effect on the political and economic participation of women, however it had a significant influence on the gender mainstreamed security sector reforms. With a clear focus on gender mainstreaming, this study can be able to improve the understandings of gender equality as a key factor in sustainable positive peace.

**Keywords:** Positive peace, peacekeeping, gender mainstreaming, women peace and security, human development, post-conflict society



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# POZİTİF BARIŞA ULAŞMAK İÇİN ÖNKOŞULLAR: BARIŞI KORUMA OPERASYONLARINA VE ÇATIŞMA SONRASI TOPLUM DÜZENLERİNE KADINLARIN DAHİL EDİLMESİ

SEBAHAT DERİN ATIŞKAN

Çatışma sonrası bir ortamda barışçıl bir düzenin oluşturulması, yalnızca çatışma ve şiddete son vermeyi değil, aynı zamanda toplum içinde eşitliğin sağlanmasını da gerektirir. Bununla beraber, insan toplumunun bütünleşmesi, toplumsal cinsiyet eşitliğini, insani gelişmenin önemli bir boyutu olarak görmekte ve yokluğunu insani gelişime karşı büyük bir engel olarak değerlendirmektedir. Ayrıca, barışı koruma görevinin genişleyen rolü, kadınların bu operasyonlardaki genişletilmiş rolüne yol açmıştır; bu da kadınların çatışma sonrası bir toplumda yeniden yapılanma sürecine dahil edilmesinin kolaylaştırıcısı haline gelebilir. Aslında pek çok akademisyen, barışı koruma operasyonlarında kadınların varlığının yerel halklar arasında itibarını artırmak, yerel halkla daha iyi ilişkiler kurmak ve yerel toplumda rol modelleri olmak gibi pek çok yararı olduğunu öne sürmektedir. Ancak, şimdiye kadar olan literatür, bu argümanları test edecek olan ampirik çalışmaları kapsamamaktadır. Bu tez, BM barış gücü operasyonlarında kadınların varlığının çatışma sonrası düzenlerde kadınların (ekonomik, sosyal ve politik) yaşam koşullarında oynayabileceği olası role odaklanarak bu tartışmaya katkıda bulunmayı amaçlamaktadır. Bu çalışmada, barış operasyonlarında toplumsal cinsiyet duyarlılığına daha az önem verildiği dönem olan 1325 sayılı karardan önceki dönemi temsil eden bir vaka olarak, Mozambik ve 1325 sayılı karardan sonraki döneme ait bir vaka olan Sierra Leone, cinsiyet odaklı yaklaşımın barış sürecine etkisini karşılaştırmak seçilmiştir. Bu çalışma, kadınların seçilen operasyonlardaki rolünün kadınların siyasi ve ekonomik katılımı üzerinde somut bir etkisi olmadığını, ancak toplumsal cinsiyete dayalı güvenlik sektörü reformları üzerinde önemli bir etkiye sahip olduğu sonucuna varmıştır. Toplumsal cinsiyet eşitliği konusuna açık bir şekilde odaklanan bu çalışma, toplumsal cinsiyet eşitliğinin anlaşılması olgusunu sürdürülebilir pozitif barış için kilit bir faktör olarak da geliştirebilecektir.

**Anahtar Sözcükler:** Pozitif barış, barışı koruma, toplumsal cinsiyet perspektifinin anaakımlaştırılması, kadın barış ve güvenlik, insani gelişmişlik, çatışma sonrası toplum

  
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## INTRODUCTION

*"It isn't enough to talk about peace. One must believe in it. And it isn't enough to believe in it. One must work at it."*

**Eleanor Roosevelt**

Even if various scholars tend to give a concrete definition of peace, there is still no consensus about the characteristics of a peaceful order or society. This study will take into account Galtung's study of peace. Galtung (1969) argues that to have sustainable peace, it is crucial to acquire not only negative peace (the absence of violence and war), but also positive peace, which he defines as the cooperation for mutual, and equal benefits for everyone, so as providing the integration of human society. Hence, the formation of a peaceful order in a post-conflict environment requires not only an end to conflict and violence, but also the provision of equality within society. Galtung (1969) interprets the relevance of the following in peace studies: to establish negative peace in a conflict-torn country, to help the transition process from negative peace to positive peace, and to understand and successfully implement components of positive peace. Diehl (2016) also states that the positive peace requires broader conceptions of peace such as human rights and human security. In order to achieve positive peace, countries should develop some policies, which will enable countries to have gender equality in political, economic, social and cultural order. Thus, forming a connection



between peace and gender studies has a crucial importance and that becomes the main goal of this thesis. Undoubtedly, peacebuilding becomes an essential tool of the international community in order to achieve international peace and security.

Moreover, the integration of human society considers gender equality to be a crucial dimension of and its lack as a major obstacle against human development. The Beijing Declaration and Platform for Action States strongly defend that peace is entirely linked to gender equality, and “the equal access and full participation of women in power structures and their full involvement in all efforts for the resolution of conflicts are essential for the promotion of peace and security” (UN Secretariat, 2004, 3). According to Kofi Annan (2002), the women’s empowerment is a key to resolve conflicts, and women should play an equal part in achieving sustainable peace by building strong foundations as good governance and human rights. Thus, giving central roles to women is necessary for the transition from conflict to sustainable peace could be possible.

In addition, as we live in an imperfect world, NGOs, governments and UN agencies must give special attention to women's rights and needs and should try to implement gender mainstreaming<sup>1</sup> norms within all types of political and legal regulations and activities (Carey, 2001, 50). Hence, increasing the number of women in professional positions, without implementing gender mainstreaming, will never be sufficient in drawing attention to and increasing sensitivity towards gender issues (Stiehm, 2001, 42). Moreover, Porter (2003, p. 258) emphasizes that the sustainable positive peace

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<sup>1</sup> Gender mainstreaming is defined as “the process of assessing the implications for men and for women of any planned activity, including legislation, policies or programmes in all areas and at all levels” (Stiehm, 2001, 42).

requires the resolution of the root causes of conflicts, such as political, social, economic, and gender injustice, inequality and oppression, in order to remove violent manifestations; and also the women peace-builders' work towards an egalitarian civil society with inclusive democratic structures, and open, accountable government. Therefore, gender mainstreaming proposes to introduce gender sensitivity at all levels of the policy process, not by just immediate changes, but a continuous sustainable process, in which gender objectives are permanently interiorized. This study adopts this approach of gender mainstreaming, while examining the political and social situation of women in post-conflict countries.

What's more, peacekeeping operations have changed their nature and rather than establishing a ceasefire, gained new roles of eliminating all causes and sources of conflict between parties (Stiehm, 1999, 127; Hudson, 2005, 791). This enlarged role of peacekeeping has given rise to the expanded role of women in these operations (Stiehm, 1999, 129). After the United Nations Security Council Resolution 1325 (2000) urged the implementation of a gender perspective in peacekeeping operations, the role of women in peacekeeping missions gradually expanded (Hudson, 2005). UN Security Council Resolution 1325 recognized that women should not be known as the victims of war, but they should be perceived as creators of peace (Carey, 2001, p. 50). New norms and institutions have emerged since the International Women's Day, 8 March 2000, as the landmark resolution, UN Security Council Resolution 1325 has created a new regime that is called as *Women, Peace and Security*<sup>2</sup> (Carey, 2001). The

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<sup>2</sup> Women Peace and Security (WPS) is a strategy aiming to enable women in peace processes in order to achieve lasting peace. This strategy is composed of three parties: Protection (training peacekeepers on how to behave towards people affected by gender based, escort women to the marketplace, invest on women and listen to them), Prevention (preventing the

issue of *Women, Peace and Security* is a unique opportunity, as it also provides a connection between SDG 5 (gender equality) and 16 (peace, justice and strong institutions) of the UN Sustainable Development Goals of the 2030 Agenda (adopted by world leaders of the 193 UN member states on 25 September 2015 at the UN General Assembly).

Many scholars posit that there are many benefits of women's presence in peacekeeping operations such as improving the reputation of peacekeepers among local populations, establishing better relationships with locals, and providing role models in the local community (Bridges and Horsfall, 2009; UN Transitional Assistance Group, 2000). In fact, Bridges and Horsfall's (2009) analysis can be strongly verified within the peacekeeping mission and the peace process in the case of Sierra Leone, for which this thesis will include a detailed analysis in the empirical study part. Furthermore, several numerical analyses show that local women more quickly join peace committees, which are seen as more responsive to female issues if at least 30 % of mission personnel are female (Carey, 2001, 53).

All of these studies, policies and activities concerning this issue, argue that gender mainstreaming is crucial for a peaceful post-conflict order. This thesis aims to contribute to this discussion by focusing on the role of women in UN peacekeeping operations, and to provide an answer to the following question: *“What role does the presence of women in UN peacekeeping operations play in the living conditions*

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impact of conflict on women, recognizing the role of women in preventing conflict, national action plans to promote women peace and security for achieving the inclusion of women in peace building) and Empowerment (strengthening women's participation in peace processes and governance mechanisms, international support for local organizations). (See the video on WPS: UN Women, “Side by Side”, July 2012, and also UN Women, “Women, peace and security: Preventing war and sustaining peace”.)

*(economic, social and political) of women in post-conflict orders?'*. This study analyzes real life cases of countries that are experienced a conflict and a successful UN peacekeeping mission, which could be able to settle a peaceful environment to the conflict-torn country.

This study considers different literature both on peacebuilding and gender mainstreaming, while examining the role of women in peacekeeping operations and its impact on the living conditions of women in post-conflict situations. Whereas an emergent transnational coalition to spread gender mainstreaming to many countries across the world is present (True, 2003), conflict-torn countries and post-conflict countries are actually not included in the list. Perhaps, this exclusion emanates from the idea that gender equality is not seen as one of the norms of priority within a conflict-torn country. However, researchers on peacebuilding and gender should be mindful of the fact that post-conflict countries also need to prioritize gender equality. This study strongly defends that without gender equality, sustainable peace cannot be achieved.

## **Methodology & Expectations**

This thesis posits that *conflict-torn countries, which experienced the UN peacekeeping operations with the considerable presence and roles of women, are more likely to have a gender-sensitive reconstruction process and post-conflict order.*

Here, considerable presence and roles of women means not only the number of female peacekeepers, but also the presence of gender training, gender focal points, female leaders within the peacekeeping mission, and of the references to gender equality within the peace agreement.

Moreover, *the presence of strong interaction between local people and transnational network agents serves as a key component and a precipitating factor of a gender-sensitive reconstruction process, which results in a sustainable positive peace within conflict-torn countries.* Therefore, international organizations, civil society actors and national governments should give mutual efforts.

In addition, this thesis strongly defends that *educational activities on gender equality during and after the peacekeeping missions can help the local women and girls to gain significant capabilities in order to improve their own life conditions and prospects.*

As this study posits that conflict-torn countries, which experienced the UN peacekeeping operations with the considerable presence and roles of women are more likely to have a gender-sensitive reconstruction process and post-conflict order, the presence and role of women in UN peacekeeping missions of the chosen cases are analyzed in several aspects. In order to determine these aspects of this variable of the analysis, this study constructs a list of components. These components are chosen

from the main goals of the gender mainstreaming strategy within the UN peacekeeping missions defined by the *Windhoek Declaration and the Namibia Plan for Action*<sup>3</sup>. The *Windhoek Declaration and the Namibia Plan for Action* (United Nations Transitional Assistance Group, 31 May 2000), which was a crucial step towards the UNSCR 1325, clearly identified the main principles of gender equality that should be permeated to the UN peacekeeping operations in order to achieve gender mainstreamed peacekeeping missions. The main principles and practical ways, in which the United Nations system could promote women's active involvement in peace missions suggested by this declaration, and the components of the analysis of this variable used in this study are defined as following:

1. Negotiations in Furtherance of a Ceasefire and/or Peace Agreements:

This study examines whether gender issues are addressed in the peace agreements and also the references to gender equality in the official document of peacekeeping mandate

2. Mandate:

This study analyzes the presence of gender advisors within the peacekeeping operations

3. Leadership:

This study interrogates whether the appointed leader of the peacekeeping

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<sup>3</sup> The Windhoek Declaration and the Namibia Plan for Action is a review issued by the Lessons Learned Unit of the UN Department of Peacekeeping Operations on the 31st of May 2000, at the end of a seminar on 'Mainstreaming a Gender Perspective in Multidimensional Peace Support Operations' in Windhoek, Namibia. This document, aiming to achieve women's inclusion in peace processes, strongly supports the implementation of gender mainstreaming into peacekeeping and post-conflict reconstruction processes. According to this declaration, women had always been denied their full role in peacekeeping efforts and the gender dimension in peace processes had not been adequately implemented, even if the gender equality is a prerequisite for being successful in increasing gender awareness of the local people and in reaching a sustainable peace in post-conflict situations (Carey 2001, Olsson 2001, Cohn 2004, Hudson 2005, Vavrynen 2004).



mission such as Special Representative of the Secretary General to the mission is female

4. Planning, Structure and Resources of Missions:

This study investigates whether a gender affairs unit is present within the peacekeeping mission

5. Recruitment:

This study interprets the number of women in military within the UN peacekeeping mission, which can also be analyzed in the component of 'mandate'

6. Training:

This study inspects whether gender training not only to UN peacekeepers but also to the local people, and appropriate funding are present within the peacekeeping mission

7. Procedures:

This study examines the presence of gender focal points within the mission

8. Monitoring, Evaluation and Accountability:

This study does not include this dimension as a component of analysis

9. Public Awareness:

This study interrogates whether there is a connection between the local women's groups and peacekeepers

In addition, one of the main purposes of this study is to understand the effects of the presence of a strong interaction between local people and transnational network agents on the possibility of a gender-sensitive reconstruction process. The 9<sup>th</sup> component on the relationship between the local women and peacekeepers within the analysis on the UN peacekeeping missions is used to examine this aspect of the main

analysis. Hence, this thesis strongly defends that educational activities on gender equality during peacekeeping missions can help the local women and girls to gain significant capabilities in order to improve their own life conditions and prospects. The 6<sup>th</sup> component on gender training during UN peacekeeping mission and the 9<sup>th</sup> component on the relationship between the local women and the UN peacekeepers will help to concretize this component of the main analysis of this study.

On the other hand, in order to analyze the living conditions (economic, social and political) of women in post-conflict order; the *political participation of women* (seats held by women, their voting behavior, presence of gender-quotas), *economic and social welfare rights* of women (their employment situation and financial inclusion) and the *existence of gender sensitive policies* in this new order are studied. Hence, the presence of gender mainstreamed Security Sector Reforms<sup>4</sup> was also a crucial part of this analysis in order to analyze the situation of women in the security sector in the post-conflict order.

This study adopted qualitative methodology, as it can be deemed the most appropriate method for studying the human behavior and their living conditions. Hence, this study relies heavily on the examination of documents from relevant agencies and existing data. Within the analysis of the independent variable, a monthly breakdown of the number of uniformed personnel working within all UN Peacekeeping missions, details on the official website of the chosen UN Peacekeeping missions (United Nations Mission in Mozambique (ONUMOZ) and United Nations Mission in Sierra

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<sup>4</sup> Security Sector Reforms are defined as changes to the state's security sector activities, generally undertaken by a state and its partners to improve the provision of safety, security and justice to its citizens (Karim and Huber, 2017, p. 264).

Leone (UNAMSIL)), policy briefs by UN Peacekeeping Operations and by UN Women, and also the Progress Reports of Gender Mainstreaming in Peacekeeping Operations are used as they include detailed information about this variable of the analysis.

Again, detailed sources by Peace Women website, which is created by the UN office of the Women's International League for Peace and Freedom (WILPF) (an NGO Working Group on Women Peace and Security), such as the civil society monitoring documents and National Action Plans formulated by numerous states concretize the analysis of the dependent variable. Within the documents provided by Peace Women, it is possible to reach important information such as the index of women's participation in the justice and security sector, the percentage of women in peacekeeping missions, the number and quality of gender-responsive laws and policies, and a detailed breakdown of gender issues addressed in peace agreements. Furthermore, in order to analyze the living conditions of women in post-conflict order, the situation on positive peace and the presence of gender inequality of these cases on the Global Peace Index 2018 and Positive Peace Report 2017 prepared by the Institute for Economics and Peace; Freedom House Index prepared by Freedom House; Gender Development Index 2015 and Gender Inequality Index 2015 prepared by the United Nations Development Programme (UNDP) and the country reports by UN Women.

In addition, case selection is made carefully, in order to have a strong analysis. One case from the period before the resolution 1325, when much less attention was given

to gender sensitivity within peacekeeping operations; and one case from the period after the resolution 1325 are selected. Additionally, a vast majority of UN peacekeeping missions have taken place in Sub-Saharan region in the African continent, since 1948. Therefore, Sub-Saharan Africa is an area of major conflicts, which should be largely included in the peace and conflict research. That is also why this study is limited to two cases from the Sub-Saharan Africa. Thus, the selection of cases from the same continent can also help to eliminate huge cultural differences within the countries. In fact, for the period when the gender mainstreaming became crucial, the case of Sierra Leone, as being the mission with important references to gender mainstreaming becomes appropriate in order to have a strong argument. In addition, analysis becomes solid, as it has National Action Plan on Women Peace and Security, and Civil society monitoring documents on the issue. On the other hand, for the anterior period, the case of Mozambique is strongly fitted in the analysis.

The chosen UN peacekeeping missions, ONUMOZ and UNAMSIL, have some differences in terms of the scope of the mandate. Hence, the authorized maximum strength of the mandate differs in these two missions (6 625 troops and military personnel for ONUMOZ, while this number is 17 500 for UNAMSIL). However, it is important to note that in 2004, there were only 4199 military personnel within UNAMSIL (Nations Unies Maintien de la Paix, 2004).

Despite this difference, UN Peacekeeping missions of ONUMOZ and UNAMSIL have many significant characteristics in common. Thus, the missions' mandates were authorized with the signature of the peace agreements in both cases. Hence, ONUMOZ was established in Mozambique in order to help implement the General

Peace Agreement, signed by the warring parties of the conflict. The mission of the ONUMOZ was to facilitate the implementation of the Agreement, monitoring the ceasefire, providing security and technical assistance, and also monitoring the whole electoral process. In addition, UNAMSIL was deployed in Sierra Leone to cooperate with the government of Sierra Leone and the other parties of the conflict in implementing the Lome Peace Agreement, and also to assist in the implementation of the disarmament, demobilization and reintegration plan. Therefore, ONUMOZ was responsible mainly for monitoring the post-conflict peace process, whereas the responsibility of UNAMSIL was to monitor the peace agreement and also to stabilize the country against the threats of the recurring violence after the civil war (UN Peacekeeping).

In fact, the importance given to the disarmament, demobilization and reintegration process and the methods used for helping former soldiers transition from soldiers to citizens were similar for these two cases (UN May 2003, MacKenzie, p. 165). Both missions have lasted less than a 10 years period and a minimum of 10 years have passed after the end of the mission. The latter component can be identified as necessary for ensuring the sustainability of peace and developments within the post-conflict order. In addition, these two missions have several troop contributing countries in common, which are situated in divers continents, such as Bangladesh, Australia, Nepal, Pakistan, Norway and Sweden (United Nations Peacekeeping). As the issue of increasing women's participation in peacekeeping depends heavily on the decisions made at the contributing country level about the troop and police contributions, that characteristic of the missions can also become determinant for the analysis of this study. Moreover, the conflicts in Mozambique and Sierra Leone also

have some elements in common such as the fact that both conflicts are intra-state conflicts, identified as brutal civil wars.

Within the case selection process, it was crucial to pick United Nations Peacekeeping Missions with the same outcomes. Both missions have completed their mandates with positive outcomes, and the most important component of the selection process was the presence of these conclusions. Similarly to the analysis of Doyle and Sambanis (2007, p. 496), the success of a peacebuilding mission is considered as the achievement of the participatory peace, which defines a peace that includes not only the absence of war, but also restoration of the state's sovereignty over all of its territory and some degree of political openness. Thus, this study considers a successful conclusion/outcome as to bring peace to the country by disarming ex-fighters, destroying the weapons, reaching a peace agreement, and by eliminating all obstacles for the sustainability of the peaceful environment. In fact, the main starting point of this study is the idea that gender equality is a prerequisite to achieve and to keep positive peace in a post-conflict order. And its main goal is to analyze the effect of a gender mainstreamed peacekeeping operation on the post-conflict order, therefore it is crucial to be able to compare UN peacekeeping operations with the different characteristics in terms of gender sensitivity, but with the same positive outcome of bringing peace to the conflict country.

For the case chosen from the period before the resolution 1325 (so, before October 2000), the main characteristic is the absence of women's role within the peacekeeping operation. As it is known that between the years of 1957–1989 (32 years) a total of only twenty uniformed women served as UN peacekeepers, and there were no big changes between 1989-2000 on this issue, the missions from this period with a clear



lack of women's role within the mission are chosen. The peacekeeping mission that is called as ONUMOZ (United Nations Mission in Mozambique), active from October 1992 to December 1994, is an UN Peacekeeping mission with positive outcomes, but also with a lack of women's participation in peacekeeping mission and in peace process. The percentage of women in all personnel of the peacekeeping mission is % 0.1 for the ONUMOZ (UN Division for the Advancement of Women, 1995).

For the case representing period after the RES 1325, UNAMSIL (United Nations Mission in Sierra Leone), active from October 1999 to December 2005 is the mission, which can be mostly fitted into the analysis, as it is one of the best examples of the UN peacekeeping missions with a strong gender mainstreaming approach and also with successful outcomes.

This study's purpose is to make an important contribution to our knowledge on the role of women in peace processes. With a clear focus on gender mainstreaming, this study can also improve the understandings of gender equality as a key factor in sustainable positive peace. The ultimate goal of the study is to be able to help people from various places in the world, which suffered from conflicts and to be able to make a contribution to a world with a sustainable peace environment.

# CHAPTER I

## Literature Review

### I. Positive Peace

IR scholars have concentrated more on war, conflict and violence, therefore only on negative peace (the absence of violence), yet they became aware of the need to pay greater attention to positive peace, which includes justice, human rights, and several other aspects of human security (Diehl, 2016, p. 9). Many scholars specifically those dealing with conflict resolution, human rights, reconciliation, justice, economic development, human security, and gender are interested in the concept of positive peace. Moreover, studying positive peace requires moving beyond the simple presence or absence of violence and being able to consider any kind of disagreement that produces the violence within society (Diehl, 2016, p. 4). However, scholars working on peace studies could not be able to reach a consensus on the characteristics of a peaceful order or a society. This thesis will take into account Galtung's study of peace. According to him, negative peace can be defined as the absence of war, whereas positive peace is referred as the presence of social justice where there is egalitarian distribution of power and resources. Therefore, formation of a peaceful order in a post-conflict environment requires not only an end to the conflict and violence, but also the provision of equality within society (Galtung, 2012).

In addition to Galtung's study, Bunch (2003, p. 6) argues that societies must be able to decrease and end all forms of violence in society, such as militarization, the structural violence of racial and economic injustice and the violence against women in

daily life, in order to ensure that armed conflict will not arise again and to reach a sustainable positive peace. Moreover, Brock-Utne (1995) refers positive peace as a concrete absence of all types of violence; which excludes not only the direct violence (such as street-killings, incest and on the macro-level as in wars), but also the indirect/structural violence (the violence that may also kill but at a slower pace, such as the situation where a part of the society become richer at the expense of others) (Brock-Utne 1989, p. 321, McKay and Mazurana, 2007, p. 3). Furthermore, Blanchard (2003, p. 1297) also refers to the significance of the recognition of structural violence and to its definition by Tickner (1992, p. 69) as “economic and environmental insecurity of individuals whose life expectancy was reduced, not by the direct violence of war but by domestic and international structures of political and economic oppression”.

Moreover, scholars of the stable peace literature define peace as a multilayered state, which includes additional dimensions beyond violence. According to Boulding, positive peace is a situation of good management, complete resolution of conflict and the harmony associated with mature relationships and love; whereas the stable peace is a situation where the possibility of war is so small that it does not really enter into the calculations of any of the people involved. Hence, the removal of national boundaries from political agendas, the encouragement of reciprocal acts of good will between potential enemies, the exploration of the theory and practice of nonviolence and the development of governmental and nongovernmental organizations to promote peace can be helpful to achieve a stable peace. Thus, in order to measure the level of peace, stable peace literature adopts a hybrid conceptualization of peace by differentiating scales ranging from a low level of peace to a high level of peace. To

illustrate, at the lowest level of peace, one could experience some form of violence such as lack of acceptance among the sides, whereas at the higher level of peace even union or pluralistic security community are present (Bayer, 2017).

According to the Positive Peace Report 2017 (p. 4), positive peace, having the aim of creating an optimal environment in which human potential can flourish, comprises the attitudes, institutions and structures that create and sustain peaceful societies. Well-Functioning Government, Sound Business Environment, Equitable Distribution of Resources, Acceptance of the Rights of Others, Low Levels of Corruption, High Levels of Human Capital, Good Relations with Neighbours and Free Flow of Information are the eight pillars of Positive Peace that are identified by Institute for Economics and Peace (p. 9). And when there is a decrease in the level of violence in a country, this country tends to improve its situation and performance on all the eight pillars of positive peace, which will bring this country the possibility to achieve a lasting peace. Besides these factors, Galtung (2012) defends that in a society where there is positive peace, there should be harmony and people should work collaboratively for mutual and equal benefits. Societies should have a lack of trauma, which is caused by the violence experienced in the past, and they should resolve their traumas by the reconciliation process. Furthermore, duration of positive peace is strongly related to the healing of traumas and old wounds, which is a necessary process for reaching reconciliation and sustainable peace (Lie, 2007).

In fact, there is the common understanding that the countries face many challenges in their process of transition from negative to positive peace and many post-conflict countries get stuck in the state of negative peace (Diehl, Spring 2016; Positive Peace

Report 2017). Diehl (Spring 2016) defends that building positive peace is a long-term process, which necessitates extensive and ongoing commitments by the international community. But, the external actors cannot impose positive peace, and it definitely needs an active cooperation from the conflicting parties. Diehl's (Spring 2016) example on the issue is crucial to note: the first attempt toward the attainment of positive peace between China and Taiwan would be the expansion of trade between the two countries and most recently a meeting between heads of states. Additionally, post-conflict strategies, which includes the institutional changes that promote reconciliation of the warring factions, the reconstruction of physical infrastructure that will enable the revival of economic activity, and the reduction in absolute poverty can be able to help the post-conflict countries in their transition from negative to sustainable positive peace (Panic, 2005).

Global Peace Index 2017 report proves the fact that the presence of positive peace in a post-conflict country can be helpful to understand the reasons for the achievement of sustainable peace, and its lack can become one of the main causes of having a fragile state, where there is still a huge possibility of the recurrence of violence or conflict. And the pillar of the 'Acceptance of the Rights of Others' is one of the principal contributors of the presence of positive peace in a country, as this process is seen as crucial to achieve a successful recovery from civil wars (Galtung, 2012). In addition, stable peace literature, which enables measuring different levels of peace, also incorporates dimensions such as religion, gender and race into the notion of sustainable and positive peace (Bayer, 2017).

## **II. Gender and Peace & Conflict Studies**

As Coral Group Research Team (2015, p. 3) argues, the concept of violence surpasses the visible physical abuse and includes also the structural violence, which is defined by Galtung as “avoidable insults to basic human needs and more generally to life, lowering the real level of needs below what is potentially possible”. Therefore, if a society faces the presence of systemic inequality in the distribution of freedom, justice and economic, social and political resources, structural violence is taking place. In order to have positive peace, any kind of physical or structural violence should be eliminated. Within 24 total Positive Peace Index indicators, one can be related to gender and that is, within the Pillar of “Acceptance of the Rights of Others,” the third indicator is a “measure of women’s disadvantage in three dimensions as reproductive health, empowerment and the labour market”. Hence, gender equality becomes an important dimension and one of the main drivers of the transition from negative to positive peace. And the countries, which perform well in gender equality, can be able to have higher levels of internal and external peacefulness (Positive Peace Report 2017, Institute for Economics and Peace, p. 65).

In addition, many scholars define gender equality as a necessary component of positive peace. Bunch (2003, p. 7) argues that the feminist perspectives of positive peace aim at expanding the scope of human rights concepts and their practices, such as the recognition of a continuum of violence against women by ending not only the violence of militarism, war and racism; but also the violence against women in the home. Furthermore, Islam and Qayyum (2018, p. 12) also defends that ensuring equal rights and opportunities for women is entirely linked to advancing peace, prosperity, human development and democracy.



Many feminists believe that phenomena such as aggression, violence, war, and intense competition for dominance in a status hierarchy are more associated with men than women, and the theories of international relations such as realism, which defines international politics as a struggle for power, are accused by feminists to have a gendered perspective (Fukuyama, 1998, p. 27). As Sjoberg (2010, p. 1) also mentions, even if the gender issues should gain an important place in the international security landscape, they have always been neglected both in the theory and practice of international security.

Moreover, Wadley (2010, p. 39) argues that the silence toward gender<sup>5</sup> in the field of International Security is more deafening than in any other field of International Relations; and the scholars of International Security has been very slow to incorporate the study of gender into their researches, even though many years have passed since Ann Tickner criticized the “values associated with hegemonic masculinity” onto the international behavior of states. Hence, Fukuyama (1998, p. 27) defends that the realms of war and international politics will always remain dominated by man “for longer than many feminists would like”.

On the other hand, Vayrynen (2004, p. 134) adopts a more positive perspective on this issue and defends that a new thinking about security in Critical Security Studies opens up a space for gender to enter into the security discourse. According to her, Feminist International Relations scholars, studying on the living conditions of women in various places and conditions, emphasize that women are an elementary part of

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<sup>5</sup> Gender is defined here as “a system of symbolic meaning that creates social hierarchies based on perceived associations with masculine and feminine characteristics”. (See Wadley, 2010, p. 39)

globalization and of many global practices. In addition, Vayrynen (2004, p. 136) argues that female agency in violent conflicts has become an important subject in Critical Security Studies and women are now defined as both victims and actors in wars and armed conflicts, as they started to assume new roles during conflicts. Hence, an enlarged space where gender can enter into the security and peace operations discourse is now created. Therefore, gender issue now becomes a conceptual tool to help to change the trajectory of this history, which lacks the efforts and attention given to the gender equality (Enloe, 2001, p. 113).

In addition, the United Nations has also taken important steps towards changing the understanding of gender in international peace and security. The United Nations defined *gender equality* as ‘a goal to ensure equal rights, responsibilities and opportunities of women and men, and girls and boys’ and created the strategy of *gender mainstreaming*, which aims to achieve gender equality and entails ‘bringing the perceptions, experiences, knowledge and interests of women and men to bear on policy-making, planning and decision-making’ (Porter, 2003, p. 246). Hence, Krizsan (2006, p. 136) argues that the targets of the gender mainstreaming strategy are not women, but it proposes to act on society as a whole, by changing the norms and practices at the root of gender inequality. Thus, Cohn, Kinsella and Gibbings (2004, p. 135) share the details of their interview with the agents of the United Nations Development Fund for Women, Falicity and Maha, by giving the information that the gender mainstreaming is the tool, and gender equality the goal; whereas specialized expertise, training and programmatic implementation with regular monitoring, reporting and evaluating of obstacles and progress are keys to achieve this ultimate goal.

Furthermore, Krizsan (2006, p. 136) states that national policy communities must ensure some prerequisites in order to be able to implement a gender mainstreaming strategy, such as political will, the existence of gender equality policy instruments, a strong feminist movement; and human and financial resources. Hence, Moser and Moser (2005, p. 12) analyze that the majority of gender mainstreaming policies have six key components in common, such as a dual strategy of mainstreaming gender combined with targeted actions for gender equality, gender analysis, a combined approach to responsibilities, gender training, support to women's decision making and empowerment, monitoring and evaluation. To illustrate, Chen's (2010) study on the gender quotas is an example of gender mainstreaming practice within the political arena. Chen (2010, p. 13) argues that the gender quota systems, having the core aim to recruit women into political positions and to ensure that women are not isolated in political life, can have an indirect influence by increasing men's attention to policies concerning women and children.

On the other hand, Budlenbar (1998, p. 5) analyzes 'gender-sensitive budgets', 'gender budgets', 'women's budgets' and 'women's budget statements', aiming to facilitate an assessment of the gendered impacts of government budgets and to audit government budgets for their impact on women and girls; which can be given as a gender mainstreaming practice in the economic order within society.

Scholars of the Feminist Security Theory clearly mention that they give significant importance to the gender mainstreaming strategy. While Stiehm (1999, p. 42) defines "gender mainstreaming" as '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', Sjoberg (2010, p. 2) clearly argues that adding women within the global politics and studies on these issues is not sufficient, and it is also necessary to critique, complicate, and improve the actions and researches on global politics and international security, where the women are also crucial actors. Carey (2001, p. 62): also confirms this situation by stating that a huge lack about how to implement gender mainstreaming in different peacemaking and peacekeeping contexts still remains, even if the *Women and Peace and Security* regime (which will be analyzed in detail in the Women and Peacekeeping part of the literature review) could be able to establish clear norms in principles and to form policies, such as enforcing laws on sexual violence and permitting minimal women's participation in decision-making.

In addition, the presence of gender equality within all the phases of peace process, especially in post-conflict reconstruction process has a crucial importance. Gizelis and Pierre (2013, p. 601) state the possible reasons why the gender equality is relevant to post-conflict reconstruction, such as its impact on long-term development, its help in lowering the risk of recurrent conflict and also the assumption that societies where women have higher social and economic status and greater political representation are less likely to become involved in conflict. Cohn (2004) refers to the speech by John Negroponte (United States Permanent Representative to the UN), who said, "No approach to peace can succeed if it does not view men and women as equally important components of the solution." in order to show her endorsement on this issue. Thus, Hudson (2010, p. 269) refers to the significance of the inclusion of women and gender concerns in the peace building process by the example of Rwanda where women's participation become a facilitating factor in the maintenance of peace over the last fifteen years and in many of the advances Rwanda has made towards

democratization and lasting detente.

On the other hand, many scholars are aware of the fact that the passage and implementation of UN Security Council Resolution 1325 and the integration of gender concerns into peacekeeping, become real proofs of the increasing importance of gender sensitivity for global security actors (Carey 2001, Sjoberg 2010, Bridges and Hosfall 2009, Hudson 2005). Thus, scholars identify UNSCR 1325 as landmark recognition of gender issues in peacekeeping operations, as it was the first time that the UN had entirely defined women as constructive agents of peace, security and post-conflict reconstruction (Bridges and Horsfall, October 2009; Willet, 2010, p. 142).

### **III. Peacekeeping**

According to Dobbins and Miller (2013, p. 103), within the 20 major peacekeeping interventions undertaken since the end of the Cold War, 16 have contributed to greater peace, 18 resulted in democratization process, 17 saw improvements in effectiveness of the government, 18 experienced economic growth and 18 experienced advancements in their human development, as measured by the UN. Within their analysis, poverty, geography, geopolitics, lack of fully democratic institutions, ethnic or religious fractionalization and the strength of patronage networks are seen as the obstacles to achieve enduring peace in their chosen 20 post-conflict peacekeeping missions that were conducted by the UN, NATO, or ad hoc coalitions over the past 25 years (p. 114).

In fact, Stiehm (2001, p. 40) argues that it becomes important to determine whether a mission can be defined as a success or not, by examining the example of UNTAC (United Nations Transitional Authority in Cambodia) where a large part of country was not under central government control at the end of the mission. In this study, a successful mission is defined as a mission, which could be able to settle a peaceful environment to the conflict-torn country.

On the other hand, throughout time, peacekeeping operations have changed their nature and gained new roles, rather than establishing a ceasefire (Hudson, 2005, 786; Stiehm, 1999, 127). Peacekeeping includes a military component, and from the time of the first mission in 1948 through 1988, a vast majority of the United Nations peacekeeping personnel were from the military even though their mission was not the war fighting (Stiehm, 1997, p. 28). Therefore, building a lasting peace was not a part

of peacekeeping mandates and those traditional operations were solely dealing with the consequences rather than the sources of conflicts (Valenius, 2007, p. 520).

Especially, since 1989, there has been a dramatic increase in the number, complexity and expense of peacekeeping operations (Stiehm, 1999, p. 128). Besides, for the success of United Nations Peacekeeping Operations, the conflict resolution activities now compromise the enlarged mission of eliminating all causes and sources of conflict between parties, such as human rights monitoring, civil policing, demobilization, elections, collection of evidence for war crimes trials, economic and institutional development, providing humanitarian relief (Bosnia and the Kurdish areas of Iraq), separating combatants and protecting civilians in civil wars (Croatia, Bosnia, and Somalia); and creating new and different government structures (Afghanistan and Liberia) (Hudson, 2005, p. 786; Stiehm, 1997, p. 27).

In addition, Stiehm (1999, p. 129) defends that the enlarged role of peacekeeping gave rise to the expanded role of women in these operations. Hence, DeGroot (2001) argues that there is this significant increase of the duties of United Nations Peacekeeping missions and he suggests that the multidimensional role of peacekeepers necessitates the qualities and the contributions that women possess. As the enlarged role of peacekeeping missions includes the observation and conduct of elections, humanitarian and/or technical assistance, recruitment of human rights observers, political advisors and information specialists; civilians and especially women gained an increased potential and chance for participation within the peacekeeping missions (Stiehm, 1997, p. 33).

Valenius (2007, p. 511) mentions that the pressure coming from women's organizations pushed the United Nations to start in the 1990s to pay more attention to women's roles in conflicts and in all phases of peace processes, and those activities have become the precipitating factors of UN Security Council Resolution 1325. In addition, the passage and implementation of UNSCR 1325 on Women, Peace and Security, which integrates gender concerns into peacekeeping and post-conflict situation proves the increasing importance of gender sensitivity for global security actors (Sjoberg, 2010, p. 1). UNSCR 1325 has started the implementation of gender sensitivity not only by ensuring that fairly equal number of men and women participate in peace processes, but also by assuring that the gender issues are observed in every part of an operation (Valenius, 2007, p. 520). Thus, UNSCR 1325 breaks new ground by calling for all participants in peacekeeping operations to adopt a gender perspective, such as giving attention to the special needs of women and girls in all phases of conflict and of peace process (Cohn, 2004).



#### **IV. Peacekeeping and Gender**

While the articles analyzed in this study agree that women are crucial actors of peace processes (Bridges and Horsfall 2009, Olsson and Tryggestad 2001, Stiehm 2001, De Groot 2001, Valenius 2007, Mazurana 2001, Carey 2001, Kenny and Jaluka 2017, Karim and Beardsley March 2017, Karim and Beardsley 2017, Karim and Beardsley, 2013), they give different reasons and suggestions on this issue.

Scholars argue that an increased percentage of female military personnel in UN peacekeeping operations is beneficial for the operational effectiveness; as a force sufficiently representative of female service personnel and a more balanced number of male and females peacekeepers can be able to fight against the sexual misconduct perpetrated by male soldiers and reduce the level of sexual harassment and violence against local women (Bridges and Horsfall, 2009, p. 120; Olsson and Tryggestad, 2001, p. 2). Moreover, as peacekeeping is a task of great consequence and can be best served by a force representative of both genders; a greater proportion of female military personnel will be able to gain more trust, to ally fears, to improve the reputation of peacekeepers among local populations, and also to facilitate the whole peace process. Thus, female peacekeepers make a unique contribution to peacekeeping missions, as women can be able to make the peacekeeping missions more approachable for the host population and help promote gender equality in the host country (Karim, 2017, p. 825).

Additionally, female personnel have also proved to be role models to the local women

(Bridges and Horsfall, 2009, p. 120). To illustrate, Karim (2017, p. 833) states that female peacekeepers from the Indian formed police unit working in the UN peacekeeping mission in Liberia (UNMIL) encourage Liberian women and girls to join the police force, and that the application to the police has tripled in five years thanks to their presence. Therefore, Liberian women and girls gained an understanding and a feeling that females can possibly do the jobs that men can do.

In addition, female peacekeepers can be able to control aggression, to have a conciliatory attitude towards local community and to approach local women better than male peacekeepers (De Groot, 2001, p. 24; Valenius, 2007, p. 216). Hence, Mazurana (2001, p. 68) emphasizes that local people interpret women peacekeepers as less threatening and more willing to listen. Furthermore, Olsson and Tryggestad (2001, p. 2) believe that it is easier for female peacekeepers to establish good relations with civilian population. They explain their argument by the fact that in local societies, where women and their dependents often constitute the majority of the population, it becomes an advantage to have a larger number of women in peacekeeping operations (Olsson and Tryggestad, 2001, p. 2). Additionally, the inclusion of women in the security sector allows an increased attention to the specific needs of women and children in conflict, especially in addressing rape and gender-based violence (Karim and Beardsley, 2013, p. 471).

In fact, women respect more to the local population and try to work together with them in order to reach a common solution to the ongoing conflict or to the risk of the conflict recurrence (Olsson, 2001, p. 103). Hence, Karim and Beardsley (2013, p.

473) also argue that the female peacekeepers can be helpful to empower women in the host community, assist female ex-combatants during the process of demobilization and reintegration into civilian life, interview survivors of gender-based violence in an easier way, and especially interact with women in societies where women are prohibited from speaking to men.

Furthermore, women's significant presence can both improve men's attitudes towards women and also to mobilize local women (Stiehm, 1997, p. 49). Thus, female peacekeepers must believe that they can be able to bring these added advantages to the mission in order to accomplish the goals states by the policymakers (Karim, 2017, p. 827).

Scholars have a common idea that increasing women participation within United Nations peacekeeping missions is an ambitious project, which will take time to be achieved (Bridges and Horsfall 2009, Stiehm 2001, De Groot 2001). In fact, despite the strong commitments made by UN for increasing women's participation in peacekeeping operations and protecting civilians from sexual harassment and all type of violence, many challenges remain for the achievement of these goals (Karim and Breadsley, 2017, p. 4). Thus, Willet (2010, p. 156) argues that women still do not have the political space or resources to give voice to their reality and to legitimize their solutions to conflict and reconciliation.

In addition, missions can face with many obstacles such as the lack of financial support, which will hinder the mission's operational capacity to develop policies for gender mainstreaming the peacekeeping operation (Olsson, 2001, p. 107). Thus, the issue on women's participation in peacekeeping missions is not only the gender gap in terms of numbers, but also the differences in where women and men are deployed. Hence, troop-contributing countries consider the risks of the mission area while deciding to send female peacekeepers (Karim and Beardsley, 2013, p. 468). As many countries' populations still hold conflicting views about women's participation in combat, governments of the troop contributing countries can face a greater political risk when they send women to severe conflict zones. Thus, some challenges that prevent the full implementation of the women, peace and security (WPS) agenda, such as the lack of inclusive processes to formulate national action plans on women, peace and security, and as the lack of funding for programmes and processes for supporting women, peace and security; still persist (UN Women, 2015, p. 14).

According to Karim and Beardsley (2017, p. 7), even if female peacekeepers are needed to empower women in the host community, they are systematically excluded from the missions that are located in countries with low levels of development and which experienced higher levels of violence. In fact, female peacekeepers tend to be sent to the safest missions, but not truly to the ones where they are most needed in order to affect peacekeeping engagements with the most vulnerable populations, mainly local women (Karim and Beardsley, 2017, p. 4; Karim and Beardsley, March 2017; Karim, 2017, p. 828).

Additionally, Carreiras (2010, p. 481) argues that the male soldiers are likely to reject the participation of women and perceive them as endangering the missions' prestige. Thus, Baker (2012), by reviewing the study of Krosnell (2012), explains this fact as the training of male soldiers for combat and war fighting before the peacekeeping missions has not only disciplined their body in strength, but also towards the rejection of the women's role. Karim (2017, p. 828) argues that women are perceived as the ones who should be protected, and that men must fight for mothers, wives, daughters and defend them from the horror of war. Hence, women participation to the combat can be considered as disrupting a 'masculine space' (Karim and Bearsley, 2013, p. 469). Even if the skills required to do achieve a successful peacekeeping and peacebuilding well involve communication and cooperation of male and female peacekeepers, current situation remains the same.

Hence, Stiehm (2001, p. 44) makes some suggestions for the achievement of the goal of gender mainstreaming in peacekeeping operations and in the whole peace process, and she warns the readers to pay attention into three 'I's, which she states as: Inertia, Implementation and Institutionalization. Inertia draws attention to the resistance of the institutions against any kind of change or transformation, whereas implementation reminds the need to put real policies in place, to secure firm policies and to have a plan for the implementation of these strong policies. Stiehm (2001) argues that when the implementation of the gender mainstreaming policies is successful, these policies should be institutionalized in order to make this transformation sustainable.

Additionally, De Groot (2001, p. 37) emphasizes the need for deploying a greater number of female peacekeepers and for providing trained women within the missions. Thus, Valenius (2007, p. 520) considers the necessity to encourage women to enter the armed forces or to pursue a career in an organization. Hence, Karim and Beardsley (2013, p. 484) also argue that the United Nations must find better ways to improve the gender balance in the military aspect of peacekeeping forces such as additional monetary incentives for troop-contributing countries to include women on missions. To illustrate, Kenny and Jaluka (2017) suggest that the UN would pay a fixed amount of money per female peacekeepers to the troop providing countries, in order to encourage the developing countries to send more female peacekeepers within the missions.

Moreover, Karim and Beardsley (2013, p. 484) suggest providing better training for women in national militaries in computer, driving, and combat skills, therefore all areas where women are considered to have less capacity than men. Thus, establishing a network of female military personnel who have participated in missions is also suggested in order to increase the self-confidence of female peacekeepers while sharing their experiences (Karim and Beardsley, 2013, p. 485). Furthermore, the ‘access gap’ between female peacekeepers and locals should be eliminated and a strong interaction between those two entities should be provided in order to achieve the full potential of peacekeeping mission effectiveness (Karim, 2017, p. 824).

The dynamics about the troop contributing countries and about their decisions on the peacekeepers becomes a crucial dimension for the achievement of the gender

mainstreaming strategy within the UN peacekeeping missions. Thus, the issue of increasing women's participation in peacekeeping depends heavily on the decisions made at the contributing country level about the troop and police contributions. As UN member states decide whether to send peacekeepers, and the numbers and types they deploy, the UN has not much authority over these decisions (Karim and Beardsley, 2017, p. 7).

Hence, the decision-making authority in the allocation of peacekeeping forces rests still with the troop contributing countries and their policymakers (Karim and Beardsley, 2013, p. 463). Thus, the priorities of the troop-contributing countries are not necessarily in line with those of the United Nations Security Council, and they take into the consideration many different factors in making allocation decisions (Karim and Beardsley, 2013, p. 467). Another factor for the troop contributing countries is that the poor countries benefit by sending peacekeepers as the United Nations trains the troops while compensating at a fixed rate. Therefore developing states with large populations, such as Bangladesh, provide the largest share of peacekeepers into the peacekeeping missions (Karim and Beardsley, 2013, p. 467). According to the UN's report on country contributions prepared in April 2018, Bangladesh is still the second largest troop contributing country to the UN peacekeeping missions.

In addition, Carey (2001, p. 83) emphasizes the significance of the individual countries' decisions and attitudes, by reminding the fact that some states such as countries observing Shar'ia law can oppose gender mainstreaming on principle,

whereas other countries may ignore them under the exigencies of the moment or the budgetary constraints of the day.

In fact, countries with a higher number of women in their national militaries are more likely to deploy female peacekeepers into the peacekeeping missions (Karim and Beardsley, 2017, p. 28). Hence, Valenius (2007, p. 519) argues that national militaries, which provide the peacekeeping troops, have not been truly successful in increasing the number of women in their forces. Additionally, contributing countries do not have real efforts to prioritize sending female personnel. And, the only exception about this issue has been India and Bangladesh, who have decided to send teams of all-female police units to the UN Mission in Liberia (UNMIL) and the United Nations Stabilization Mission in Haiti (MINUSTAH), in order to gain more prestige at the United Nations (Karim and Beardsley, 2017, p. 7).

While the proportion of women soldiers in many countries such as Finland is not likely to rise in the near future because the number of women entering military service continues to be low, some measures have been taken in some countries to increase the number of women in peacekeeping forces. To illustrate, in Denmark, Germany and France, long-term strategies have been created to get more women to enter the military service (Valenius, 2007, p. 518). Additionally, Sweden and Norway have taken important steps toward egalitarianism within their militaries and police institutions, and they reached positive results (Karim and Beardsley, 2017, p. 28).



**Table 1:** Top 10 contributors of peacekeepers in June 2017

<b>Country</b>	<b>Male</b>	<b>Female</b>	<b>Total</b>
<b>Ethiopia</b>	7 595	626	8 221
<b>India</b>	7 630	46	7 676
<b>Pakistan</b>	7 105	18	7 123
<b>Bangladesh</b>	6 800	213	7 013
<b>Rwanda</b>	5 908	295	6 203
<b>Nepal</b>	5 026	176	5 202
<b>Egypt</b>	3 056	4	3 060
<b>Burkina Faso</b>	2 849	84	2 933
<b>Senegal</b>	2 736	84	2 820
<b>Ghana</b>	2 446	306	2 752

Source: United Nations Peacekeeping Operations, June 2017.

Additionally, top 10 troop-contributing countries to the UN peacekeeping missions are listed on the Table 1. Hence, Ethiopia is the country with the highest contribution of female peacekeepers in June 2017. However, despite some positive developments on the issue of gender mainstreamed peacekeeping, the proportion of female peacekeepers in UN peacekeeping missions still remains much lower than their male counterparts. Therefore, countries should give more efforts in order to tackle with this obstacle and to achieve gender mainstreaming in peacekeeping missions.

On the other hand, Centre for Humanitarian Dialogue (2017, p. 9) accentuates the need to move away from the numbers game and defends that women (from civil society, minorities, different religious and ethnic groups) should be recruited solely for their competences. Hence, an improvement simply in numbers does not necessarily mean that women are able to effectively influence negotiations and shape their implementation, but a quality participation and the opportunity for influence for

women must be present for the achievement of an inclusive peace process (UN Women, 2015, p. 45).

In addition, the operation should be able to include women-specific programmes and work collaboratively with gender units in order to ensure that the UN goal of gender equality can be sufficiently met (Olsson, 2001, p. 107). Moreover, Olsson (2001, p. 108) emphasizes the need for increasing the number of women Special Representative of the Secretary General (UN) in order to have women leaders who will strongly enforce regulations on gender mainstreaming within the mission, and also the necessity for the recruitment of gender aware personnel not only within the mission, but also within the entire UN system. Moreover, Karim and Beardsley (2017, p. 27), emphasize the necessity of enhancing a change in the mindsets towards a more holistic approach in peacekeeping, defined as ‘Equal Opportunity Peacekeeping’<sup>6</sup>, which includes five areas of cultural changes in leadership practices, in the standards for recruitment and for promotion/demotion, in training/professionalization, and in the mentorship/network levels. Therefore, they argue that in order to increase women

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<sup>6</sup> According to Karim and Breadsley (2017, p. 27), ‘Equal Opportunity Peacekeeping’ strategy includes five areas of necessary reforms, which target the culture of peacekeeping missions. Firstly, shifts in leadership practices should be reformed and the leaders in missions such as the Special Representative of the Secretary General, Force Commander, and Police Commissioner, should be able to take larger actions to demonstrate their commitment to gender equality such as prioritizing projects encouraging collaboration among female peacekeepers. Secondly, as the standards for recruitment become the signals of values, skills, and character traits that are prioritized in an institution, the United Nations should make appropriate changes on its recruitment standards and should also incorporate beliefs about gender equality. In addition, standard of gender equality should also be introduced within the standards for promotion and demotion in the UN system. Moreover, UN should integrate gender-training practices into all other trainings within the UN system. Lastly, women should be able to learn from other women about opportunities and the recruitment process. Therefore, the development of mentors, role models and networks for women cooperation is necessary in order to make equal opportunity peacekeeping, a reality. In fact, Karim and Breadsley defend that the Equal Opportunity Peacekeeping model is necessary not only for ensuring the full participation of women in peace processes, but also for reducing the sexual exploitation and abuse in peacekeeping missions.

participation and to ensure civilian protection, fostering a culture of gender equality in peacekeeping missions is crucial.

Throughout the activities of Women Peace and Security, even if there were positive developments towards a gender balanced system; the Brahimi Report, prepared by Lakhdar Brahimi (a UN diplomat and the chairman of the commission that produced the report) in August 2000 in order to demonstrate the incapacity of the United Nations Peacekeeping Operations and the need for reform, became a complete disappointment for the actors of gender mainstreaming. Within the report, there was a real disregard for the current gendered aspects of the ongoing UN Peacekeeping missions and there was no reference to this issue. By giving reference to this lack of interest, Olsson and Tryggestad (2001, p. 3) argue that the women's issues have historically been marginalized from the mainstream activities of the United Nations.

Nowadays, even though most institutions have put gender mainstreaming policies in place, their implementation remains insufficient; the gender sensitivity in peace processes has not been adequately addressed, and the proportion of women in peace operations continues to be low (Moser and Moser, 2005, p. 11; Valenius, 2007, p. 519; Vayrynen, 2004, p. 137). Moreover, Mazurana (2001, p. 64) also defends that for over 50 years, UN peacekeeping has been an instrument for international intervention in armed conflicts and violence, but women peacekeepers and gender-aware leaders could not be able to change the male-dominated structure of peacekeeping. Hence, De Groot (2001, p. 29) explains the reason of this lack of women in UNPKO as the women have not traditionally gained an opportunity to demonstrate their patriotism

and they have not been seen as real patriots. Moreover, the largely military character of the operations and the reluctance of many nations to invest in the training of specialized (military) peacekeeping units have been obvious barriers to achieve gender equality within UNPKO (Stiehm, 1999, p. 129; Stiehm, 1997, p. 49). Thus, Karim and Breadsley (2017, p. 28) argue that the challenges to implementation of gender mainstreaming strategy to the UN peacekeeping missions include a lack of strong political will, inadequate resources, politicization of appointments and placements, insufficient information (mainly about the gender trainings), institutional inertia, cultural taboos, and vague language.

On the other hand, Hudson (2005, p. 804) looks at the situation more positively and defends that there is plenty of rhetoric surrounding the inclusion of women in the UN, which proves that the gender issues are becoming a real part of the peace and security discourse. She also states that these improvements seem as the necessary starting points for real change for the international peace and security.

Scholars share the view that the gender mainstreaming strategy is hard to achieve, especially within the United Nations peacekeeping operations. Even though women's participation in conflict resolution and peace processes is highly encouraged, especially with the formal commitment by UN to gender equality that includes a goal of achieving a 50/50 gender (male/female) balance in all professional posts at all levels, it is always seen as difficult to achieve (Stiehm, 2001, p. 47). Hence, Hudson (2010, p. 261) argues that the success of gender mainstreaming depends on achieving gender balance not just by including equal numbers of women, but through including

women's perspectives, encouraging gender awareness, promoting cultural sensitivity, and emphasizing local knowledge. In addition, the success of gender mainstreaming is highly influenced by the seriousness of the main institutions and agents of international peace and security in incorporating gender sensitivity into their policies and practices (Valenius, 2007, p. 219).

In fact, the norm of gender-mainstreamed peacekeeping operations reached a peak point with the implementation of UNSCR 1325 in 2000 (Kreft, 2017, p. 153). According to Kreft (2017), before the authorization of this resolution, UN member states were making their decisions and actions by the influence of traditional gender conceptions. Since the adoption of UNSCR 1325, UN Department of Peacekeeping Operations has put the issues of gender equality at the forefront of its missions (Karim and Breadsley, 2017, p. 4). Thus, UNSCR 1325, as being the unique resolution that has an annual anniversary where multiple panel discussions are organized, develops an agenda for women, peace and security by calling for the prosecution of crimes against women, an increased protection of women and girls during war, the appointment of more women to UN peacekeeping operations and field missions, an increase in women's participation in decision-making processes at the regional, national and international level (Cohn and Gibbings, 2004, p. 130). In addition, UNSCR 1325 has also an aim of training peacekeepers in gender awareness and rebuilding institutions that provide essential services to women and girls (Willet, 2010, p. 142). In fact, main goal of these trainings is to adequately understand the special needs of women and girls during situations of conflict and violence (Bridges and Horsfall, October 2009).

Many scholars share the view that UNSCR 1325 is landmark recognition of women's roles in peace processes (Hudson 2005, Bridges and Horsfall 2009, Varynen 2004, Cohn and Gibbings 2004). Hudson (2005, p. 786) argues that in October 2000, UN Security Council has acknowledged the vital role of women's agency in conflict resolution and peace building, by adopting the UNSCR 1325. Hence, Bridges and Horsfall (October 2009, p. 121) defend that UNSCR 1325 strongly shows women's integral role in preventing and resolving conflicts within all levels of the peace processes. Even if, Varynen (2004, p. 127) criticizes UNSCR 1325 for being an approach with the aim of improving peace operations, which does not clearly reflect upon how to implement gender mainstreaming into these missions, he also defines UNSCR 1325 as a significant attempt to address both the impact of war on women and women's contributions to conflict resolution and sustainable peace. Furthermore, Cohn and Gibbings (2004, p. 132) emphasizes that the UNSCR 1325 has achieved its strategy of shifting the focus from women as victims of war to women as effective actors in peace and peace building.

Scholars and practitioners interpret gender mainstreaming strategy as a crucial factor for all the phases of peace process, also for the reconstruction process and post-conflict order. Hence, UN debates and lobbying activities have constructed by the influence of the idea that women have the right to political participation and they have a need to influence the design and implementation of peace missions directly affecting them (Carey, 2001, p. 50). Thus, women's empowerment in the political and economic arena within the post-conflict order has become an important dimension of the gender mainstreaming strategy.

A sustainable and stable peace can solely be reached if the country can be able to construct well-functioning political institutions and vibrant civil society (Gizelis, 2009, p. 505). Therefore, a strong acknowledgement of gender mainstreaming strategy is necessary also within the political process (Rai, 2003, p. 272). Even though women generally have been excluded from political decision-making processes; as women can be able to bring particular perspectives, skills and abilities into their roles within the political, economic and social life and broaden the scope of policy agendas, they must be included in all phases of the decision-making process in order to achieve a sustainable peace (Islam and Quayyum, 2018, p. 12; Porter, 2001, p. 245).

On the other hand, all scholars of this literature are aware of the fact that new country cases should be analyzed and included in the Women, Peace and Security analysis in order to be able to defend that the women are the crucial actors for a sustainable peace environment. As Gizelis and Pierre (2013, p. 606) also mentions, despite many efforts and the good intentions on gender mainstreamed peacekeeping, there is little systematic research and evidence on whether the currently implemented gender mainstreaming programs actually have a real effect on promoting gender equality and improving the living conditions of women in the post-conflict order. Therefore, the main goal of this thesis becomes the development of this research area by analyzing two different country cases such as Mozambique and Sierra Leone.

## **CHAPTER II**

### **Case I: Mozambique**

#### **A. Historical Details on the Conflict in Mozambique**

##### **Country Profile**

The Republic of Mozambique is a country located in the Southeastern Africa. Its border countries are Malawi, Tanzania, Zambia, Zimbabwe, South Africa, and Swaziland (ISSAT 2017, CIA 2018a). Therefore, Mozambique has long occupied a strategic position in the world (Weinstein, 2002, p. 142). Whereas the official language of Mozambique is Portuguese, it's capital is Maputo, which is also the largest city in the country (CIA 2018a).

##### **Population**

The population of Mozambique is estimated as 29 million, making this country the 50th most populous country in the world. A solid majority of the Mozambican people is Christian (58%); whereas a substantial proportion of Islam (18 %), of indigenous beliefs (6%) and also of non-believers (18 %) are also present. Even if the official language is Portuguese, many people speak several indigenous languages such as Makhuwa (BBC 2018a, ISSAT 2017, CIA 2018a). The life expectancy is estimated as 56 years for men, and as 60 years for women (BBC 2018a).



Mozambican people face with high fertility and mortality rates and a rapidly growing youth population. Hence, this high level of fertility also reflects gender inequality within the people, early marriages and a significant lack of education, specifically among women. The high population growth rate of Mozambique is restricted by the country's excess mortality rate due to AIDS. Mozambique ranks among the worst countries in the world for HIV/AIDS deaths and life expectancy at birth (CIA, 2018a). On the other hand, print media do not have a significant influence on the Mozambican people because of the high levels of illiteracy (BBC, 2018a).

### **Economy**

The economy of Mozambique is one the worst economies in the world, which can be seen as a result of its independence and post-independence wars (ISSAT, 2017). At the independence in 1975, Mozambique was a poor country. Because of the socialist policies of the government and a brutal civil war from 1977 to 1992 worsened country's economy.

By the end of the civil war, Mozambique was one of the poorest, most aid dependent and indebted countries in the world, and the economic, social and psychological impact of war were expected to be felt for many years to come (Baden, 1997, p. viii). Even if the government at the time, tried to make some economic reforms in order to stabilize and develop country's economy, their efforts were not sufficient. Mozambique could not be able to fix its high poverty line also because of the natural disasters, diseases and the unequal distribution of wealth (CIA, 2018a).

The discovery of gas fields in Mozambique's coast in 2011 is set to transform the economy of Mozambique, which is currently one of poorest nations not only of the African continent, but also of the whole world. However, despite it's recent economic growth launched by this discovery of gas fields, more than half of Mozambique's population still lives below the poverty line (BBC, 2018a). Hence, Mozambique remains one of the poorest countries in the world, which is heavily dependent on international aid, and its Human Development Index 2013 is ranked in the bottom five globally (Bujones, 2013, p. 2). Additionally, Mozambique ranked among the eight worst countries in Human Development Index 2016 (UNDP 2016).

### **Political Context, Civil War and Peace Agreement**

The Republic of Mozambique is a presidential republic, which gained independence from Portugal on 25 June 1975, after almost five centuries as a Portuguese colony (CIA 2018a, BBC 2018a, Gehrke 1991). Mozambique is still suffering from the ruins of its brutal civil war. Hence, significant tensions remain between the ruling Front for the Liberation of Mozambique (Frelimo) party and the opposition former rebel movement Mozambique National Resistance (Renamo) (BBC 2018a, Gehrke 1991). The smaller groups of people that broke off from Frelimo formed this rebel group, named as Renamo (Paffenholz, 2000, p. 122).

From 1976 to 1992, Frelimo and Renamo were locked in a highly brutal civil war, which affected a huge number of people (ISSAT, 2017). Hence, the civil war in Mozambique caused the death of a million people, extreme violence against civilians

especially against women and the displacement of millions of people (Baden, 1997). In order to escape from the brutal civil war, approximately 1.7 million people from Mozambique fled to Malawi, South Africa and other bordering countries between 1979 and 1992 (CIA, 2018a).

Human rights violations in Mozambique were estimated as among the worst in the world, largely because of the Renamo's insurgency (Gehrke, 1991, p. 135). The brutal tactics used by Renamo, such as the attacks on infrastructure and transport routes especially in rural areas, ruined the country's economy, education and health system (ISSAT, 2017). Thousands of schools, health centers, roads and bridges were destroyed during the war (Baden, 1997, p. viii).

Additionally, Renamo was seeking to create fear in rural populations, as a standard terrorist strategy, and they became well known for harming civilians including children by cutting off their ears, noses and lips. Their central aim was to harm civilians in order to weaken the authority of the government and they really showed how civilians could suffer when caught between the conflicting parties (Armon et al, 1998, p. 13; Weinstein, 2002, p. 145). Over half of the population was excluded from the production, which caused the collapse of Mozambique's economy (Baden, 1997, p. 11; Gehrke, 1991, p. 141).

On the other hand, the government was conducting large-scale aerial bombardments wherever a possible presence of Renamo rebel forces was suspected (Thomashausen, 2001, p. 97). And, a combination of external and internal factors such as regional politics of the Frelimo government are argued to have fuelled the brutal conflict and

have worsened the situation (Baden, 1997, p. viii). Even if the civil war ended many years ago, landmines continue to be a problem. Especially in some areas they cause casualties and disability, and prevent the use of some water and agricultural land (Baden, 1997, p. 11).

In fact, Thomashausen (2001, p. 97), who was the envoy carrying messages between Renamo and the government at the time, argues that the civil war in Mozambique was a manifestation of discriminatory political identities. He defends that the government have always denied the real causes and the true dimensions of the conflict in Mozambique, which is the difference in their political beliefs (Thomashausen, 2001, p. 97). Thus, the ruling Frelimo adopted Marxist doctrine in 1977 and formed strong relations with the socialist countries (ISSAT, 2017). Hence, the main motivation of Renemo was to resist against the domestic and social policy of the government Frelimo, which was a Marxist/communist-inspired policy supporting an over centralization of the state and minimized role of the local administration within the power structures (Paffenholz, 2000, p. 121; Weinstein, 2002, p. 145). In addition, antireligious policy of Frelimo was another reason for the resistance of Renamo, and the resistance movement gained support from various Islamic countries because of these religious concerns (Paffenholz, 2000, p. 121; Gehrke, 1991, p. 141). In 1989, Frelimo abandoned Marxism and by adopting the new constitution in 1990 the ruling party opened the way for multiparty elections and a free market economy (ISSAT, 2017; Weinstein, 2002, p. 148).

Sixteen years of war was too much for both the parties as by the early 1990s, Frelimo's and Renamo's armies were truly crumbling (Weinstein, 2002, p. 148). In

July 1990, direct peace negotiations began in Rome between Frelimo and Renamo, where the Italian Catholic Church, with a long history of work in Mozambique, was truly active in the mediation process. Hence, the United States, Great Britain, France, Portugal and especially the United Nations provided significant political and technical support within the peace negotiations by having the main concern that Mozambicans were suffering and dying (Baker, 1997, p. 66; Armon et al., 1998, p. 13; Paffenholz, 2000, p. 123; Weinstein, 2002, p. 148). On the other hand, South Africa, involved in the Mozambique conflict and caused this war to escalate, firstly as a supporter of Renamo, and later as the closest ally of the Frelimo government, was excluded from the negotiations (Thomashausen, 2001, p. 100; Paffenholz, 2000, p. 122; Weinstein, 2002, p. 148).

After five round of peace talks, a partial ceasefire reached in December, but it is weakened within a month with the violations by both sides. The main obstacle against the finding of a solution was the lack of trust between the warring parties. After seven more rounds of talks, peace negotiations resulted with the signing of the UN-negotiated peace agreement, the General Peace Accord (also named as Rome Accords) and ceasefire on 4 October 1992, which formally ended the conflict (Baker, 1997, p. 66; Armon et al., 1998, p. 13).

The General Peace Accord, which is signed by President Chissano and Renamo leader Afonso Dhaklama thanks to the brokering of the United Nations, began a post-conflict transition from war to peace, political stability and democracy that is currently called as a success story (BBC, 2018a; Bujones, 2013, p. 3). A military victory was not achieved by any of the warring parties, and the end of the Cold War, which also

hindered the funding for the fighting parties, caused the end of the civil war in Mozambique (ISSAT, 2017). In addition, the grassroots organizations' pressure especially of women's organizations was very significant for the achievement of this peace deal.

The General Peace Accord adhered to the style and tradition of international agreements and assigned to the UN an active involvement as guarantor of the implementation of the agreement. Therefore, the authority to control and supervise the peace process and the peace agreement was thus transferred to the UN on the consent of the parties (Thomashausen, 2001, p. 100). Therefore, United Nations Operation, ONUMOZ was mobilized to monitor and verify the implementation of the peace agreement, which also included the mission of organizing elections scheduled for October 1993 (Armon et al, 1998, p. 87).

Before the UN involvement in Mozambique, Gehrke (1991, p. 145) analyzed the possible benefits of a UN intervention in Mozambique in his report written in 1991 and argued that a UN intervention in Mozambique can have human rights benefits, financial benefits, political benefits and institutional benefits<sup>7</sup>. In the end, the United Nations was able to make a critical difference within the peace process in Mozambique, by offering to guarantee a peace accord, and then by providing a huge

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<sup>7</sup> Gehrke (1991, p. 145) argued that a possible UN intervention in Mozambique could be able to improve a terrible human rights situation through international cooperation, which was worsened by human brutality resulting from the insurgency. Secondly, with the help of the UN intervention, Mozambique could be able to benefit financially from military aid that would help end the insurgency. Thirdly, unless UN military aid to FRELIMO increased, RENAMO's insurgency could be able to overthrow the Mozambique government, replacing it with a minority-ruled South African puppet government, which would cause a political deficit in the country. Lastly, a UN military presence in Mozambique would provide the UN the ability to fulfill the Security Council's mission to maintain international peace and security and to restore international confidence in the UN.

financial and logistical boost to Mozambique's political and economic recovery (Weinstein, 2002, p. 149).

According to Baker (1997, p. 10) the demobilization process, which began in March 1994, and the elections held in October 1994, where Frelimo won a majority of the Presidential elections and there was the largest number of seats in the new parliament, became the real proofs of the success of the ONUMOZ that will be analyzed in detail in the following section.



## **B. Details on UN Peacekeeping Mission (ONUMOZ)**

### **General Information on ONUMOZ**

The United Nations Operation in Mozambique (ONUMOZ) was authorized on 16 December 1992. Hence, its main mission was to help the implementation of the General Peace Agreement for Mozambique, which brought an end to the brutal civil war.

In fact, as Renamo requested its participation to the commission as an observer, the United Nations had already been formally involved in the peace process during the Rome talks in August 1992, which resulted with the General Peace Agreement. The President of the Republic of Mozambique and the President of the Mozambican National Resistance (RENAMO) signed the General Peace Agreement on 4 October 1992. One week later, the United Nations Security Council approved the establishment of the ONUMOZ.

During its two-years of mandate, ONUMOZ are gradually deployed and helped to monitor and oversee the cease fire; the demobilization process of armed forces and paramilitary groups, composed of approximately 110.000 soldiers from both sides; the collection and also the destruction of weapons; the creation of a national army and the withdrawal of foreign troops from the country. Thus, United Nations set up a UN trust fund in order to finance Renemo's transformation to a political party and created the necessary financial mechanisms in order to promote the multiparty democracy, governance and economic reforms. Additionally, the mission also played an important role in the organization and monitoring of the national elections, which was held on 27-29 October 1994.



In addition, ONUMOZ worked for the removal of landmines, and provided resettlement support for the internally displaced people with a number of six million. Therefore, ONUMOZ was a complex mission involving not only the peacekeeping, but also the demobilization, the provision of humanitarian aid, security sector reform, electoral support, confidence building and the resettlement of millions of refugees.

In fact, ONUMOZ was originally authorized for one year, but its mandate was renewed due to the lack of necessary developments during the originally envisaged period. The mandate of ONUMOZ, including for important elements such as political, military, electoral and humanitarian, was composed of more than 6000 military and civilian personnel.

The mission's mandate formally ended at midnight on 9 December 1994, but the last representative of the ONUMOZ left the country at the end of January 1995. As ONUMOZ provided necessary technical assistance for the entire electoral process, and it is followed by multiparty free elections in 1994, it is considered as a success story in peacekeeping history (ONUMOZ Official Website, UN Archives 2006, Armon et al 1998, Gentili 2013).

## Main Analysis on the Role of Women in ONUMOZ

### **1. Negotiations in furtherance of a ceasefire and/or peace agreements**

This section analyzes whether gender issues are addressed on the official document of peacekeeping mandate and/or on the peace agreement.

The mandate document UNSCR 797 (1992), which authorized the United Nations Mission in Mozambique (ONUMOZ) on 16 December 1992, does not have any references to gender equality. Hence, the official document of ONUMOZ is gender neutral and did not include any importance given to the women's specific needs and problems in the times of conflict and post-conflict in Mozambique. As Olsson and Tryggestad (2001, p. 2) also mentions, the mission in Mozambique is considered as a gender blind mission, which does not include any component of the gendered aspect of modern peacekeeping.

General Peace Agreement for Mozambique, which was signed on 4 October 1992 in Rome, was a crucial document including strong commitments to build a mechanism for its successful implementation by the warring parties. But, it does not include any references to gender or gender equality. Hence, the only place, where the word of gender is present, is a paragraph without any importance given to the gender equality. The Protocol II section in 10<sup>th</sup> page of the agreement (1992, p. 10) mentions that "*the political parties should not use the names or symbols, which may have divisive connotations based on race, region, tribe, gender or religion*". Here, the use of the word 'gender' cannot be considered as a proof of the importance given to the gender issues by the signatory parties of the agreement.

Thus, Baden (1997) also argues that this peace agreement does not include any provisions addressing the questions of human rights abuses, particularly faced by women. But, it is important to note that when a peace agreement is gender neutral and a peacekeeping mission is gender blind, there can be a threat that women cannot be clearly included in the peace process, especially in the reconstruction phase.

## **2. Mandate:**

This section examines the presence of gender advisors within the peacekeeping operation.

ONUMOZ did not have any gender advisors within its mandate. As this mission was active in the period before UNSCR 1325, where gender issues were not considered as important, the executives of the mandate did not have a need for a gender advisor within ONUMOZ.

## **3. Leadership:**

This part interrogates whether the appointed leader of the peacekeeping mission such as Special Representative of the Secretary General to the mission was female. Hence, the attention given by the Secretary General on the mission and on gender issues, of the time is also worth to analyze in this part.

According to the UN Archives (2006), Aldo Ajello from Italy served as Special Representative of the Secretary-General and Chief of Mission in ONUMOZ. Thus, the Force Commanders were Major-General Lélío Gonçalves Rodrigues da Silva from Brazil (between February 1993 and February 1994) and Major-General Mohammad Abdus Salam of Bangladesh (between March and December 1994).

Therefore, the appointed leader and the force commanders were all male in ONUMOZ.

Additionally, it is known that the UN Secretary General at the time, Boutros Boutros-Ghali intervened personally to this peace process and visited Mozambique from 17 to 20 October 1993. He met with the President Chissano and also with the leaders of other political parties in order to achieve a compromise on sensitive issues on the electoral laws and the demobilization process of the regular troops (Armon et al, 1998, p. 16; Paffenholz, 2000, p. 124; ONUMOZ Official Website). On the other hand, he did not give any formal speeches or suggestions on the presence of women in the mission or in the other phases of the peace process.

#### **4. Planning, Structure and Resources of Missions:**

This section of the study investigates whether a gender affairs unit is present within the peacekeeping mission.

ONUMOZ did not have a gender affairs unit within its mandate. As this mission was active in the period before UNSCR 1325, where gender issues were not considered as crucial, the decision makers on this mandate did not have a need or a demand for a gender affairs unit within ONUMOZ.

## 5. Recruitment:

This study interprets the number of women in military within the UN peacekeeping mission, which can also be included in the component of ‘mandate’. Thus, troop-contributing countries are also analyzed in this part in order to possibly reach an observation on the issue, as the presence of women in UNPKO can also be related to the national policies on female soldiers.

In fact, many studies prove that the missions with the highest ratio of female to total peacekeepers are the observer missions or political missions, which does not have a high risk of violence or hostilities. Hence a true gender balance can be achieved in the missions with the small risk for the security of the peacekeepers (Karim and Beardsley 2013, UN Division for the Advancement of Women 1995). But, ONUMOZ did not include a high number of female peacekeepers within its mandate.

Between the years of 1989 and 1992, the total number of women in United Nations Peacekeeping Operations was 255, which was a little more than 1 per cent of the entire military personnel in this period. Hence, in 6501 military personnel in ONUMOZ, only 0.1 per cent were female peacekeepers in 1993. In addition, UN statistics as of 31 May 1995 shows that the ratio of the whole female personnel compared to the total ONUMOZ personnel was 16.6 percent towards the end of the mission, therefore in 1994 (UN Division for the Advancement of Women, 1995, p. 8).

**Table 2:** Percentage of Female Peacekeepers in ONUMOZ

	<b>1993</b>	<b>1994</b>
<b>Percentage of women in ONUMOZ</b>	1.1 %	16.6 %

Source: UN Division for the Advancement of Women, 1995.

Troop contributing countries become an important factor affecting the number of female peacekeepers. For ONUMOZ, the troop contributing countries were as the following: Argentina, Australia, Austria, Bangladesh, Bolivia, Botswana, Brazil, Canada, Cape Verde, China, Czech Republic, Egypt, Finland, Ghana, Guinea Bissau, Guyana, Hungary, India, Indonesia, Ireland, Italy, Japan, Jordan, Malaysia, Nepal, Netherlands, New Zealand, Nigeria, Norway, Pakistan, Portugal, Russian Federation, Spain, Sri Lanka, Sweden, Switzerland, Togo, United States, Uruguay and Zambia (ONUMOZ Official Website).

**Table 3:** Country table for women in national armed forces in 1994

<b>Country</b>	<b>Total active armed forces</b>	<b>Number of women</b>	<b>Proportion of total</b>
<b>Australia</b>	61 600	7 600	12 %
<b>Canada</b>	78 100	8 700	11 %
<b>China</b>	2 930 000	136 000	5 %
<b>India</b>	1 265 000	200	0.02 %
<b>Ireland</b>	13 000	100	0.8 %
<b>Japan</b>	237 700	8 000	3 %
<b>Netherlands</b>	70 900	2 600	4 %
<b>New Zealand</b>	10 000	1 150	12 %
<b>Spain</b>	206 500	200	0.1 %
<b>United States</b>	1 650 500	198 800	12 %

Source: The Military Balance 1994/1995. (See also: UN Division for the Advancement of Women, 1995)

In 1994, the number of women in total national armed forces was very little when compared with the number of male soldiers in many countries. Hence, it is known that several countries did not allow women to serve in combat roles such as Belgium, Denmark, France, Luxembourg, Norway, Sweden, Venezuela and Zambia. And there

are several other countries with restrictions on the women participation to the military. Even if France, USA and Australia are the nations with relatively high proportions of women among their peacekeeping personnel, they give non-combat roles such as doctors and nurses to the women. On the other hand, one positive fact about the ONUMOZ is the fact that one Swedish female police officer served in Mozambique with ONUMOZ.

#### **6. Training:**

This study inspects whether gender training not only to UN peacekeepers but also to the local people, and appropriate funding are present within the peacekeeping mission. As in 1992, gender mainstreaming was not a commitment made by the UN, ONUMOZ did not provide any training on gender issues and on gender equality before or during its mandate.

#### **7. Procedures:**

This study examines the presence of gender focal points within the mission.

As this mission was active in the period before the UNSCR 1325, where gender issues were not considered as crucial, the presence of gender focal points within ONUMOZ was not seen crucial for the mission.

#### **8. Public Awareness:**

This part of the study interrogates whether there is a connection between the local women's groups and peacekeepers, which can also be helpful for the development of the public awareness on gender equality.

In this part of the analysis, a real life example given by Baden (1997, p. 40) becomes a significant proof of the interaction between the peacekeepers and the local actors in Mozambique. As the peacekeeping and prostitution became a real problem within ONUMOZ, the representatives of Save the Children with the help of the local women's groups started to make pressure on the government and on the international community. Also with the support of some UN officials, this pressure led to an investigation on several guilty peacekeepers of ONUMOZ and resulted with the punishment of the soldiers who were found guilty. Hence, this initiative became a proof that UN personnel should have an education and preparation especially on this important aspect of the peacekeeping mission.

#### **General Comments on ONUMOZ**

ONUMOZ, as being a mission, which was active before UNSCR 1325, did not include any references to gender issues. But, it is considered as a victory in the peacekeeping history.

In the beginning of the mission, there was a budget crisis caused by the bureaucratic and organizational problems at UN headquarters, ONUMOZ was for some time (Gentili, 2013, p. 11).

Later on, UN solved its own budget problems and also created a trust fund for Mozambique in order to transform Renamo into a political party. Hence this fund gave Renamo a real opportunity to compete in the multiparty elections in 1994 (Weinstein 2002, Armon et al 1998).



The UN could be able to reintegrate Renamo-controlled areas into the country's system of public administration and created a strong plan to hold democratic elections in 1994. Hence, UN funds, technical expertise, the contributions of peacekeepers facilitated Mozambique's transition into a democracy, where the multiparty elections took place peacefully from 27 to 29 October 1994 with the 5.2 million registered voters (Weinstein, 2002, p. 149; Armon et al., 1998, p. 98)

Additionally, Bujones (2013, p. 12) strongly defends that during Mozambique's post-civil war reconstruction process, the UN's successful mission helped to pave the way for its economic growth, the development of its institutional capacities in government, and also within civil society organizations.

## **C. Living Conditions of Women in Post-Conflict Order in Mozambique**

### **General Findings on the Post-Conflict Situation in Mozambique**

Post-conflict transition of Mozambique and the adequate implementation of the General Peace Agreement for Mozambique are considered as a successful transition from civil war to peace. Thus, the militant organization The Mozambican National Resistance (Renamo), which was one of the warring parties during the brutal civil war, transformed into the political party and the country held successful parliamentary and presidential elections in 1994. And, Mozambique has held five consecutive parliamentary and presidential elections since the end of the civil war, which can be considered as a sign of continuation of the democracy. Despite these positive developments towards being a strong democracy, the opposition party contested the elections with the claims that the ruling party, Mozambique Liberation Front (Frelimo), manipulated the elections (ISSAT 2017, Adedokun 2017).

In the 2010s, political tensions have increased between the two main political parties of the country and Renamo tried to give an armed reaction between 2013-2016, until the clear declaration of the ceasefire by both parties. But, it is also necessary to note that these violent reactions were not large-scale reactions and did not truly affect country's post-conflict order. Hence, Mozambique has not experienced a large-scale recurrence of armed violence and war, until the end of the civil war (ISSAT 2017, Adedokun 2017).

On the other hand, Mozambique still faces some obstacles against its democratic and economic stability, such as the security vulnerabilities, weak democratic institutions,

lack of confidence between opposing political parties, high unemployment rate, dependence on foreign aid and also insufficient economic development (ISSAT 2017, Adedokun 2017)

According to the Human Development Index 2016, which distinguishes countries with very high, high, medium and low human development, Mozambique ranked 181<sup>st</sup> out of 188 countries of the list. Hence it is classified as a country with low human development (UNDP, 2016a).

In fact, the unemployment rate in Mozambique is a huge concern for the economic development and stability with a rate of 24.669 per cent in 2015, of 24.368 in 2016 and 25.04 per cent in 2017 (Trading Economics, 2018).

Additionally, another important concern for the stability in Mozambique is the political situation of the country. Freedom House has defined Mozambique between 1999 and 2017 as partly free. This global report is prepared by analyzing the situation of political rights (free and fair elections, political choices free from domination etc.) and civil liberties (freedom of expression, assembly, education and religion etc.). Again, according to this index, Mozambique has a score of 52, while the freest country is explained with a score of 100 (Freedom House, 2018). Thus, the life expectancy in Mozambique is 56 years for men and 60 years for women (BBC, 2018a).

Hence, the high level of economic inequality and poverty remain as the major problems of Mozambique for the peace and development. One part of the country is

considered as nine times richer than the other parts of the country and this forms a huge difference between Mozambican people while becoming a proof of the unfair distribution of country's economic growth (Weinstein, 2002, p. 151; Gentili, 2013, p. 15). And, the people who do have limited access to the networks of political power do not feel or make use of the recent economic growth of the country (Gentili, 2013). Thus, these characteristics can also be seen as the threats against the long-term peace and development of the country (Adedokun, 2017).

However, there are some positive prospects on Mozambique's peace and development. Hence, Mozambique made significant improvements on its economy, internal security, democratization and procurement of health services to its citizens (Adedokun, 2017). Thus, the international aid becomes an important tool especially for its reconstruction efforts and also for its economic and political development. (Adedokun 2017, Armon et al 1998). In fact, Mozambique can truly be classified as a stable democracy, which has a growing economy (Bujones, 2013).

### **Women's Living Conditions in Mozambique**

This part includes the information gathered by analyzing the documents and articles prepared by the scholars and practitioners. In addition, in order to concretize the analysis on political participation and on women's role in the country's economy, the data prepared by Inter Parliamentary Union on women in parliaments and also the data prepared by World Bank on the labour force participation rates by gender are included in this part of the analysis.

In Mozambique, women's situation improves significantly year by year, as women become more and more vocal in decision-making bodies. However, women should be more visible in economic activity.

In fact, violence against women was a major problem for Mozambican society in 1997; however, currently women's organizations are playing a significant role in providing legal support for women, awareness raising and public education on this issue (Baden 1997, Republic of Mozambique 2014). Hence, Mozambique signed and ratified the Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination against Women (CEDAW) in June 1993 (Baden, 1997, p. 69; Republic of Mozambique, 2014, p. 29).

However, lack of education and prejudgment against women specifically in commercial activity cause the fact that solely a few African women had access to formal employment (Baden, 1997, p. 31). Hence, agricultural sector has been the main sector where women can be able work (Baden, 1997, p. 29).

According to the World Bank Data on Labour Force of female compared to the total labour force of the country, in Mozambique in 1990, 55.6 per cent of the total labour force were women, while in 2017 this ratio decreased to 54.8 per cent (World Bank, 2017).

**Table 4:** Labour force participation rates by gender in 1990 and in 2017 in Mozambique

	<b>1990</b>	<b>2017</b>
<b>Percentage of female labour force participation</b>	55.6 %	54.8 %

Source: World Bank (Data on Labour Force), 2017.

On the other hand, during the elections held in October 1994, there were no female presidential candidates and women were under-represented as candidates in general. Even if women were not formally excluded from the electoral process, the efforts to include women voters and candidates were not sufficient at all (Baden, 1997, p. 67).

According to the Global Data Base of Quotas on Women, prepared by UN Women, IDEA, Stockholm University and Inter Parliamentary Union in 2017 by analyzing the gender quotas around the world, Mozambique has a gender quota system in its national parliament. Hence, the ruling party, Frelimo has systematically used gender quotas since 2004, therefore since the first elections held after the end of the civil war. In fact, Frelimo's policy requires that the 40 per cent of total candidates to national assembly and local governments must be women candidates. Additionally, Frelimo has a strong commitment of balancing the distribution of women and men in their party list.

In addition, according to the data prepared by Inter-Parliamentary Union on Women in national parliaments, as a result of the parliamentary elections held in Mozambique in October 2014, women currently have 99 seats in their parliament with a total number of 250 seats. Therefore, the percentage of female participation to the parliament in Mozambique is 39.6 per cent, which can be considered as a high ratio. Hence, in October 1994, this percentage was 25.2, which shows that there has been a significant increase in women representation in politics. In 2018, Mozambique takes the 14th place in the world classification based on the number of women in national parliamentaries of 193 countries (Inter-Parliamentary Union, 2018).

**Table 5:** Percentage of women in parliament in 2018 in Mozambique

	<b>Total number of seats</b>	<b>Number of women in parliament</b>	<b>Percentage of women in parliament</b>
<b>Parliament of Mozambique</b>	250	99	39.6 %

Source: Inter-Parliamentary Union, 2018.

Report on the implementation of the Beijing Declaration and Platform for Action prepared by the Republic of Mozambique emphasizes that a greater access to education for girls is now possible and Mozambique recorded remarkable progress as regards women's presence in power and decision-making bodies and also as regards women's access to health care (Republic of Mozambique, 2014, p. 8).

However, maternal mortality rates are still high, and the education sector still remains as an area where there is a huge level of gender inequality. Even if there is a significant progress in women's participation in power and decision-making bodies at the governmental level, Mozambique still needs to get more female political representatives at local levels (Republic of Mozambique, 2014, p. 9).

## **Main Analysis on Women's Situation in Mozambique**

This part will include the knowledge and assumptions gained by analyzing the reliable indexes on peace, security and gender equality, therefore mainly on the subject of women, peace and security.

### **The Global Peace Index and the Positive Peace Report**

Mozambique is included in the analysis that is called as Global Peace Index 2018<sup>8</sup>. The Global Peace Index is the report of the analysis ranking 163 independent states in terms of their level of peacefulness. Mozambique had a score of 2.05 out of 4 and is defined as a country with a medium level of peace. This country is ranked as the 86<sup>th</sup> in a total of 163 countries and as the 18<sup>th</sup> in the region of Sub-Saharan Africa. Hence, Mozambique's level of peace has deteriorated compared to the last year's analysis and had a negative trend in the year of 2018 (IEP, 2018).

In addition, the Positive Peace Report 2017<sup>9</sup> also dedicated a place to Mozambique. The Positive Peace Report is the report of the analysis ranking 163 independent states in terms of their level of positive peace, which is defined as the creation of a suitable

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<sup>8</sup>The Global Peace Index includes 99.7 per cent of the whole world's population and measures the level of peace in a country by using three distinctive thematic domains: the level of Social Safety and Security, the situation of Ongoing Internal and International Conflict and also the degree of Militarization. The results of the Global Peace Index 2018 show that in general, the global level of peace has deteriorated by 0.27 per cent compared to the last year. Hence, the scores of this analysis shows the state of peace in countries, starting from 1.0 as a country with a very high level of peace, to 4.0 as a country with very low level of peace (IEP, 2018).

<sup>9</sup> The Positive Peace Index includes 163 countries and the eight pillars of positive peace that constructs the analysis are as the following: Well-Functioning Government, Sound Business Environment, Equitable Distribution of Resources, Acceptance of the Rights of Others, Low Levels of Corruption, High Levels of Human Capital, Good Relations with Neighbours and Free Flow of Information. According to this report, countries with high level of Positive Peace are more capable of maintaining their stability and prevent the recurrence of both internal and external conflicts, whereas countries with a low level of Positive Peace are more likely to witness a recurrence of violence and conflict (IEP, October 2017).



environment that human potential can be developed. In this analysis, the state of peace is analyzed according to the scores from 1 to 5, indicating from the very high level of peace to low level of positive peace. Hence, Mozambique had a score of 3.66 out of 5 and is defined as a country with a medium level of positive peace. This country is ranked as the 130<sup>th</sup> in a total of 163 countries (IEP, October 2017).

Within the Pillar of “Acceptance of the Rights of Others” included in Positive Peace analysis, the third indicator is the “measure of women’s disadvantage in three dimensions: reproductive health, empowerment and the labour market”. Hence, the presence of gender equality in a country becomes an important dimension and one of the main drivers of the transition from negative to positive peace. According to the same report, within the Pillar of “Acceptance of the Rights of Others”, Mozambique had a score of 3.55, which is defined as medium level (IEP, October 2017).

Additionally, Hudson (2010) also argues that there is a strong link between gender inequality and violence. Hence, the presence of discrimination against women increases the likelihood that there is a recurrence of violence and conflict in this country. That is also why women inclusion becomes a crucial component of peacebuilding and reconstruction process of a country torn by conflict.

### **UN Women Country Page**

UN Women country report on Mozambique shows that this country is experiencing a period of great transformation. Even if there is an economic growth, there is a huge increase in economic inequalities. But, it is worth to say that the political commitment

of the government of Mozambique on gender equality is strong. Hence, a better progress in reducing the gender equality is still necessary (UN Women, 2018a).

In fact, the percentage of female participation to the parliament in Mozambique is defined as a high also by UN Women. But, a further progress is needed in order to ensure strong gender equality also in the political arena (UN Women, 2018a).

On the other hand, economic empowerment of women remains as a challenge for Mozambique. Additionally, women have many problems of health, such as the spread of HIV among women, which is at a much higher level compared to the Mozambican men (UN Women, 2018a).

### **Gender Development Index by UNDP**

The Gender Development Index<sup>10</sup> 2016, which is prepared by UNDP and creates a direct measure of gender gap in a country, includes Mozambique in its analysis. The Gender Development Index 2016 includes the analysis of 160 countries in terms of their level of gender gap in their human development calculated in the Human Development Index 2016. The female Human Development Index value for Mozambique is 0.391 compared with 0.444 for males, resulting in a Gender Development Index value of 0.879, which can be considered as a high level of gender inequality in terms of human development (UNDP, 2016b).

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<sup>10</sup> Gender Development Index (GDI), prepared by the United Nations Development Programme, measures the presence of gender gaps in human development by analyzing the differences between women and men in three main dimensions of human development such as health (measured by female and male life expectancy at birth), knowledge (measured by female and male expected years of schooling) and standards of living (measured by female and male estimated command over economic resources).

## **Gender Inequality Index by UNDP**

The Gender Inequality Index<sup>11</sup> 2016, prepared by UNDP, is a report that reflects women's disadvantages in three thematic areas such as reproductive health, empowerment and the labour market. Mozambique has a Gender Inequality Index value of 0.574, ranking it 139 out of 159 countries in the 2015 Index.

## **Women Peace and Security Documents**

According to the analysis at Peace Women<sup>12</sup>, with the end of Mozambican Civil War in 1992, the government developed important reforms in order to improve the status of women in the country. But, the level of gender equality in this country is still high and more progress is needed in this way. Even if Mozambique ratified the Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination against Women (CEDAW) on 21 April 1997, its provisions are still violated in law and also in practice. Currently, Mozambique does not have a National Action Plan for the development of Women, Peace and Security agenda and in the Implementation of UNSCR 1325. In addition, Mozambique does not have a financial commitment or a planned budget on Women, Peace and Security (Peace Women, 2018a).

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<sup>11</sup> Gender Inequality Index (GII), prepared by the United Nations Development Programme, reflects women's drawbacks in three thematic areas such as reproductive health (measured by maternal mortality and adolescent birth rates), empowerment (measured by the share of parliamentary seats held by women and attainment in secondary & higher education by each gender) and the labour market (measured by the labour market participation rate for women and men).

<sup>12</sup> Peace Women, which is a website created by the UN office of the Women's International League for Peace and Freedom (WILPF) (an NGO Working Group on Women Peace and Security), contains important analyses such as the civil society monitoring documents and National Action Plans formulated by numerous states on Women, Peace and Security and on the UNSCR 1325.

## **Gender Mainstreaming on Security Sector Reforms**

The presence of gender mainstreaming policies in Security Sector Reforms becomes a significant proof of the attention given by a country for the improvements in gender equality. To illustrate, a country can create gender mainstreaming policies such as quotas for women in the security sector, female-focused recruitment campaigns, the removal of restricted gender security roles, appointments of women to high-level security positions and the adoption of National Action Plans for the Implementation of the UNSCR 1325 (Karim and Huber, 2017, p. 264).

On the other hand, the Government in Mozambique did not consider gender issues while developing its Security Sector Reforms. Hence, Mozambique had failures even in developing holistic security sector reforms agreed by both Frelimo and Renamo sides (Budlenber, 1998, p. 14). Additionally, Mozambique has difficulties even in the creation of an overall national security policy accepted by both parties. Therefore, Mozambique needs more efforts in order to create some common policies and also to include gender mainstreaming into its policies and practices in the security arena.

In sum, ONUMOZ, as being a mission, which was active before UNSCR 1325, did not include any references to gender issues; even if it is considered as a victory in the peacekeeping history. On the other hand, in the post conflict Mozambique, the percentage of female participation to the parliament can be defined as high, whereas the economic empowerment of women remains as a challenge for Mozambique. Additionally, the Government in Mozambique did not consider gender issues while developing its Security Sector Reforms.

## **CHAPTER III**

### **Case II: Sierra Leone**

#### **A. Historical Details on the Conflict in Sierra Leone**

##### **Country Profile**

The Republic of Sierra Leone is a country located in the Western Africa. Its border countries are Guinea and Liberia. While the official language of Sierra Leone is English, it's capital is Freetown, which is also the largest city in the country (CIA 2018b, BBC 2018b).

##### **Population**

The population of Sierra Leone is estimated as 7,4 million, which is the 109<sup>th</sup> largest population in the world. A vast majority of the population in Sierra Leone is Muslim, whereas there is a significant proportion of Christian people (20%). While the official language of Sierra Leone is English, many people a range of African languages such as Krio, Mende and Temne (CIA 2018b, BBC 2018b). The life expectancy is estimated as 51 years for men, and as 52 years for women (BBC, 2018b).

Sierra Leone has a high fertility rate, which is almost 5 children per woman. People of Sierra Leone have a desire of large families, but the high infant and maternal mortality rates are present in the country. This latter can be caused by the lack of potable water and sanitation, poor nutrition and limited access to good healthcare services (CIA, 2018b).

## **Economy**

Sierra Leone is an extremely poor country and a majority of the working people engages in agricultural sector. The country still tries to recover from the civil war, which destroyed most agricultural lands and institutions. Thus, the Ebola outbreak between 2014 and 2015 highly damaged the country's economic activity. Until 2014, government had relied heavily on the external aid in order to develop its economy. However, the country is rich in diamonds and other minerals and the export of these products contributes to the country's economy (CIA 2018b, Peace Insight 2015).

Sierra Leone has experienced a significant economic growth in recent years, but the damaging effects of the civil war continue to be felt (BBC, 2018b). In addition, Sierra Leone struggles with the high levels of unemployment, which was also one of the main causes of the country's civil war between 1991 and 2002 (CIA 2018b, Peace Insight 2015). Hence, Sierra Leone ranked among the ten worst countries in Human Development Index 2016 (UNDP, 2016).

## **Political Context, Civil War and Peace Agreement**

The Republic of Sierra Leone is a presidential republic, which gained independence from the United Kingdom on 27 April 1961 and became a parliamentary system within the British Commonwealth. This country has also a real significance in the history of the transatlantic slave trade, as it's capital, Freetown was used as a home for repatriated former slaves in 1787 (BBC 2018b, US Department of State 2012).

Sierra Leone has experienced unstable government and has also suffered from a complex civil war, which took place between 1991 and 2002. From the end of the civil war, democracy is still being reestablished in the country (CIA 2018b, BBC 2018b, Peace Insight 2015). This brutal civil war started in 1991, with the beginning of the campaign against President Joseph Saidu Momoh, led by the former army corporal Foday Sankoh and his rebel group called as Revolutionary United Front (RUF) when they attacked the villages in eastern Sierra Leone on the Liberian border (BBC 2018b, US Department of State 2012, UNDP Sierra Leone). Additionally, Revolutionary United Front (RUF) is also known as supported economically by Charles Taylor, who was the top warlord at the time and then sentenced to several years of prison by the UN-backed war trials (Chege, 2002, p. 148).

The civil war in Sierra Leone was characterized by the acts of extreme brutality. Thus, this war resulted in several thousands of deaths and in the displacement of more than 2 million people, which refers almost to the half of the whole population of the country. Additionally, almost a half million of people were forced to seek refuge in the bordering countries such as Guinea and Liberia (CIA 2018b, UNDP Sierra Leone).

Sierra Leone civil war, which became a real tragedy, had the main causes such as government corruption, an arrogant neighbour and the powerful attraction of its diamonds. And, the spill-over of the Liberian civil war into Sierra Leone is seen as another factor affecting the war (Hirsch, 2001, p. 147). Furthermore, the grievances concerning a very poor economy and the high unemployment rate were also other reasons of this civil war (Peace Insight, 2015).

In fact, the conflict continued in the following months in 1991, and the Revolutionary United Front (RUF) gained the control of a large area in the Kono district, which was rich in diamond mines (US Department of State, 2012). Hence, the Revolutionary United Front (RUF) used the country's diamond resources to fund its operations, and also the child soldiers, which is considered as a serious war crime (Peace Insight, 2015).

In the following years, a series of coups have caused the change in the political power of several presidents in the country between 1991 and 1997 (BBC, 2018b). In 1997, the UN Security Council imposed sanctions on Sierra Leone, and restricted the supply of arms and petroleum products in this country (BBC, 2018b).

Following the six weeks of peace talks in the Togolese capital, Lome, the peace negotiations resulted in a peace agreement, which guaranteed the fact the rebels would receive posts in government (BBC, 2018b). With the assistance of the international community, President Kabbah and RUF leader Sankoh on July 7, 1999, signed the Lome Peace Agreement. Thus, this peace accord also called for an international peacekeeping force led by the United Nations. Therefore, the UN Security Council established the United Nations Mission in Sierra Leone (UNAMSIL) in 1999, with an initial force of 6000 peacekeepers (US Department of State 2012, Mazurana 2004).

However, in November 1999, while UN troops arrived in Sierra Leone in order to police the peace agreement, one rebel leader, Sam Bokari, said that these soldiers were not welcome (BBC, 2018b). Then, the Revolutionary United Front (RUF) began



to violate the agreement, by holding hundreds of UNAMSIL personnel hostage and capturing their arms in May 2000, which also marked the peak of RUF treachery (US Department of State 2012; Mazurana, 2004, p. 16; Hirsch, 2001, p. 145)

In March 2001, UN troops began to deploy peacefully in rebel-held territory for the first time in the missions mandate (BBC, 2018b). In May 2001, the disarmament process of rebels began, and as a significant reduction in hostilities was witnessed, the government began to reassert its authority in formerly rebel-controlled areas (US Department of State 2012, BBC 2018b).

On the other hand, Hirsch (2001, p. 145) wrote that despite the peace agreement and numerous cease-fires between the democratically elected government of Ahmad Tejan Kabbah and the Revolutionary United Front (RUF), Sierra Leone remained still in 2001, a chaotic place with its broken economy, its displaced and also traumatized population.

In addition, other countries such as the United Kingdom, which focused its policies on Sierra Leone by devoting its sub-regional resources and diplomacy to supporting Sierra Leone's fragile democracy, and such as the United States helped the peace process by setting the stage for the Lome peace negotiations, also contributed to the peace process (Hirsch, 2001, p. 155). Hence, the Young Women's Christian Association (YWCA), played a leading role in the peace negotiations, which resulted with the signing of the 1999 Lome Peace Accord, officially giving an end to the war (even if the fighting and violence continued until 2002) (Mazurana, 2004, p. 16).

As a result of the UN Peacekeeping mission and also of a British military support, the civil war in Sierra Leone declared officially over on January 2002 (BBC 2018b, UNDP Sierra Leone). Therefore, by early 2002, Sierra Leone became a better place, thanks largely to an efficient work of British peacekeepers and to the strong UN Mission in Sierra Leone (UNAMSIL), which became the largest UN peacekeeping operation in the world in mid-2002 (Chege, 2000, p. 150). Starting in November 2002, UNAMSIL gradually began to decrease its number of the personnel until the end of its formal peacekeeping mission in December 2005 (US Department of State, 2012).

In the aftermath of international failures in Somalia and Rwanda, as well as the Srebrenica massacre in Bosnia, UNAMSIL became a successful international response to RUF atrocities (Hirsch, 2001, p. 147). Hence, after UN and UK-led military operations could give an end to the conflict, Sierra Leone progressed politically and economically (Peace Insight, 2015). Thus, Sierra Leone has made important progress and could be able to establish good governance, hold local elections in 2004, which was its first election in more than three decades, and consolidate peace and security. Therefore, UNAMSIL is also cited as a success story in UN peacebuilding (UNDP Sierra Leone).

## **B. Details on UN Peacekeeping Mission in Sierra Leone (UNAMSIL)**

### **General Information on UNAMSIL**

In October 1999, United Nations Security Council set up United Nations Mission in Sierra Leone (UNAMSIL) set up in order to assist the Government to implement the Lome Peace Agreement (UNAMSIL Official Website, Date-Bah 2006).

During its six years of mandate, UNAMSIL helped and encouraged the conflicting parties in order to create confidence-building mechanisms. Thus, it played an important role in facilitating the delivery of humanitarian assistance and in bringing government services to local communities. Hence, the mandate's support was crucial for rebuilding the country's police force. Furthermore, UNAMSIL helped the Government of Sierra Leone in the implementation of the disarmament, demobilization and reintegration plan by disarming and demobilizing more than 75,000 ex-fighters, including child soldiers. Additionally, UNAMSIL gave a significant support to the organization of the elections in Sierra Leone, which were the country's first ever free and fair presidential and parliamentary elections (UNAMSIL Official Website, Date-Bah 2006).

In the early stages of the UNAMSIL, the mandate was considered as a failure because of the terrible economic condition of Sierra Leone. As the parties continued fighting in order to control over the diamond-rich areas of the country, the peace agreement was not successfully implemented in the early stages of the operation. Thus, the UN forces were defined as insufficient to control the violence in the country (Gizelis, 2009, p. 511).

Additionally, by 7 February 2000, the mandate also included the tasks of providing security of the key locations such as Government buildings, major airports and the sites of the disarmament, demobilization and reintegration programme. The mission remained in the country until its successful completion in December 2005 (UNAMSIL Official Website).

Later on, UNAMSIL became successful and could be able to control the situation. Hence, Gizelis (2009, p. 511) argues that a facilitator of this transformation was women's involvement in the peace process. This study will try to analyze whether this can be a factor for the success of the UNAMSIL and also the whole peace process in Sierra Leone.

## Main Analysis on the Role of Women in UNAMSIL

### **1. Negotiations in furtherance of a ceasefire and/or peace agreements**

This section analyzes whether gender issues are addressed on the official document of peacekeeping mandate and/or on the peace agreement.

The official document of the mandate, UNSCR 1270 (1999), was created before the Security Council Resolution 1325, which became a milestone for the gender mainstreaming of peacekeeping. Therefore, the references to gender equality are not sufficient within the UNAMSIL's original mandate document. In fact, while analyzing this document, one can appreciate the importance given to the issue of child soldiers, which is also crucial for the respect of human rights. However, at the 15<sup>th</sup> paragraph in the 3<sup>rd</sup> page of the document of the UNSCR 1270 (1999), a significant reference to the gender equality is present as the following:

*“ Security Council underlines the importance of including in UNAMSIL personnel with appropriate training in international humanitarian, human rights and refugee law, including child and gender-related provisions, negotiation and communication skills, cultural awareness and civilian-military coordination”* (UNSCR 1270, 1999, p. 3).

Despite this attention given to the training on human rights, also on the gender equality as a crucial dimension of human rights, UNSCR 1270 (1999) can be considered as having inadequate references to gender mainstreaming. Therefore, this lack of strong commitment to gender equality could become a reason of the restriction on the human and financial resources allocated to gender mainstreaming within ONUMOZ (Date-Bah, 2006, p. 17).

On the other hand, Lome Peace Agreement is not truly gender neutral and includes an important paragraph on the crucial importance given to the special needs of women and girls in the reconstruction phase. The Article 28 of this peace agreement, which is in the section four on the post-conflict military and security issues, which refers to the specific needs and problems faced by women is mentioned as the following:

*“Given that women have been particularly victimized during the war, special attention shall be accorded to their needs and potentials in formulating and implementing national rehabilitation, reconstruction and development programmes, to enable them to play a central role in the moral, physical and social reconstruction of Sierra Leone”* (Lome Peace Agreement, July 1999, p. 27).

However, many scholars find this reference to gender issues truly insufficient, but an important success within the gender mainstreaming efforts (Gizelis 2009, Mazurana and Carlson 2004, Date-Bah 2006). Hence, only two women were involved in the Lome process, one a member of the government delegation and the other a representative of the Revolutionary United Front (RUF). Those women participants were not the chief negotiators, but the final document reflected at least some gender-specific issues, which is mainly considered a successful result of women’s participation in the peace process (Gizelis 2009, Mazurana and Carlson 2004). Even if this reference was limited, it is considered as an important step for the gender mainstreaming of peacekeeping and reconstruction processes.

## **2. Mandate:**

This section examines the presence of gender advisors within the peacekeeping operation.

UNAMSIL had a full time gender advisory capacity, which is crucial for the achievement of the gender mainstreaming strategy within the mission (Date Bah, 2006, p. 17; UNDPKO, 2005; UNDPKO Pre Publication Copy). Hence, for UNAMSIL, the situation has changed over time. Until January 2005, a Gender Specialist in the Human Rights Division was coordinating the gender mainstreaming activities in UNAMSIL. Since then, a Gender Advisor has been appointed to the Office of the Special Representative of the Secretary-General (SRSG) in order to ensure that a gender perspective is mainstreamed into all the activities, policies and programmes of the mission (UNDPKO Pre Publication Copy, p. 33; DPKO; Nduka-Agwu, 2009)

As the position of the gender advisor within the mission has a definitive impact on his/her efficiency, the location of the gender specialist in the human rights section of the mission within UNAMSIL until January 2005, and not directly in the SRSG's office, has been strongly criticized by many scholars (Date-Bah, 2006, p. 20; Nduka-Agwu, 2009, p. 187).

The tasks of the gender advisor working in UNAMSIL were to ensure that:

- Gender issues are adequately incorporated into the missions's plan
- Equal rights are part of the constitutional arrangements
- Legislation is developed to protect women's rights

- The representation of women is increased in legislative bodies and in other governance institutions,
- Women are included in the peace process and benefit equally from the peace
- Women build necessary capacity for participation in all post-conflict peace-building processes
- The violations against women are systematically monitored and reported.

In fact, gender advisor in Sierra Leone played an important role in the fight against gender based violence by creating an initiative called as International Rescue Committee (IRC), which provides survivors of sexual assault with free and confidential medical treatment, consultancy and legal support. Additionally, Gender Advisor also trained UNAMSIL staff, NGO and humanitarian staff on the gender-based violence and how to respond to it. Hence, Gender Advisor within UNAMSIL also worked for raising awareness of the issue of sexual exploitation and abuse within the local people (Nduka-Agwu, 2009; Date-Bah, 2006; Carey, 2001).

Thus, another important mission of the Gender Advisor was the provision of training to the Sierra Leonean Police by regularly attending the training seminars and by giving lectures on gender and women's rights to all new personnel at the Sierra Leonean Police (UNDPKO Pre Publication Copy, p. 33).

In addition, gender advisor in Sierra Leone had a key role in the law making process on domestic violence of the national Law Reform Commission. (UNDPKO Pre-Publication Copy, p. 33).



To conclude, mission's efforts suffered from the shortages in funding and the staff shortage working on the issue of gender concerns. But, following the passing of the UNSCR 1325, a significant development on this issue was witnessed (Nduka-Agwu, 2009).

### **3. Leadership:**

This part interrogates whether the appointed leader of the peacekeeping mission such as Special Representative of the Secretary General to the mission was female. Hence, the attention given by the Secretary General on the mission and on the gender issues of the time is also worth to analyze in this part.

The Special Representative of the Secretary General (SRSG), Ambassador Daudi Mwakawago was considered as a gender sensitive representative who gave important efforts on the gender mainstreaming work. Hence, he referred to gender issues and advised the national government to include women in peace process and also during the elections. To illustrate, Ambassador Daudi Mwakawago gave a speech at the opening ceremony of the schools that had been rebuilt by UNAMSIL, by calling the parents to give equal education chances to their girls and boys and to increase girls' school attendance and not forcing them into early marriages (Date-Bah, 2006, p. 20). The gender sensitivity of the SRSG was truly important for increasing the awareness of the whole peacekeeping personnel and also of the local people on gender issues. In addition, it is also known that the UN Secretary General at the time was closely following the gender gaps in UNAMSIL in order to make gender mainstreaming work, especially after the UNSCR 1325 on the gender mainstreaming.

In fact, Oluyemi Adeniji from Nigeria (from December 1999 to July 2003), Alan Doss from United Kingdom (between July 2003 and December 2003) and Daudi Ngelautwa Mwakawago from Tanzania (from December 2003 to December 2005) served as Special Representative of the Secretary-General and Chief of Mission in UNAMSIL. Hence, the Force Commanders and Chief Military Observers were Major-General Daniel Opande from Kenya (between November 2000 and September 2003) and Major-General Sajjad Akram from Pakistan (between October 2003 and September 2005). Therefore, the appointed leaders and the force commanders were all male in UNAMSIL (UNAMSIL Official Website).

#### **4. Planning, Structure and Resources of Missions:**

This section of the study investigates whether a gender affairs unit is present within the peacekeeping mission.

The presence of a gender affairs unit in UNAMSIL is analyzed within the part on the Mandate, as the presence of a gender advisor was also an indirect reason of the gender affairs unit's absence within the UNAMSIL.

#### **5. Recruitment:**

This study interprets the number of women in military within the UN peacekeeping mission, which can also be included in the component of 'mandate'. Thus, troop contributing countries are also analyzed in this part in order to possibly reach an observation on the issue, as the presence of women in UNPKO can also be related to the national policies on female soldiers.

A detailed gender data on UN Peacekeeping Operations is present at the UNPKO documents, but their analysis starts in 2006, which is the subsequent year of the end of UNAMSIL. Therefore, secondary sources are used in order to concretize the analysis. Between 1998 and 2001 the maximum ratio of the female military personnel compared to the whole soldiers was 20 per cent. Later on, at the peak of the mission, UNAMSIL's staff included 30 per cent women and most of these women peacekeepers were the mission's civilian staff. As 30 per cent is a significant ratio, UNAMSIL's female participation is considered as a success (Date-Bah, 2006, p. 21; Mazurana, 2001, p. 66).

**Table 6:** Ratio of the female military personnel compared to the entire troops in UNAMSIL

	1998	1999	2000	2001
<b>Female Military Personnel (%)</b>	20	20	18	19

Source: Date-Bah, 2006.

Troop contributing countries is a significant factor affecting the number of female peacekeepers within the mission. For UNAMSIL, the troop contributing countries were as the following: Bangladesh, Bolivia, Canada, China, Croatia, Egypt, Gambia, Germany, Ghana, Guinea, India, Indonesia, Jordan, Kenya, Kyrgyzstan, Malawi, Malaysia, Nepal, Nigeria, Norway, Pakistan, Russian Federation, Slovakia, Sweden, Tanzania, Ukraine, United Kingdom, Uruguay and Zambia (UNAMSIL Official Website).

Even if the troop contributing countries were encouraged by the United Nations Department of Peacekeeping Operations (DPKO) to deploy more women to the missions, women participation into the peacekeeping missions was still insufficient and remained as a problem for the success of the mission. Hence, the UNAMSIL Force Commander reported that a minority of the troop contributing countries complied with this request of the DPKO because of the lack of gender balance within their national militaries. However, some troop-contributing countries, such as Nigeria, Ghana, Bangladesh and Pakistan, witnessed a notable development in terms of their level of gender sensitivity and of women participation into their peacekeeping personnel (Date-Bah, 2006, p. 27).

#### **6. Training:**

This study inspects whether gender training not only to UN peacekeepers but also to the local people, and appropriate funding are present within the peacekeeping mission.

As UNAMSIL was authorized before the UNSCR 1325, it was not considered as a gender sensitive mission and had a lack of attention given to the gender issues. But, after the resolution 1325, UNAMSIL witnessed some significant developments on gender mainstreaming. Therefore, gender training was not compulsory for the whole personnel before the departure for the mission, as it currently is. Hence, neither UNAMSIL police nor military troops received training on women's rights, special needs or the violence against women before their deployment to the mission (Mazurana, 2001; Naduka-Agwu, 2009).

In fact, a UN gender theme group started their activities by training the mission's staff on gender concepts and gender mainstreaming and worked in order to raise awareness and knowledge on the gender concerns within the mission. Thus, DPKO distributed "Gender and Peacekeeping" training material to the mission's personnel and UNAMSIL maintained this module as part of their in mission training given to their own staff and also to the national police forces in Sierra Leone (Nduka-Agwu, 2009, p. 188; UNDPKO Pre Publication Copy, p. 10).

In addition, gender training is crucial in order to ensure that all the peacekeepers have necessary knowledge and understanding of the differential impact of conflict on the lives of women, men, girls and boys (Lamprey, 2012, p. 5). Hence, gender training is a significant dimension of the achievement and the restoration of sustainable peace and political stability in a post-conflict country.

Therefore, gender training should be compulsory but not voluntary, organized regularly for all the staff within the mission. And this very few number of gender training activities through the whole UNAMSIL mission cannot be sufficient in order to provide peacekeepers and local people the ability to mainstream gender in their decisions and activities (Date Bah, 2006, p. 41).

## **7. Procedures:**

This study examines the presence of gender focal points within the mission. In 2005, the missions without a gender advisor had their gender focal points who were full time mission staff assigned additional gender related responsibilities. As UNAMSIL

had a full-time gender advisor, gender focal points were absent in this mission (UNDPKO 2005, Date-Bah 2006). But the few number of gender advisor, as only one personnel for the whole UNAMSIL mission, is strongly criticized by many scholars, who defend also the special need for gender focal points within peacekeeping missions (Date-Bah, 2006; Mazurana, 2001; Nduka-Agwu, 2009; Lamptey, 2012).

### **8. Public Awareness:**

This part of the study interrogates whether there is a connection between the local women's groups and peacekeepers, which can also be helpful for the development of the public awareness on gender equality.

The Resolution 1325 emphasized the crucial need for the consultation between peacekeepers and local women's groups in host countries. Hence, UNAMSIL's success on this dimension proved by the contribution of the female peacekeepers for the recruitment of more women into the national police forces in Sierra Leone.

Additionally, in Sierra Leone, enhanced collaboration between the police, national NGOs supporting victims of sexual violence and the national judicial system contributed heavily to the achievement of higher levels of reporting of gender-based violent crimes (UNDPKO Pre-Publication Copy, p. 14). Thus, UNAMSIL Radio, which ran weekly radio shows, also played a crucial role in raising public awareness on gender issues and also on the gender knowledge of the local people in Sierra Leone. That is also seen as a factor of the increase on the reports of the gender based

violence made by the local population in Sierra Leone (Date-Bah, 2006; Nduka-Agwu, 2009).

In addition, Gender Advisor in Sierra Leone also made many efforts in order to advocate for gender and women's human rights by communicating with the local councils, the traditional leaders and also with the teachers. Therefore, currently, subjects of gender and of women's rights are included in most training programs of the police, army and local councils in Sierra Leone (Nduka-Agwu, 2009, p. 188). Therefore, gender awareness-raising duty of the Gender Advisor, also with support of the Public Information Office, was used as an important mechanism in providing information and knowledge to the local women and to the local police (UNDPKO Pre-Publication Copy, p. 33). Hence, UNAMSIL in collaboration with other UN institutions in the country and with local institutions have played a significant role for the increase in gender awareness in Sierra Leone (Date-Bah, 2006, p. 8).

The deployment of UNAMSIL also contributed to the local women initiatives in their efforts to secure a sustainable end to the conflict in Sierra Leone (Gizelis, 2009; Nduka-Agwu, 2009). Hence, UNAMSIL provided a secure environment for the individual women and women's civil organizations in their efforts to collect the illegally held weapons from ex-combatants. Thus, UNAMSIL, national military and women's groups collaborated on the creation of the education programs, which brings some important knowledge to the children about avoiding landmines, which was a real threat for children in Sierra Leone (Mazurana, 2001, p. 69). Additionally, it is also necessary to note the women's initiatives, which were supported also by the UN, were crucial for the reconstruction process. To illustrate, women had mobilized a

significant amount of resources in order to rebuild the schools that were destroyed during the brutal civil war (Gizelis, 2009, p. 510).

The Women's Forum, which is a network of women's organizations, had a strong working relationship with UNAMSIL. Thanks to the funding and technical support of the gender advisor of UNAMSIL, the Women's Forum could be able to organize training activities on international women's rights instruments to the local people in Sierra Leone (Date-Bah, 2006, p. 29).

In addition, MARWOPNET, an association of women, which organized training seminars and visits for local people and also for refugees in order to facilitate the achievement of a sustainable peace, had a significant financial and technical support from UNAMSIL as a part of its external gender mainstreaming work. That support was also an effect of UNSCR 1325, which emphasized the importance of including women in all aspects of peacekeeping (Date-Bah, 2006, p. 30; Nduka-Agwu, 2009, p. 195; Gizelis, 2009, p. 17).

Therefore, it is possible to say that the educational activities on gender equality during the peacekeeping missions can truly help the local women and girls to gain significant capabilities in order to improve their own life conditions and prospects. However, women's initiatives still need support from international community and donor governments in order to ensure sustainable reintegration, reconstruction and peace at the national, and also at the international level (Gizelis, 2009, p. 27).



### **General Comments on UNAMSIL**

UNAMSIL is considered as a successful peacekeeping mission, as the UN helped the war-torn country to make significant progress towards peace and demonstrated how the world can respond to the needs and demands of countries in conflict (UNAMSIL Official Website).

On the other hand, the fact that some of the UNAMSIL troops were committed sexual exploitation and abuse of local women became an obstacle against the confidence of the local people towards UNAMSIL and also against UNAMSIL's reputation (Date-Bah, 2006, p. 8).

Even if UNAMSIL's initial mandate did not emphasize gender in a sufficient manner and a full time gender advisor was present in the Human Rights Division but not in the Office of the Special Representative of the Secretary General (SRSG) until 2005, UNAMSIL's gender mainstreaming efforts were considered as very important and as a significant achievement (Date-Bah, 2006, p. 37).

## **C. Living Conditions of Women in Post Conflict Order in Sierra Leone**

### **General Findings on the Post-Conflict Situation in Sierra Leone**

In 2002, Sierra Leone was considered as a small state with probably the lowest standard of living in the entire world (Chege, 2002). Even if an important number of years have passed, Sierra Leone could not make significant economic progress and still remains as one of the poorest countries in the world. Hence, 11 years of brutal civil conflict in the country had significant consequences on country's political and economic situation (UNDP Sierra Leone, 2018).

According to the Human Development Index 2016, which distinguishes countries with very high, high, medium and low human development, Sierra Leone ranked 179<sup>th</sup> out of 188 countries of the list. Hence it is classified as a country with low human development (UNDP, 2016a). While country's population witness significant inequalities in education and income, natural disasters and diseases such as Ebola also become major threats to country's peace and stability (UNDP Sierra Leone, 2018).

In addition, the unemployment rate in Sierra Leone is not seen as a significant concern for the country as it has a rate of 2.7 per cent in 2015, of 4.6 in 2016 and 4.5 per cent in 2017 (Trading Economics, 2018). Even if Sierra Leone could be able to make an economic growth, the country has still a dependence on foreign aid (UNDP Sierra Leone, 2018).

On the other hand, Sierra Leone has made significant improvements on the political arena and consolidated its peace and democratic stability since the end of the civil war

in 2002 (UNDP Sierra Leone, 2018). The successful conduct of several elections in the country since the end of the civil war such as the general elections in 2002 and 2007 become real proofs of the consolidation of the peace and reconstruction process in Sierra Leone. Thus, 2012 national elections in the country are organized without the help and support of international authorities and organizations. Hence, the high voter turnout proved the commitment and the will for a sustainable peace and democracy in the country (UNDP Sierra Leone, 2018; Peace Insight, 2015).

Freedom House report, prepared by analyzing the situation of political rights (free and fair elections, political choices free from domination etc.) and civil liberties (freedom of expression, assembly, education and religion etc.) in a country, has defined Sierra Leone as partly free in 2017. Again, according to this index, Sierra Leone has a score of 66, while the freest country is explained with a score of 100 (Freedom House, 2018).

Additionally, life expectancy is increased from 39 years in 2000 to 51 years for men and 52 years for women in 2017 (UNDP Sierra Leone, 2018; BBC, 2018b). Hence, Sierra Leone is a developing country with a strong commitment on sustainable peace and democracy.

### **Women's Living Conditions in Sierra Leone**

This part will include the information gathered by analyzing the documents and articles prepared by the scholars and practitioners. In addition, in order to concretize the analysis on political participation and on women's role in the country's economy, the data prepared by Inter Parliamentary Union on women in parliaments and also the data prepared by World Bank on the labour force participation rates by gender will be included in this part of the analysis.

In Sierra Leone, women's situation improved significantly in economic activity, however women should become more vocal and present in decision-making bodies.

Violence against women saw a significant decrease also with the help of the institutional initiatives such as 'Saturday Courts', which aims to address and investigate the gender based violence cases in the country. Hence, Government developed a strong legal framework also by introducing the Gender Laws in 2007 on the gender issues such as domestic violence and registration of customary marriage (UNDP Sierra Leone, 2018). Thus, Sierra Leone signed and ratified the Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination against Women (CEDAW) in 1998.

According to the World Bank Data on Labour Force of female compared to the total labour force of the country, in Sierra Leone in 1990, 49.9 per cent of the total labour force were women, while in 2017 this ratio increased to 50.1 per cent (World Bank, 2017).

**Table 7:** Labour force participation rates by gender in 1990 and in 2017 in Sierra Leone

	<b>1990</b>	<b>2017</b>
<b>Percentage of female labour force participation</b>	49.9 %	50.1 %

Source: World Bank (Data on Labour Force), 2017.

In addition, it is known that the President gave his support to the national campaign initiative for a minimum quota of women in political decision-making institutions (UNDP Sierra Leone, 2018). However, the Global Data Base of Quotas on Women, prepared by UN Women, IDEA, Stockholm University and Inter Parliamentary Union in 2017 by analyzing the gender quotas around the world, shows that currently Sierra Leone does not have a gender quota system in its national parliament. In fact, the gender quota systems help ensuring that women are not isolated and become actors in political arena (Chen, 2010, p. 13).

According to the data prepared by Inter-Parliamentary Union on Women in national parliaments, as a result of the parliamentary elections held in Sierra Leone in March 2018, women currently have 18 seats in their parliament with a total number of 146 seats. Therefore, in 2018, the percentage of female participation to the parliament in Sierra Leone is 12.3 per cent, which can be considered as an insignificant ratio. Hence, in February 1996, this percentage was 8.8, which shows that there has been a relative increase in women representation in politics. In 2018, Sierra Leone takes the 144<sup>th</sup> place in the world classification based on the number of women in national parliamentaries of 193 countries (Inter-Parliamentary Union, 2018).

**Table 8:** Percentage of women in parliament in 2018 in Sierra Leone

	<b>Total number of seats</b>	<b>Number of women in parliament</b>	<b>Percentage of women in parliament</b>
<b>Parliament of Sierra Leone</b>	146	18	12.3 %

Source: Inter-Parliamentary Union, 2018.

However, Date-Bah (2006, p. 7) argues that Sierra Leone witnessed a gradual increase in the numbers of women involved in the political order, including voting in elections, and taking part in Parliament and Government.

In addition, in Sierra Leone, 9.5 per cent of adult women have reached a secondary school or a higher education, while this ratio is 20 per cent for adult men (UNDP Sierra Leone, 2018). Additionally, there are still a huge number of women who die from pregnancy related causes, because of the existing problems on the procurement of good healthcare services (UNDP Sierra Leone, 2018). Therefore, Sierra Leone still needs a progress in providing gender equality to its citizens.

Additionally, Date-Bah (2006, p. 15) argues that main reasons of the gender inequality in Sierra Leone are traditional norms and practices, ignorance and religious beliefs, which become obstacles against country's improvements on gender equality.

On the other hand, Gizelis (2009, p. 511) argues that even if the economic indicators do not present a positive scenario of Sierra Leone, one can truly realize that women do comparatively better in Sierra Leone compared with other developing societies of similar or even higher levels of development. The main reason of this fact is

explained as the success of women's initiatives in gender training, in protests against the recurrence of violence and also in the demobilization process.

### **Main Analysis on Women's Situation in Sierra Leone**

This part will include the knowledge and assumptions gained by analyzing the reliable indexes on peace, security and gender equality, therefore on the subject of women, peace and security.

### **The Global Peace Index and the Positive Peace Report**

Sierra Leone is included in the analysis that is called as Global Peace Index 2018. Global Peace Index is the report of the analysis ranking 163 independent states in terms of their level of peacefulness. Sierra Leone had a score of 1.75 out of 4 and is defined as a country with a high level of peace. This country is ranked as the 35<sup>th</sup> in a total of 163 countries as the 3<sup>rd</sup> in the region of Sub-Saharan Africa. Sierra Leone's level of peace has ameliorated compared to the last year's analysis and had a positive trend in the year of 2018 (IEP, 2018).

Additionally, Sierra Leone is also included in the Positive Peace Report 2017, which ranked 163 independent states in terms of their level of positive peace. In this analysis, the state of peace is analyzed according to the scores from 1 to 5, indicating from the very high level of peace to low level of positive peace. Thus, Sierra Leone had a score of 3.65 out of 5, which shows that this country has a level of positive peace that is between high and medium level. This country is ranked as the 129<sup>th</sup> in a total of 163 countries, right before Mozambique (IEP, October 2017).

Within the Pillar of “Acceptance of the Rights of Others” included in Positive Peace analysis, the third indicator is the “measure of women’s disadvantage in three dimensions: reproductive health, empowerment and the labour market”. According to the same report, within the Pillar of “Acceptance of the Rights of Others”, Sierra Leone had a score of 3.58, which is defined as medium level. That report shows that the situation of gender equality in Sierra Leone is a little better than in Mozambique (IEP, October 2017).

In addition, it is necessary to note that women inclusion becomes a crucial component of peacebuilding and reconstruction process of a country torn by conflict.

### **UN Women Country Page**

UN Women country report on Sierra Leone shows that this country is experiencing a period of significant economic growth, which is driven mainly by the development of agricultural activities. Thus, the expansion in the construction and services sectors is another main driver of its economic growth (UN Women, 2018b).

In addition, this country has experienced significant improvements in expanding opportunities for women. Hence, women in Sierra Leone benefit from the recent developments in country’s level of gender awareness. To illustrate, while preparing the Agenda for Prosperity, government in Sierra Leone established a self-standing pillar on gender equality and women’s empowerment, which became the first ever in Africa and also a significant proof of the attention given by the government to the gender issues. Additionally, men in Sierra Leone started giving an important support



to women in enabling their economic empowerment, advancing their political participation and eliminating all types of gender-based violence (UN Women, 2018b; UN Women, 2017).

### **Gender Development Index by UNDP**

Sierra Leone is also included in the Gender Development Index 2016, creating an analysis of 160 countries in terms of their level of gender gap in their human development calculated in the Human Development Index 2016. The female Human Development Index value for Sierra Leone is 0.392 compared with 0.451 for males, resulting in a Gender Development Index value of 0.871, which can be considered as a high level of gender inequality in terms of human development. Hence, Sierra Leone has a better level of gender quality than Mozambique. However the difference between the levels gender equality in terms of human development of these two countries is not considerable (UNDP, 2016b).

### **Gender Inequality Index by UNDP**

The Gender Inequality Index 2016, prepared by UNDP, reflects women's drawbacks in three thematic areas such as reproductive health, empowerment and the labour market. Sierra Leone has a Gender Inequality Index value of 0.650, ranking it 151 out of 159 countries in the 2016 index (UNDP, 2016c).

## **Women Peace and Security Documents**

According to the analysis at Peace Women, Sierra Leone had important achievements for gender equality. However, the level of gender equality in this country is still insufficient, and this country should witness more progress in order to improve gender awareness within the people and also within the agents of the power structures. Hence, Sierra Leone signed and ratified the Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination against Women (CEDAW) 11 November 1988 (Peace Women, 2018a).

Currently, Sierra Leone developed a National Action Plan (NAP) for the period 2010-2014, in order to achieve the development of Women, Peace and Security agenda and in the Implementation of UNSCR 1325. Even if Sierra Leone's NAP for the implementation of UNSCR 1325 does not have a dedicated budget, it includes a projected cost of USD 21 million (Peace Women, 2018a).

In addition, at Peace Women it is possible to find Civil Society Monitoring Documents<sup>13</sup> on the situation of Women, Peace and Security Agenda in Sierra Leone. This detailed analysis shows that Sierra Leone is fully committed to the full implementation of UNSCR 1325. However, more efforts should be given for the full inclusion of women in post-conflict peace and security agenda. According to this report, women's participation in the Justice and Security Sector in Sierra Leone is noteworthy, as the Sierra Leone Police and the Military currently provide an equal access for women and men not only to be recruited, but also promoted to positions of

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<sup>13</sup> Civil Society Monitoring Reports on the situation of Women, Peace and Security Agenda and on the implementation of UNSCR 1325 in several countries are prepared by the Global Network of Women Peacebuilders, which is a coalition of women's initiatives and civil society organizations from different continents of the world working for increasing the role and leadership of women in peace processes.

high responsibility. In addition, these entities made significant progress for the development of the institutional policies to provide gender equality in their working environment (Global Network of Women Peacebuilders, 2016).

Therefore, Sierra Leone has a more positive trend for the improvement of gender equality particularly in the security sector, also thanks to the efforts given by the local female activists, who work hard, to tackle with the problem of gender inequality.

### **Gender Mainstreaming in Security Sector Reforms**

The presence of gender mainstreaming policies in Security Sector Reforms is a significant proof that the state is committed for the improvements in gender equality.

Karim and Huber (2018, p. 264) defends that the presence of a peacekeeping mission in a country increases the probability that this state will adopt gender balancing policies in its Security Sector Reforms, by bringing additional funds and personnel to the state and also by implementing female-focused recruitment in their national militaries/police forces.

In addition, this thesis can truly develop this argument by adding the component of the role of women in peacekeeping missions, which can be able to increase the likelihood that the countries take into consideration gender issues in their Security Sector Reforms. Hence, female peacekeepers would make more efforts in order to encourage government and local people in order to adopt gender mainstreamed Security Sector Reforms.

In fact, gender balancing is considered as the main type of mainstreamed security sector reforms. Hence, Sierra Leone adopted quotas for women in the security sector, particularly in its police and militaries (Karim and Huber, 2018, p. 264). Additionally, Date-Bah (2006, p. 7) emphasizes that the human rights awareness of the local police, mainly on gender violence and gender equality has developed particularly thanks to the female peacekeepers within UNAMSIL.

In sum, UNAMSIL, which is defined as a success story in UN peacebuilding for consolidating peace and security in Sierra Leone, witnessed some significant developments on gender mainstreaming such as having a full time gender advisory capacity and as giving training to the mission's staff on gender concepts. On the other hand, in the post conflict Sierra Leone, women's situation improved significantly in economic activity, however women should become more vocal and present in decision-making bodies, as the percentage of female participation to the parliament is low. Additionally, the Government in Sierra Leone emphasized heavily the gender issues while developing its Security Sector Reforms. Hence, this country has a positive trend for the improvement of gender equality particularly in the security sector and the facilitator of this transformation can truly be defined as the presence of significant references to gender issues within UNAMSIL.

## **DISCUSSION**

In this study, Mozambique and Sierra Leone, two countries situated in Sub-Saharan Africa, which experienced brutal civil wars are included in the analysis. Thus, the UN peacekeeping missions ONUMOZ and UNAMSIL, which have similar characteristics such as duration of mandate less than 10 years and as being successfully completed at least 10 years ago, are analyzed in detail. However, ONUMOZ and UNAMSIL differ from each other on the presence of female peacekeepers within the mission.

On the one hand, in ONUMOZ, peacekeepers monitored the Mozambican peace process and ensured the successful implementation of the General Peace Agreement for Mozambique. Hence, ONUMOZ provided crucial support for the preparation and handling of the multiparty elections in Mozambique.

In this study, ONUMOZ is analyzed in detail in seven different perspectives. Firstly, the mandate document UNSCR 797 (1992), which authorized the United Nations Mission in Mozambique (ONUMOZ) on 16 December 1992, does not have any references to gender equality and is gender neutral. Similarly, General Peace Agreement for Mozambique, which was signed on 4 October 1992 in Rome, does not include any references to gender or gender equality. Thus, ONUMOZ did not have any gender advisors within its mandate, which is now considered as crucial for increasing the public awareness on gender equality. Hence, the appointed leader and the force commanders were all male in ONUMOZ. Additionally, UN Secretary General at the time, Boutros Boutros-Ghali did not give any formal speeches or suggestions on the presence of women in the mission or in the other phases of the peace process. ONUMOZ did not have a gender affairs unit within its mandate. In

fact, ONUMOZ did not include a high number of female peacekeepers within its mandate. Thus, ONUMOZ did not provide any training on gender issues and on gender equality before or during its mandate. But, in ONUMOZ, peacekeepers built a connection with the local people. As this mission was active in the period before UNSCR 1325, where gender issues were not considered as crucial, ONUMOZ was not created or led by an approach of gender mainstreaming and there was a lack of role of women during this mission.

On the other hand, peacekeepers in UNAMSIL monitored the ceasefire, helped the warring parties in order to create confidence-building mechanisms and gave a significant support to the organization of the elections in Sierra Leone.

UNAMSIL is a mission that is authorized before the UNSCR 1325, however after the adoption of the resolution UNSCR 1325 in 2000, it experienced significant developments towards being a gender-mainstreamed mission. Even If there is a paragraph on the attention that should be given to the training on human rights, also on the gender equality as a crucial dimension of human rights, the references to gender equality are not sufficient within the UNAMSIL's original mandate document. But, Lome Peace Agreement is not truly gender neutral and includes an important paragraph on the crucial importance given to the special needs of women and girls in the reconstruction phase. UNAMSIL had a full time gender advisory capacity, which is considered as crucial for the achievement of the gender mainstreaming strategy within the mission. Additionally, the Special Representative of the Secretary General (SRSG), Ambassador Daudi Mwakawago was considered as a gender sensitive representative who gave important efforts on the gender mainstreaming work. But, the

appointed leaders and the force commanders were all male also in UNAMSIL. Thus, between 1998 and 2001 the maximum ratio of the female military personnel compared to the whole soldiers was 20 per cent. Later on, at the peak of the mission, UNAMSIL's staff included 30 per cent women and most of these women peacekeepers were the mission's civilian staff. With a 30 per cent, being a significant ratio, UNAMSIL's female participation is developed after the UNSCR 1325 and is considered as a success and a facilitator of the women's inclusion in peace process in Sierra Leone.

On the other hand, UNAMSIL had a very few number of gender training activities through the whole mission and this is considered as insufficient in order to provide peacekeepers and local people the ability to mainstream gender in their decisions and activities. A lesson learned from UNAMSIL is the fact that the gender training should be compulsory but not voluntary, organized regularly for all the staff within the mission. The reason of this lack of full commitment to gender mainstreaming in UNAMSIL can be explained with the slow effect of UNSCR 1325, which can be considered as normal.

In addition, it is noteworthy that until January 2005, a Gender Specialist in the Human Rights Division was coordinating the gender mainstreaming activities in UNAMSIL. Since then, a Gender Advisor has been appointed to the Office of the Special Representative of the Secretary-General (SRSG) in order to ensure that a gender perspective is mainstreamed into all the activities, policies and programmes of the mission. This appointment was also considered as a result of the UNSCR 1325 and the attention given to the gender mainstreamed peacekeeping missions. Therefore, it

is necessary to say that after the UNSC Resolution 1325, UNAMSIL witnessed some significant developments on gender mainstreaming. Hence, UNAMSIL gave a significant financial and technical support to the local women’s initiatives as a part of its external gender mainstreaming work. That support was also an effect of UNSCR 1325, which emphasized the importance of including women in all aspects of peacekeeping.

Therefore, UNAMSIL and ONUMOZ had many differences on the presence of efforts given by the peacekeepers in favor of gender equality within the mission and also within the post conflict order.

**Table 9:** Table of comparison between ONUMOZ and UNAMSIL according to the analyzed perspectives

	<b>ONUMOZ</b>	<b>UNAMSIL</b>
<b>Negotiations in Furtherance of a Ceasefire and/or Peace Agreements</b>	Lack of references to gender equality on the mandate document and on the General Peace Agreement for Mozambique	There are some references to gender equality in the mandate’s document, but not sufficient. There are some references to the special needs of women in Lome Peace Agreement
<b>Mandate</b> (presence of gender advisors)	Lack of gender advisor	UNAMSIL had a full time gender advisory capacity
<b>Female Leadership</b>	All the appointed leaders and the force commanders were male	All the appointed leaders and the force commanders were male, but the SRSG was considered as gender sensitive and gave significant efforts on the gender mainstreaming strategy
<b>Planning Structure and Resources</b> (presence of a gender affairs unit)	Lack of gender affairs unit	As UNAMSIL had a full-time gender advisor, gender affairs unit was absent in this mission



<b>Recruitment</b> (number of female peacekeepers)	Insufficient/little number of female peacekeepers	A significant ratio of female peacekeepers, especially after the passage of the UNSCR 1325
<b>Gender Training</b>	Lack of training on gender issues before or during the mandate	A few number of gender training activities during the mission
<b>Procedures</b> (presence of gender focal points)	Lack of gender focal points	As UNAMSIL had a full-time gender advisor, gender focal points were absent in this mission
<b>Public awareness</b> (connection between local women's groups and peacekeepers)	Even if ONUMOZ built a connection with the local people, gender issues were not considered as crucial	UNAMSIL built a significant connection with the local people, which also contributed to the local women initiatives in their efforts to secure a sustainable end to the conflict in Sierra Leone

In fact, the presence of discrimination against women increases the likelihood that there is a recurrence of violence and conflict in this country. That is also why women inclusion becomes a crucial component of peacebuilding and reconstruction process of a country torn by conflict.

In Mozambique, women's situation improves significantly year by year, as women become more and more vocal in decision-making bodies. However, women should be more visible in economic activity. On the other hand, in Sierra Leone, women's situation improved significantly in economic activity, but women should become more vocal and present in decision-making bodies. Hence, Sierra Leone's situation on female participation in politics is considered as a result of the patriarchal understandings in their culture. When compared to each other, economic situation of women in Sierra Leone is better than the economic activity of women in

Mozambique, whereas the political participation of women in Mozambique is higher than the role of women in political power and decision-making in Sierra Leone.

**Table 10:** Table of comparison of the cases on their percentage of women in parliament and also on the presence of gender quotas in parliament

	<b>Total number of seats</b>	<b>Number of women in parliament</b>	<b>Percentage of women in parliament</b>	<b>Presence of gender quotas in parliament</b>
<b>Parliament of Mozambique</b>	250	99	39.6 %	Yes (40 %)
<b>Parliament of Sierra Leone</b>	146	18	12.3 %	No

Source: Inter-Parliamentary Union, 2018.

Additionally, in the Global Peace Index, Mozambique is ranked as the 86<sup>th</sup> in a total of 163 countries, as the 18<sup>th</sup> in the region of Sub-Saharan Africa. And, Mozambique had a score of 2.05 out of 4 and is defined as a country with a medium level of peace. In contrast, Sierra Leone is ranked as the 35<sup>th</sup> in a total of 163 countries as the 3<sup>rd</sup> in the region of Sub-Saharan Africa, whereas it had a score of 1.75 out of 4 and is defined as a country with a high level of peace. Therefore, Sierra Leone is more peaceful than Mozambique, according to the Global Peace Index.

According to the Positive Peace Report 2017, Mozambique had a score of 3.66 out of 5 and is defined as a country with a medium level of positive peace, and is ranked as the 130<sup>th</sup> in a total of 163 countries. And, within the Pillar of “Acceptance of the Rights of Others” that can be linked with the gender equality, Mozambique had a score of 3.55, which is defined as medium level. Similarly, Sierra Leone had a score

of 3.65 out of 5, which shows that this country has a level of positive peace that is between high and medium level. This country is ranked as the 129<sup>th</sup> in a total of 163 countries, right before Mozambique. That report shows that the situation of gender equality in Sierra Leone is relatively better than in Mozambique.

Even if the general understanding of gender equality as a crucial component of positive peace is commonly accepted, Positive Peace Report can be criticized as being omitted the significance of this dimension of positive peace. The only part where the gender equality is mentioned in the Positive Peace Report is the Pillar of “Acceptance of the Rights of Others”. Hence, the third indicator of this pillar is the “measure of women’s disadvantage in three dimensions: reproductive health, empowerment and the labour market”. However, the dimension of gender equality has not been sufficiently included in the positive peace analysis and it can be truly said that the Positive Peace Report omits the significance of the gender equality, which should be included in the entire analysis on positive peace.

In addition, the female Human Development Index value for Mozambique is 0.391 compared with 0.444 for males, resulting in a Gender Development Index value of 0.879, which can be considered as a high level of gender inequality in terms of human development. On the other hand, the female Human Development Index value for Sierra Leone is 0.392 compared with 0.451 for males, resulting in a Gender Development Index value of 0.871, which can be considered as a high level of gender inequality in terms of human development. Therefore, Gender Development Index measuring the presence of gender gaps in human development by analyzing the differences between women and men in three main dimensions of human

development such as health, knowledge/education and standards of living (mainly economic resources), shows that Sierra Leone has a better level of gender quality than Mozambique.

**Table 11:** Table of comparison of the cases on their Gender Development Index score in 2000, 2005, 2010 and 2015

	<b>2000</b>	<b>2005</b>	<b>2010</b>	<b>2015</b>
<b>Mozambique</b>	0.831	0.856	0.877	0.879
<b>Sierra Leone</b>	0.802	0.823	0.851	0.871

Source: Gender Development Index 2016, UNDP.

Therefore, from 2000 to 2015, both cases have witnessed a positive trend in their Gender Development Index value. Hence, Sierra Leone has always had a better value of Gender Development than Mozambique. However the difference between their levels gender equality in terms of human development of these two countries is not considerable.

Furthermore, Mozambique has a Gender Inequality Index value of 0.574, ranking it 139 out of 159 countries in the 2015 Index, whereas Sierra Leone has a Gender Inequality Index value of 0.650, ranking it 151 out of 159 countries in the 2016 index. Therefore, according to Gender Inequality Index reflecting women's drawbacks in three thematic areas such as reproductive health, empowerment and the labour market, Sierra Leone has a worse situation than Mozambique.

Currently, Mozambique does not have a National Action Plan for the development of Women, Peace and Security agenda and in the Implementation of UNSCR 1325 and it

does not have a financial commitment or a planned budget on Women, Peace and Security. On the other hand, Sierra Leone is fully committed to the full implementation of UNSCR 1325 and developed a National Action Plan (NAP) for the period 2010-2014, in order to achieve the development of Women, Peace and Security agenda and in the Implementation of UNSCR 1325. Even if Sierra Leone's NAP for the implementation of UNSCR 1325 does not have a dedicated budget, it includes a projected cost of USD 21 million.

The Government in Mozambique did not consider gender issues while developing its Security Sector Reforms. On the contrary, Sierra Leonean women benefit from the recent developments in country's level of gender equality, especially within the security sector. Hence, Sierra Leone adopted quotas for women in the security sector, particularly in its police and militaries. To illustrate, the Sierra Leone Police and the Military currently provide an equal access for women and men not only to be recruited, but also promoted to positions of high responsibility. Thus, human rights awareness of the local police, mainly on gender violence and gender equality has developed particularly thanks to the female peacekeepers within UNAMSIL.

## CONCLUSION

As a result, this analysis shows that the presence of female peacekeepers cannot be the only factor affecting the presence of good living conditions of women in the post-conflict order. Hence, ONUMOZ as a mission without an approach of gender mainstreaming is followed by a post-conflict order with a high level of political participation of women. On the other hand, UNAMSIL as a mission that is heavily affected by the adoption of the UNSCR 1325, has an insufficient level of participation of women in power and decision making bodies. Therefore, there can be some different factors affecting the living conditions of women and the presence of gender equality in the post-conflict order such as cultural roots, financial situation of the country, the international support given to the conflict-torn country and the local government's initiatives (especially on the gender equality in the political structures).

Hence, ONUMOZ lacks a considerable presence and role of women during the mandate of the mission. Even if ONUMOZ is not a gender sensitive mission, Mozambique has experienced significant improvements on the political participation of women within the reconstruction process. On the contrary, the participation of women in economic life is limited and the country did not make any efforts in order to implement gender-sensitive security sector reforms. On the other hand, Sierra Leone has experienced a UN peacekeeping mission with a considerable presence of women and gender sensitive practices. While the political participation of women is limited in this country, there are some important developments on the participation of women in economic life and also on the gender-sensitive security sector reforms. Therefore, it is possible to say that Sierra Leone as a conflict-torn country, which experienced the UN peacekeeping operation with the considerable presence and roles

of women has a gender-sensitive reconstruction process mainly on the security sector. But, it is not possible to say that the economic and political participation of women is strongly affected by this phenomenon in the chosen cases.

Therefore, it is noteworthy that the presence and the role of women in peacekeeping missions can be able to become a tool in order to increase the attention and the efforts given for gender issues in the security sector, especially for the achievement of the gender mainstreamed Security Sector Reforms. To illustrate, we can truly say that the inclusion of women in security sector in Sierra Leone is highly affected by the role and presence of women in peacekeeping missions.

In addition, this positive trend of Sierra Leone for the improvement of gender equality particularly in the security sector also depends on the efforts given by the local female activists, who work hard in order to tackle with the problem of gender inequality. Thus, Sierra Leone's local women initiatives gained a significant support from the international organizations and humanitarian aid agencies, such as UNIFEM's support in raising the incomes of women and girls in Sierra Leone (Nduka-Agwu, 2009). According to the Global Report prepared by UN Women (2015, p. 180), the presence of women's organizations and women's human rights defenders can be instrumental in order to transform an institutional male-dominated culture and promote respect for human rights within security organs.

Additionally, women's positive situation in power structures in the post-conflict order

in Mozambique can probably be explained by the financial and technical assistance led by bilateral agencies and by international NGOs, promoting gender awareness for the local people (Baden, 1997). In fact, involvement of other actors such as local women's initiatives and other international actors also become influential for the achievement of gender equality in the post-conflict order. Therefore, it is possible to say that the presence of strong interaction between local people and transnational network agents serves as a precipitating factor of a gender-sensitive reconstruction process.

However, both cases must give more efforts in order to achieve gender equality in their post-conflict order. Hence, significant challenges remain not only in Mozambique, but also in Sierra Leone to make a real transformation in women's lives in the post-conflict order. As women's empowerment is critical in the way to achieve gender equality, which is a crucial component of positive peace, both cases must witness some necessary developments for their transformation to sustainable positive peace. Thus, the gender awareness of the government, its policies and initiatives in order to increase the level of gender equality in the country play a critical role in this transformation.

On the one hand, in Mozambique, women become more and more vocal in decision-making bodies, whereas women should be more visible in economic activity. Hence, Mozambique must implement policy initiatives in order to improve the business environment for women, which will enable Mozambican women to develop their economic activities and capacities. However the development policy and planning of Mozambique does not make any references to the women's empowerment in the



economic order in Mozambique. Hence, the government of Mozambique does not provide any policy plans in order to increase women's role in the economic activities in the country, despite the crucial need for its improvement. To illustrate, Mozambican government can choose to initiate a national fund for the empowerment of women in order to promote women's entrepreneurship and their initiatives in the economic life.

On the other hand, in Sierra Leone, women's situation improved significantly in economic activity, but women must become more vocal and present in decision-making bodies. Hence, the government in Sierra Leone is aware of the necessity for significant developments in order to transform women's lives and their role in politics in a positive way. To illustrate, in the Agenda for Prosperity that is also called as Poverty Reduction Strategy Paper 2013-2018, the government of Mozambique allocated a separate pillar on Gender Equality and Women's Empowerment, which becomes a proof of its attention given to the gender issues. In this strategic plan, the main goal is to empower women and girls through education, participation in decision-making, and access to equal justice and economic opportunities by the year of 2018. Therefore, the government is also aware of the need to increase women's participation and representation in decision-making bodies. Activities that are defined as with high priority, such as the enactment of the minimum 30% quota for women to include the establishment of the National Women's Commission, the development of National Gender policy to include mainstreaming and advancement of women, the strengthening of the coordination and capacity for Gender Mainstreaming and policy implementation by the National Gender Machinery, and the development of a comprehensive National Gender Policy have the main goal of increasing women's

participation and representation in decision making bodies and their leadership in the public sector (Government of Sierra Leone, 2013, p. 196).

Hence, these initiatives by the Sierra Leonean Government can be held up as an example by other countries with the lack of necessary improvements for the achievement of gender equality. Thus, these initiatives will play a critical role for the transformation of women's empowerment in the political structures in Sierra Leone, if they are successfully implemented. Even if their implementation results with significant developments in the level of gender equality in Sierra Leone, further projects will also be needed in order to achieve an adequate level of gender equality within the Sierra Leonean people. According to the Global Report on the implementation of the women peace and security agenda, which is prepared by UN Women (2015, p. 175), electoral quotas for women are most effective when they are strengthened by enforcement mechanisms such as targeted training for women candidates, public awareness campaigns on women's right to participate in political and electoral processes, and working with appropriate bodies to ensure women can participate in a safe and secure environment.

Thus, as Hudson (2010, p. 261) also argues, the success of gender mainstreaming depends on achieving gender balance not just by including equal numbers of women, but through promoting cultural sensitivity and emphasizing local knowledge. To illustrate, even if UNAMSIL can be defined as a gender sensitive mission, post-conflict Sierra Leone has a low female participation in politics, which considered as a result of the patriarchal understandings in their culture. Therefore, a change in the

mindsets is crucial in order to achieve gender mainstreaming in the post conflict orders.

Additionally, limited assumptions can be made on the concrete linkages between the characteristics of peacekeeping missions and the indexes showing the living conditions of women in the post-conflict orders. To illustrate, the Gender Development Index shows that from 2000 to 2015, both cases have witnessed a positive trend in their Gender Development Index value. Hence, Sierra Leone has always had a better value of Gender Development than Mozambique. However, according to the Gender Inequality Index reflecting women's drawbacks in three thematic areas such as reproductive health, empowerment and the labour market, Sierra Leone has a worse situation than Mozambique. Therefore, for Mozambique and Sierra Leone, the presence or the lack of gender mainstreaming practices within the peacekeeping mission did not have a strong effect on the living conditions of women in the economic, social and political areas of the post-conflict order.

On the other hand, Women Peace and Security documents and Security Sector Reforms in both cases prove that the gender mainstreaming practices in UN peacekeeping mission Sierra Leone has a significant role for the development of gender sensitive policies and reforms in the security sector in the post conflict order. Hence, Karim (2017, p. 833) and Bridges and Horsfall (2009, p. 120) defend that the UNPKO female personnel can become role models to the local women, as it can also be seen in the example of UNMIL where female peacekeepers encouraged heavily Liberian women and girls to join the police force. Here, the case of Sierra Leone also

proves the fact that significant role and presence of women in UNAMSIL became a facilitator for the security sector participation of women in Sierra Leone.

Furthermore, the UN peacekeeping mission in a country can have broader impact not only in the security sector, but also on the living conditions of women in the political, economic and social areas of the post conflict order, if it includes a stronger commitment to gender mainstreaming with an adequate frequency of trainings on gender awareness, an increased number of female peacekeepers, a concrete commitment to gender equality in the mandate's document, female leaders for the mission, the presence of gender focal points and gender advisors and the presence of a connection between the local women's groups and peacekeepers. As gender mainstreaming strategy was slowly implemented in UNAMSIL and the gender mainstreaming practices were insufficient such as the lack of compulsory gender training, the references to gender issues in the mandate's documents and few number of gender advisors, it can be said that UNAMSIL could not be able to make necessary impacts on the living conditions of women in the economic, social and political areas in the post-conflict order. Therefore, as Olsson (2001, p. 107) also argues, a mission should be able to include women-specific programmes, an adequate number of gender advisors and work collaboratively with gender units in order to ensure that the gender equality can be sufficiently met not only during the mission but also in the post-conflict order. Additionally, gender training within the mission should be compulsory but not voluntary, organized regularly for all the staff within the mission. Thus, further researches should be made in order to concretize the effects of gender mainstreamed peacekeeping missions on the living conditions of women in all the areas of the post-conflict order.

In addition, the projects and programmes led by the international organizations, bilateral agencies, international NGOs and other international actors become crucial facilitators of the development in gender equality within a post-conflict order. To illustrate, in Sierra Leone, UN Women leads a programme named as “Peace consolidation through increased participation of women in decision making in Sierra Leone”, which offers gender training to women at all levels of governance from national to local and aims to increase the women participation in the power structures (UN Women, 2018b).

On the other hand, in Mozambique, UN Women lead several programmes such as “Women lead and participate in decision making at all levels”, which aims to build the capacity of parliamentarians on gender sensitive legislation and support the participation of women in local governance, in partnership with other UN agencies and with funding from the Government of Finland. Hence, UN Women Mozambique leads a project for women’s economic empowerment that aims to have national plans, legislations, policies, strategies, budgets and justice mechanisms adopted and implemented to strengthen women’s empowerment (UN Women, 2018a).

Thus, the programmes and projects driven by international agencies, such as those led by UN Women, become main drivers and crucial facilitators for the achievement of gender equality in the post-conflict order by supporting women’s initiatives, by raising gender awareness in local people and by promoting developments to increase women’s access to financial resources and to political structures. In fact, any kind of educational activities on gender equality during and after the peacekeeping missions can truly help the local women and girls to gain significant capabilities in order to

improve their own life conditions and prospects.

However, according to Baden (1997, p. 98), as Mozambique has a heavy dependence on external resources, it has a danger of imposing gender from above without consideration of the local context, conditions and sensitivities. Therefore, these kinds of projects and programmes should be developed, and their number and funding should be increased mainly in the post-conflict countries, but also by taking into consideration the sensitivities, recent dynamics and conditions of the local people.

Furthermore, for the achievement of a world that is secure and peaceful for all of its citizens, the discriminatory gender hierarchies that exist in many countries of the world must be destroyed. Hence, humanity needs an approach such as Wilter's (2010, p. 157) suggestion of "a more inclusive and human way to think about our collective future where men and women must share equally in the construction of a safer and more just world".

To conclude, it is necessary to say that even if a vast scholarship on the role and effects of gender equality within the military or within peacekeeping missions is present, comparative analyses of real life cases are lacking in the literature. Therefore, in order to raise awareness on the strong linkage between the gender equality and the achievement of a sustainable peace, more studies on new cases should be conducted. To illustrate, the same analysis in this study can be made for the case of Liberia, which experienced a gender mainstreamed peacekeeping mission UNMIL, which ended on May 2016. Then, it can be possible to say that the presence of women in

peacekeeping missions can be instrumental to ameliorate also the political and economic conditions of women in the post conflict situation, and not only in the security sector of the new order. As Voltaire said, “Il faut cultiver notre jardin”, and the scholars and also the practitioners should give necessary efforts in order to transform our world into a more peaceful place, where there is also the gender equality, as an essential component of sustainable positive peace.



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