

Establishing a Marketplace of Women in Peacekeeping

An Analysis of Gender Mainstreaming and Its Viability in United Nations Peacekeeping Operations

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United Nations Security Council Resolution (UNSCR) 1325 took the unprecedented step of recognizing the profound impact of war on women and calling for their increased participation in conflict prevention and resolution. It launched the UN's gender-mainstreaming initiative, and with it came the call to blue helmets for women around the world. Yet, in light of the observation that the top personnel contributors to UN peacekeeping are countries characterized by high levels of gender inequality, the feasibility of gender mainstreaming in peacekeeping remains questionable. This article uses the basic economic principles of supply and demand to discuss the rationale for raising the number of women in peacekeeping. Upon identifying the UN's approach as demand-driven, we turn to data from the UN Department of Peacekeeping Operations (UNDPKO) and the World Economic Forum's Global Gender Gap Index to assess the feasibility of such a top-down approach. The data from this comparison support our argument that the UN approach ignores the gender realities of personnel-contributing countries. We conclude that

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the UN must bolster its call for greater numbers of women in peacekeeping with material incentives that foster greater gender integration within the militaries of troop contributing countries (TCC).

The article first offers an overview of gender mainstreaming, the flawed missions that led to recognition of the need to incorporate gender considerations in UN policies and operations, and the resolutions that constitute its efforts to mainstream gender. It then outlines our theoretical framework and the observable implications of supply- and demand-driven explanations. The third section delves into the feasibility of the UN's demand-driven approach to gender mainstreaming, and the final section connects our assertions to UN policy and improvements for future research.

Bringing in Gender: Mainstreaming and UN Peacekeeping

UN peacekeeping operations are intended to stabilize postconflict regions and monitor the enforcement of peace agreements. Sexual violence and exploitation carried out by UN personnel (serving both military and civilian roles) compromise the legitimacy of the mission, undermine the image of UN peacekeepers as a benign and stabilizing force, present a serious moral and ethical conflict for the UN, and perpetuate the cycle of violence against women and girls in conflict zones. Entrenched assumptions of gender-neutral effects of a UN presence as well as a consistent underestimation of the unequal power dynamics between local civilians and peacekeepers in planning for peacekeeping operations led to unintended consequences for civilians—namely, exploitation of and sexual violence against women by international peacekeepers during many UN missions.

The UN defines sexual exploitation as “any actual or attempted abuse of a position of vulnerability, differential power, or trust, for sexual purposes, including, but not limited to, profiting monetarily, socially or politically from the sexual exploitation of another.”¹ It defines sexual abuse as “actual or threatened physical intrusion of a sexual nature, whether by force or under unequal or coercive conditions.”² The UN set out to address sexual violence and exploitation of women in conflict zones, as well as other gender-based concerns arising in war, through a process of gender mainstreaming—the “process of assessing the implications for women and men of any planned action, including legislation, policies or programmes, in all areas and at all levels . . . to achieve gender equality.”³

UNSCR 1325, adopted on 31 October 2000, was the first major attempt to address the issue of sexual violence and exploitation of women and girls in conflict zones and to call for the increased participation of women in peacekeeping. The motivation was clear: women are disproportionately affected by armed conflict, and when they are absent from the peacekeeping process, the ultimate outcome overlooks gender-specific needs in the reconstruction process and potentially contributes to continued instability. For instance, the UN Transitional Authority in Cambodia, launched in 1992 and active until 1993, did not include women peacekeepers. Throughout the operation, Cambodia experienced elevated rates of prostitution, sexually transmitted disease, sexual assault, and (culturally stigmatized) extra-marital romantic relationships between civilians and peacekeepers. The peacekeepers who perpetrated sexual violence or exploitation helped unravel the social and familial structures for some civilians, leaving many Cambodians with the sense that the blue helmets had come only to transform Cambodian women into sex workers.⁴ Logistically, the absence of women peacekeepers made it difficult for civilians to report incidents of sexual violence or exploitation perpetrated against them by peacekeepers or combatants, which adversely affected the mission's attempts to address the effects of the conflict zone on women.

UNSCR 1325 takes into account the disproportionate effect of war on women and girls and calls for more participation of women in peacekeeping, as well as a general effort to incorporate gender considerations during the planning and implementation of UN missions. It places primary responsibility for implementation on the Security Council, secretary-general, member states supplying peacekeeping personnel, and parties to current and future armed conflicts. The Security Council and secretary-general consistently professed a commitment to addressing and preventing violence against and exploitation of women in conflict zones. Nevertheless, after the adoption of UNSCR 1325, allegations of exploitation and abuse of vulnerable civilian women by *UN personnel* began to surface as reporting mechanisms improved.⁵ Although these were not the first instances of exploitation by peacekeeping forces, "the revelations in 2004 of sexual exploitation and abuse by a significant number of United Nations peacekeeping personnel in the Democratic Republic of the Congo" prompted an institutional review of prior reports received during other missions.⁶ The review uncovered

sexual abuse and exploitation during operations in Bosnia and Herzegovina, Kosovo, Cambodia, Timor-Leste, West Africa, and the Democratic Republic of the Congo in the early 1990s through the mid-2000s.⁷

The presence of peacekeeping forces has been linked to sharp increases in the levels of sex trafficking and forced prostitution involving women and children, rape, gender-based violence, and instances of civilian women and girls hired by troops for domestic help and forced into sexual slavery.⁸ The missions in the Democratic Republic of the Congo, Cambodia, Somalia, and the Balkans all uncovered widespread instances of sexual assault against and exploitation of girls and women.⁹ By ignoring the gender construction inherent in military training and the subsequent ramifications of placing soldiers in situations that constrain the very identity of “soldier,” the UN did not foresee the potential for sexual violence and exploitation of local women by peacekeepers.

In the wake of damaging allegations of sexual violence and exploitation committed by civilian and military personnel deployed to postconflict zones under UN auspices, the Security Council and secretary-general began to take action through a comprehensive investigation and resolutions to integrate gender considerations into peacekeeping operations and to improve peacekeepers’ legal accountability. A primary mechanism for successful UN peacekeeping missions is the perception of UN personnel as impartial, benign, and legitimate; abuse or exploitation of vulnerable civilians by UN personnel does “great harm to the name of peacekeeping.”¹⁰ The comprehensive strategy to eliminate sexual exploitation during peacekeeping missions, resulting from the investigation carried out by Jordan’s Prince Zeid Ra’ad Zeid Al-Hussein and issued to the General Assembly in March 2005, outlines and recommends improvements to the UNDPKO’s standards of conduct, investigative process, command responsibility, and individual accountability with regard to sexual exploitation and abuse.¹¹ This investigation represented an important first step in addressing the UN’s role in mitigating the devastating effects of armed conflict on women not only through its recommendations as a moral authority but also through training and appropriate disciplinary measures for its own deployed personnel.

Following the 2005 investigation, UNSCR 1820 was adopted on 19 June 2008 as a reaffirmation of UNSCR 1325, the Security Council’s commitment to integrating women into the peacekeeping process, and enforcement

of a zero-tolerance policy for UN personnel who sexually abuse or exploit civilians. UNSCR 1820 was the first resolution to go beyond a general recognition of the adverse effects of war on women, to issue an injunction against misconduct by peacekeeping staff, and to call on troop- and personnel-contributing member states to train personnel on gender issues and respond to instances of misconduct.

UNSCRs 1888 and 1889, adopted in 2009, built upon UNSCR 1820 with more specific measures fostering gender mainstreaming in postconflict reconstruction. These measures involve creating special representatives and special envoys of the secretary-general tasked with addressing sexual violence in conflict, including women's protection advisers in peacekeeping missions. They reiterated the need for states to deploy more women peacekeepers and charged the secretary-general with the task of creating a full report of progress made and remaining improvements after UNSCR 1325.¹²

The Security Council has attempted to address and prevent incidents of sexual violence and exploitation during peacekeeping missions planned and implemented by the UNDPKO by adopting resolutions and formal policies with limited change in practice. The Security Council and UNDPKO have recognized the effects of a peacekeeping system comprised predominantly of men deployed to unstable postconflict regions. Constraints posed by the personnel supply structure, however, make formal attempts at change difficult unless incentives for troop- and personnel-contributing states are sufficient to offset the contributing states' apparent hesitation to deploy women peacekeepers.

Gender Mainstreaming: A Response to Supply or Demand?

Prior to addressing the feasibility of increasing the number of women involved in peacekeeping missions, one must understand the UN's rationale for instituting a gender-mainstreaming policy. This article employs a theoretical framework informed by basic economic principles to investigate the motivation for UN attempts to realize gender equality in peacekeeping operations. Approaching the puzzle in this way enables us to determine where the catalyst for the gender-mainstreaming initiative originated. The following sections apply the principles of supply and demand to the rationale underpinning the UN's efforts to mainstream gender in peacekeeping and

offer the observable implications of each explanation to determine which has more support.

Supply-Driven Explanation

As discussed above, the UN's gender-mainstreaming initiative, as it pertains to peacekeeping, is embodied in UNSCRs 1325, 1820, 1888, and 1889. The adoption of UNSCR 1325 in October 2000 marks the point at which the UN began to grapple with the issue of gender equality within its own operations. Within peacekeeping, gender mainstreaming has the goal of increasing women's participation in missions at all levels of decision making—true for both supply- and demand-driven explanations of gender mainstreaming. The key difference between a supply-driven and a demand-driven explanation lies in the catalyst or motivation for the policy.

A supply-driven explanation holds that the UN effort to increase the participation of women in peacekeeping was motivated primarily by an existing presence of women in the militaries of member states. Gender mainstreaming, in this situation, amounts to a reaction to the gender composition of national militaries rather than a response to mission failures or top-down rhetorical statements about the need for gender equality in peacekeeping. The UN's gender-mainstreaming efforts would simply be a codification in policy of a preexisting reality: the female troops are already serving, and the policy emphasizing women's participation follows in an effort to recognize this fact.

A supply-driven explanation finds support if data indicate an overall trend toward gender equality at the state level. Data at that level, however, show that willingness to send women into combat varies widely: "In almost every country, the question of how and where women should be deployed inspires strident debate."¹³ When national militaries are willing to recruit and deploy women, they employ an egalitarian rationale—one that gained traction with the advent of modern, more technologically advanced militaries. The modern military requires less brute strength and more intellectual acumen, discrediting the argument that women make less capable soldiers than men.¹⁴ In the modern military, men and women are theoretically equal; the UN's rationale for gender mainstreaming rests on the assumption that women fulfill certain roles more successfully than men and that the presence of women in peacekeeping has a neutralizing effect on male aggression.

Thus, even for integrated militaries, the UN's gender-mainstreaming logic conflicts with the national justification for recruiting women to serve. Gender integration in the military varies widely, and it seems unlikely that the UN's gender-mainstreaming initiative derived its inspiration from a global surge of women in the military.

Demand-Driven Explanation

In contrast to supply-driven explanations, demand-driven accounts hold that efforts to increase the participation of women in peacekeeping are driven by the UN's need for the greater involvement of women, regardless of the existing gender composition of national militaries. In this case, the UN would institute gender mainstreaming in response to peacekeeping failures and the belief that improved gender equality would have a beneficial effect on mission outcomes. A demand-driven explanation might also reach beyond this narrow strategic calculation to include the UN's broader interest in promoting gender equality and reinforcing the perception of the organization and its personnel as impartial, benign, and legitimate representatives of international society.¹⁵ One would find support for a demand-driven account principally in the timing of and justification for UN gender-mainstreaming resolutions. More specifically, a demand-driven explanation finds support if UN resolutions were adopted in reaction to peacekeeping missions thought to have failed because of the absence of women peacekeepers.

The timing of the UNSCRs, combined with the organizational justification for the greater inclusion of women in peacekeeping operations, provides strong evidence for a demand-driven account. The Security Council and secretary-general had consistently professed a commitment to addressing and preventing violence against women in conflict zones, but not until a flurry of reports of crimes against women surfaced in the 1990s did the UN adopt UNSCR 1325 and institutionalize gender mainstreaming in peacekeeping operations.¹⁶ Additional allegations of exploitation and abuse of civilian women at the hands of UN personnel in the wake this resolution prompted further institutional reviews of conduct across missions, revealing the presence of sexual abuse and exploitation during operations in Bosnia and Herzegovina, Kosovo, Cambodia, Timor-Leste, West Africa, and the Democratic Republic of the Congo in the early 1990s through the mid-2000s.¹⁷

To address reports of sexual violence and exploitation committed by UN civilian and military personnel deployed to conflict zones, the Security Council and secretary-general developed a comprehensive strategy to eliminate exploitation during peacekeeping missions. It sought to improve the UNDPKO's standards of conduct, investigative processes, command responsibility, and individual accountability with regard to sexual exploitation and abuse.¹⁸ The Security Council adopted UNSCR 1820 in June 2008 to further cement UNSCR 1325 and the council's overall commitment to integrating women into the peacekeeping process as well as to enforce a zero-tolerance policy for UN personnel who sexually abuse or exploit civilians. UNSCRs 1888 and 1889, adopted in 2009, added more specific measures to foster gender mainstreaming in postconflict reconstruction.¹⁹

Not only the timing of resolutions but also the UN's framing of gender mainstreaming as a solution to prior mission failures bolsters a demand-driven explanation. Enlarging the presence of women in peacekeeping missions evidently reduces cases of exploitation, sexual abuse, and violence against women in conflict and unstable postconflict zones for at least three reasons. First, the UN considers women necessary participants in peacekeeping because of traits specific to their gender that allow them to complete and excel at tasks that men cannot perform. The predominant understanding of female peacekeepers and their contributions to the mission is that they, as women, are uniquely suited to work with victims of sexual violence. Therefore, they can address instances that occurred during the armed conflict or that were perpetrated by peacekeepers, fostering increased accountability in the cases of peacekeeper-perpetrated abuse. Civilians are less likely to perceive women as invaders or conquerors, and they have a civilizing effect, making the traditionally all-male deployment environment seem more like everyday life in society.²⁰

Second, in addition to the specific tasks that women may perform better than men, a peacekeeping force comprised of both women and men appears less intimidating to civilians. Under the dominant logic of UN gender mainstreaming, having more women in male-dominated missions improves the image of the peacekeeping force on the ground and within the local population.²¹ Finally, female troops apparently have a pacifying or civilizing effect on their male comrades in arms. The presence of women working in deployed military and police units approximates "real life" and consequently

minimizes the aggressive tendencies of peacekeepers who may otherwise find themselves swayed by the anarchic, overly masculine, and surreal nature of postconflict instability.²²

In sum, both the timing of and justification for the greater inclusion of women in peacekeeping operations support a demand-driven explanation for the UN's gender-mainstreaming initiative. The UN consistently took action in response to mission failures on the assumption that the increased presence of women would have a beneficial impact on peacekeeping outcomes. These policy changes have resulted in an increased demand for women peacekeepers across all missions since the issuance of UNSCR 1325 in October 2000.

The Feasibility of Demand-Driven Gender Mainstreaming

In light of the evidence pointing to a demand-driven explanation for gender mainstreaming, this article now addresses the feasibility of this policy initiative. This is important for at least two reasons. First, and most obviously, change in UN policies regarding the incorporation of women peacekeepers into missions is a crucial step toward achieving gender equality in peacekeeping operations. However, the initiative must also account for gender realities on the ground and within the TCCs to realize any practical success. Second, and following from this, by investigating whether a disconnect exists between the gender-mainstreaming policy and the gender compositions of troops from contributing countries, this article can evaluate the future success of the UN gender-mainstreaming initiative.

UN Troop-Contribution Data as a Measure of Feasibility

To determine the feasibility of the gender-mainstreaming policy, we have narrowed the focus of the investigation to include the top 10 TCCs as identified by the UN. Table 1 includes the rankings of military and police contributions by country for 2010, combining police and troop numbers for all countries in order to increase the sample size.

Using figures published by the UN, we disaggregated these total figures according to gender composition, presenting the average monthly male and female peacekeepers contributed by each country in 2010. Table 2 presents

the results alongside the average annual percentage of female peacekeepers contributed by country for this year of activity.

Table 1. Ranking of military and police contributions by country (2010)

Ranking	Country	Average Total per Month
1	Pakistan	10,707
2	Bangladesh	10,614
3	India	8,805
4	Nigeria	5,815
5	Egypt	5,426
6	Nepal	5,044
7	Jordan	3,745
8	Rwanda	3,679
9	Ghana	3,663
10	Uruguay	2,521

Source: UNDPKO, "Ranking of Military and Police Contributions [2010]," accessed 3 August 2011, http://www.un.org/en/peacekeeping/resources/statistics/contributors_archive.shtml.

Table 2. Gender composition of military and police contributions for the top 10 TCCs in 2010

Ranking	Country	Average Total per Month	Average Male	Average Female	Percent Female
1	Pakistan	10,707	10,663	44	0.4
2	Bangladesh	10,614	10,488	126	1.2
3	India	8,805	8,665	140	1.6
4	Nigeria	5,815	5,447	368	6.3
5	Egypt	5,426	5,411	15	0.3
6	Nepal	5,044	4,948	96	1.9
7	Jordan	3,745	3,739	6	0.2
8	Rwanda	3,679	3,586	93	2.5
9	Ghana	3,663	3,340	323	8.8
10	Uruguay	2,521	2,403	118	4.7

Source: UNDPKO, "Ranking of Military and Police Contributions [2010]," accessed 3 August 2011, http://www.un.org/en/peacekeeping/resources/statistics/contributors_archive.shtml.

According to these results, the average annual female contribution of the top 10 peacekeeping countries is 2.2 percent of their total. Of the top-ranking military- and police-contributing countries, Jordan has the lowest rating with a 0.2 percent annual contribution of women peacekeepers, while Ghana tops the table with 8.8 percent. Unfortunately, the gender composition of the top 10 military- and police-contributing countries is available only for 2010. To account for this relative lack of data and to further bolster these findings, we engaged in mission-specific research to determine whether these macro annual figures reflected microlevel realities. Our monthly analysis of troop contributions by the top 10 ranking countries to UN peacekeeping missions in the Democratic Republic of the Congo (MONUC), Western Sahara (MINURSO), Central African Republic and Chad (MINURCAT), Darfur (UNAMID), and Timor-Leste (UNMIT) supported our aggregate annual findings. Analysis of mission contributions to operations in Liberia (UNMIL) and Haiti (MINUSTAH), however, revealed Bangladesh and India as outliers, both contributing high percentages of women peacekeepers. Further research is necessary to determine the cause of this variation.

Data from the Global Gender Gap Index as a Measure of Feasibility

The World Economic Forum's Global Gender Gap Index is a helpful tool for researchers seeking to understand the magnitude of disparities between men and women nationally, regionally, and globally. The index focuses on inequality between men and women within countries, not unequal resources and opportunities across countries.²³ It does so by ranking countries according to *gaps* in men's and women's access to and participation in economics, politics, health, and education and by measuring gaps in rather than levels of access to opportunities and resources. The index examines gender disparities within four core categories: economic participation and opportunity, educational attainment, health and survival, and political empowerment.²⁴

We consulted the Global Gender Gap Index rankings for each of the top 10 TCCs to assess the gender realities on the ground in each of these countries. Because the index ranking is not affected by relative levels of development, it offers a fair look at gender realities in these countries. Table 3 records the index ranking for each of the top-ranked TCCs.

Table 3. Gender Gap Index ranking of top 10 TCCs

UN TCC Ranking	TCC	Gender Gap Index Ranking
1	Pakistan	132
2	Bangladesh	82
3	India	112
4	Nigeria	118
5	Egypt	125
6	Nepal	115
7	Jordan	120
8	Rwanda	n/a
9	Ghana	70
10	Uruguay	59

Source: Ricardo Hausmann, Laura D. Tyson, and Saadia Zahidi, *The Global Gender Gap Report* (Geneva: World Economic Forum, 2010), 8–9, http://www3.weforum.org/docs/WEF_GenderGap_Report_2010.pdf.

We are not attempting to delve into specific domestic gender policies/ issues or to indict countries for their gender disparities; rather, we are addressing a macrolevel view of gender inequality in UN TCCs. Even a brief examination of this overall score reveals that the UN gender-mainstreaming policy urging greater participation for women in peacekeeping does not effectively take gender realities into account. Table 4 pairs the top-ranked UN TCCs with their Global Gender Gap Index ranking and troop contributions disaggregated by sex. In pairing the index ranking with the UN data on troop contributions, we assert that a disconnect exists between top-down UN gender-mainstreaming policy pertaining to peacekeeping operations and the reality of the gender composition in TCCs.

Overall Summation of UN and Global Gender Gap Index Data

Given the troop-contribution data and the Gender Gap score for the top TCCs, we argue that the demand-driven approach to gender mainstreaming in UN peacekeeping fails to account for gender realities within TCCs. Such a top-down approach to improving gender equality in peacekeeping missions is likely to encounter only limited success since the TCCs' national militaries must first work to integrate women in their ranks. Illustration of

Table 4. Ranking of military and police contributions paired with Gender Gap Index ranking (2011)

<i>TCC</i>	<i>Gender Gap Index Ranking</i>	<i>UN TCC Ranking</i>	<i>Average Male Troops Contributed</i>	<i>Average Female Troops Contributed</i>	<i>Average Total Troops Contributed</i>	<i>Per-cent Female Troops</i>
Pakistan	132	1	10,663	44	10,707	0.4
Bangladesh	82	2	10,488	126	10,614	1.2
India	112	3	8,665	140	8,805	1.6
Nigeria	118	4	5,447	368	5,815	6.3
Egypt	125	5	5,411	15	5,426	0.3
Nepal	115	6	4,948	96	5,044	1.9
Jordan	120	7	3,739	6	3,745	0.2
Rwanda	n/a	8	3,586	93	3,679	2.5
Ghana	70	9	3,340	323	3,663	8.8
Uruguay	59	10	2,403	118	2,521	4.7

the disconnect between UN policy and gender reality in the TCCs further supports our argument that UN gender mainstreaming in peacekeeping is a demand-driven and reactionary policy instituted in response to previous mission failures.

Policy Implications for a Mainstreaming Initiative That Misses the Mark

When gender dynamics come into play in armed conflicts and when efforts to calm hostilities generate unintended consequences, the urgency of incorporating gender into the peacekeeping and reconstruction efforts increases. International actors are only starting to grasp the necessity of recognizing and accounting for gender issues in war. When peacekeeping and reconstruction efforts do not account for gender dynamics, they are unable to provide appropriate guidance and services, given the gender balance of the postconflict population and gender-based tactics utilized during the conflict. A second consequence resulting from gender-blind stabilization and reconstruction—the exacerbation of gender-based exploitation and violence perpetrated by peacekeepers and other international actors in the field—compromises the legitimacy of the mission, undermines the image

of peacekeepers, and perpetuates the cycle of gender-based violence in conflict zones.

By ignoring the construction of the masculine soldier, the underrepresentation of women in militarized peacekeeping, and established or shifting gender norms in the host country, peacekeeping missions have historically led to negative consequences for civilian women. Assumptions of gender neutrality and underestimation of the unequal power dynamics between civilians and peacekeepers in planning, training for, and executing peace operations led to rape, social stigmatization, increased transmission of sexually transmitted diseases, and higher demand for human trafficking during the peacekeeping missions in the 1990s.²⁵ The combined impact of wars that employed gender-based violence, reconstruction efforts that overlooked gender issues, and peacekeepers who abused their positions of power in postconflict zones awoke the international community to the need to consider the very real effects of gender in war and peacekeeping. UNSCR 1325 laid the groundwork for a solution to these problems in its call for enhanced participation of women in peacekeeping and a greater effort to incorporate gender considerations when planning and implementing missions, but the groundbreaking resolution possesses an air of shortsightedness in its call. As we have argued above, the UN's attempt to mainstream gender in peacekeeping ignores the gender realities of TCCs; in so doing, it runs the risk of remaining little more than lofty rhetoric.

Our assertion that the UN's demand-driven approach to gender mainstreaming, one characterized by a reactionary stance to past mission failures and embarrassments, raises a very simple but important question: *What should the UN do about it?* We have established the existence of a disconnect between UNSCR 1325's call for women peacekeepers and the gender realities in the top TCCs (as illustrated by the 2010 Global Gender Gap Index). What we propose is far from unheard of in UN peacekeeping strategy. To correct the top-down nature of the UN's current approach to encouraging greater participation of women in peacekeeping, that organization must offer incentives for state militaries to contribute female peacekeepers, just as it does for personnel contributions in general. One such incentive may take the form of a larger stipend for TCCs whose personnel contributions include a greater percentage of women in all ranks. The current stipend of approximately \$1,000 (US) per individual per month might

rise incrementally for each percentage increase of female peacekeepers from a given TCC, up to gender parity. For instance, a 1 percent increase in the number of female peacekeepers could merit a stipend of \$1,010 (US) per individual per month. To the top TCCs, this small boost in stipend would generate a significant amount of financial support for national military institutions. Although we recognize that financial incentives alone cannot close gender gaps and that the process of achieving gender integration in national militaries is a very gradual one, our point is simply that the gender-mainstreaming policy cannot have a substantial effect without offering incentives to the countries asked to send their women into conflict zones.

Conclusions and Further Research

By employing a theoretical framework informed by the basic economic principles of supply and demand, this article has investigated the motivation for UN attempts to attain gender equality in peacekeeping operations. Finding support for a demand-driven explanation of this policy change, it utilized data from the UN Department of Peacekeeping Operations and the World Economic Forum's Global Gender Gap Index to assess the feasibility of the gender-mainstreaming initiative. Analysis of the data showed a clear disconnect between the UN gender-mainstreaming policy and the gender composition of the top TCCs to peacekeeping missions. We argue that this disconnect holds important implications for the future success of the UN gender-mainstreaming policy and assert that the UN must bolster its calls for the greater participation of women with targeted incentives.

This article represents one step in a broader research project on gender mainstreaming in peacekeeping operations. The findings presented herein are largely preliminary, due in part to the difficulty in ascertaining the gender composition of personnel contributions by country to UN peacekeeping missions prior to 2010. As peacekeeping gender-composition data become more widely available, further studies might collect information on the gender composition of the top 10 military- and police-contributing countries over a longer period of time and expand the sample size beyond the top 10 TCCs to test the validity of these initial findings. In addition, aberrant cases such as India and Bangladesh warrant further microlevel cross-sectional analysis, investigating troop contributions by country *and* mission. More extensive evaluation of these outliers will highlight differences among the

top TCCs that might help the UN better tailor its gender-mainstreaming incentives to increase the number of women across all peacekeeping missions.

Notes

1. UN General Assembly, *A Comprehensive Strategy to Eliminate Future Sexual Exploitation and Abuse in United Nations Peacekeeping Operations*, A/59/710 (New York: UN General Assembly, 24 March 2005), 7, http://www.un.org/ga/search/view_doc.asp?symbol=A/59/710.

2. *Ibid.*, 7–8.

3. UN Department of Peacekeeping Operations (DPKO), *Gender Equality in UN Peacekeeping Operations*, DPKO Policy Directive (New York: UN DPKO, 3 November 2006), 8, <http://www.un.org/womenwatch/feature/wps/Policy%20directive%20gender%20equality%20FINAL%202006.pdf>.

4. Sandra Whitworth, *Men, Militarism & UN Peacekeeping: A Gendered Analysis* (Boulder, CO: Lynne Rienner Publishers, 2004), 68.

5. Following UNSCR 1325, the General Assembly adopted Resolution 57/306 on 15 April 2003 urging the secretary-general to address sexual exploitation in peacekeeping operations. In 2005 the General Assembly and Secretary-General Kofi Annan commissioned a comprehensive review of sexual exploitation in peacekeeping missions. UN General Assembly, *Comprehensive Strategy*, 10.

6. *Ibid.*, [1].

7. *Ibid.*, 7.

8. Keith J. Allred, “Peacekeepers and Prostitutes: How Deployed Forces Fuel the Demand for Trafficked Women and New Hope for Stopping It,” *Armed Forces and Society* 33, no. 1 (October 2006): 5–23, http://www.operationspaix.net/DATA/DOCUMENT/5507~v~Peacekeepers_and_Prostitutes_How_Deployed_Forces_Fuel_the_Demand_for_Trafficked_Women_and_New_Hope_for_Stopping_It.pdf.

9. When confronted with complaints about the UN’s omission of sexual assault charges against peacekeepers from official peacekeeping documents and accounts, the United Nations Transitional Authority in Cambodia expressed the sentiment that “boys will be boys” and that the peacekeeping mission in Cambodia was “accomplished in part through the deployment of soldiers who assumed that their prerogatives as militarized men included access to prostitutes, as well as a freedom to pursue, harass, and assault local women.” Whitworth, *Men, Militarism & UN Peacekeeping*, 13. This expectation of soldiers’ pursuit of female sexual partners in Cambodia grossly overlooks the local social norms, which stigmatize and punish girls and women who engage in perceived sexual promiscuity, regardless of whether the encounter is consensual or forced. For comprehensive accounts of other missions, see Chiyuki Aoi, Cedric de Coning, and Ramesh Thakur, eds., *Unintended Consequences of Peacekeeping Operations* (Tokyo: United Nations University Press, 2007). For the UN’s take on these missions, see UN General Assembly, *Comprehensive Strategy*.

10. UN General Assembly, *Comprehensive Strategy*, [1].

11. *Ibid.*

12. UN Security Council, S/Res/1888, 30 September 2009, [http://www.un.org/ga/search/view_doc.asp?symbol=S/RES/1888\(2009\)](http://www.un.org/ga/search/view_doc.asp?symbol=S/RES/1888(2009)); and UN Security Council, S/Res/1889, 5 October 2009, [http://www.un.org/ga/search/view_doc.asp?symbol=S/RES/1889\(2009\)](http://www.un.org/ga/search/view_doc.asp?symbol=S/RES/1889(2009)).

13. Gerard J. DeGroot, "A Few Good Women: Gender Stereotypes, the Military and Peacekeeping," in *Women and International Peacekeeping*, ed. Louise Olsson and Torunn L. Tryggestad (London: Frank Cass Publishers, 2001), 28.
14. *Ibid.*, 32.
15. UN General Assembly, *Comprehensive Strategy*, 1–2, 7.
16. UNDPKO, *Gender Equality*, 3.
17. UN General Assembly, *Comprehensive Strategy*, 7.
18. *Ibid.*
19. UN Security Council, S/Res/1888; and UN Security Council, S/Res/1889.
20. Louise Olsson and Torunn L. Tryggestad, "Introduction," in Olsson and Tryggestad, *Women and International Peacekeeping*, 2.
21. DeGroot, "Few Good Women," 34.
22. Doreen Carvajal, "A Female Approach to Peacekeeping," *New York Times*, 5 March 2010, http://www.nytimes.com/2010/03/06/world/africa/06iht-ffpeace.html?pagewanted=all&_r=0.
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