



Master Thesis

A Feminist and Postcolonial analysis of how and why peacekeeping missions are involved in the very horrors they seek to address

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Table of Content

Abstract	2
Acknowledgments	3
Foreword	4
Introduction.....	5
Literature Review	6
Research Question.....	9
Theoretical Framework	10
Methodology.....	13
My position as a researcher.....	16
Background of Peacekeeping Missions	17
Chapter 1.....	18
The construction of the soldier.....	19
Chapter 2.....	25
The construction of the Other	25
The fantasy of the exotic Native	29
Chapter 3.....	31
Power inherent in peacekeeping	32
Racism in peacekeeping	33
The new and old world order.....	35
Chapter 4.....	38
Conclusion	43
Reference List	47

Abstract

The purpose of this research is to unfold how and why UN peacekeeping missions are involved in the horrors they seek to address. This research is based on an in-depth literature review of already existing publications as well as content analysis of UN Resolutions and documents. Using feminist and postcolonial International Relations theory this research claims how crucial it is to examine the implications of peacekeeping operations. It is argued that problems of sexual misconduct can be explained with reference to the peacekeepers' militarized masculinities as well as their ideas about the exploitable native women which are inherently oriental narratives. The examination of racist crimes demonstrates how peacekeeping operates under a larger neo-colonial world order. In the end, after having presented the shortcomings and harmful implications of UNSCR 1325 with regards to peacekeeping it will become evident how urgent it is to challenge the complicit nature of IR with global politics. Ultimately, I will offer a framework for critically examining the discourses and meanings produced by the UN and documents such as the aforementioned Resolution.

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Foreword

Cynthia Enloe has been able to put in words what has motivated me throughout this thesis and my studies. She says: “One is not curious about the things one takes for granted” (1970, p. 1). Instead, having a ‘feminist curiosity’ means exploring, questioning and refuting the things we take for granted. I feel reassured when she states that “developing a new kind of curiosity is not just academic. It takes energy. It is political. It is cultural. It is personal” (ibid.). By the same token, she says that to do ‘what feminists do’, a specific intellectual combination is required. “Outrage and patience”, she says “outrage is imperative. Outrage does make many of us uncomfortable” (ibid.). This outrage is generated by being able to imagine what it is like to experience extreme unfairness, desperation if not violence that ultimately so many women and girls experience, be it in war, post-war or peaceful societies. Enloe reminded me that one of the great privileges of becoming a feminist is to be “positively encouraged to think about the lives, the gritty, sometimes mundane, occasionally heartening, sometimes horrific experiences of ‘ordinary’ women and girls” (ibid.). Still, outrage is not enough. This outrage has to be transformed into stamina: “Be outraged in a way that makes you pay closest attention to the uninspiring discussion at field mission meetings, that keeps you wide awake at soporific gatherings of donors, that sharpens your listening between the lines when blue-helmeted colonels talk to blue-helmeted sergeants” (ibid.), she says wisely.

Aside from Enloe’s motivating words, what has stayed with me from my very first day of classes at CWS is when Kathrin stood up in front of our class and declared that our choice of a master in gender studies was an inherently political choice. And that this choice sends a political message. With this I felt even more reassured and proud to have chosen this path. It certainly reminded me of the fact that it is a constant struggle to be the one who asks the critical questions. But throughout this master I can say that I have been given the tools and the assurance that I will know how to transform the outrage into something productive and my aim is that this thesis is exemplary of that.

Introduction

Cynthia Enloe defines militarization as a socio-political process in which “individual or political systems either become increasingly dependent upon, controlled and affected by the military” (p. 2, as cited in Repo, 2006). More precisely it can be defined as a process by which individuals and political systems adopt militaristic values, beliefs and presumptions about human history that enhance military ones. The latter illustrates why the militarization of our lives is something personal as well as political. It not only uses but also effectively maintains and strengthens the ideological constructions of gender and the conceptualizations of masculinity and femininity. Sjoberg (2011) points out how although war is “the apex, the climax, the peak experience” (p. 112) of militarism. Thus, militarism is much broader than war. In fact, it comprises an underlying system of institutions, practices, values and cultures. Militarism means that war-preparatory and war-based meanings are integrated into our social and political lives. Feminist international relations and security theory has dedicated itself towards revealing how blurring the lines or erasing the distinctions of war and peace, military and civilian is a deeply gendered and thus dangerous phenomenon. With this thesis I aim to contribute to these efforts.

UN peacekeeping missions are exemplary of how our lives are deeply militarized. UN peacekeeping missions are often depicted by the media by showing peacekeepers in a pure humanitarian light, holding babies and distributing food. This idyllic world these images are portraying is however not reflective of reality. Feminist scholars have been vocal in their critiques on the politics of peacekeeping missions. Peacekeeping as a concept and as a practice has been contested for excluding women, women’s experiences and women’s realities. United Nations Security Council Resolution 1325 has been internationally celebrated for finally addressing the condition of women in conflict. It calls for paying attention to the conditions, experiences and needs of women in war zones and it urges UN and government agencies to ensure that women are given a voice in decision making throughout peace processes (Enloe, 2007). One less anticipated consequence has been that the Resolution has elucidated the gender dynamics within the international peacekeeping operations themselves. As a result, it has been questioned whether international peacekeepers “might be having a less- than-positive impact on local women’s and girls’ lives” (Enloe, 2007, p. 130). This new scrutiny has been uncomfortable for many people who perceived themselves as well-meaning,

altruistic actors. This is why it is even more important to challenge the notion of the altruistic peacekeeper who is supposed to provide security to the local community.

Surprisingly, while evidence that peacekeeping mission as a concept and as a practice has to be rethought have been numerous, the international community has only recently directed attention to the controversial activities of peacekeeping missions. The evidence for peacekeeping 'gone wrong' are the many cases of peacekeepers having tortured, raped, humiliated and killed the local population they came to help in the first place (Jennings, 2008). Many of these incidents involved children and "are collective, openly accomplished events, remarkable indicators of how much the violence is driven by an impulse to teach the natives a lesson, and how much it is considered to be ordinary" (Razack, 2004, p. 54). Incidences such as in Somalia in 1993 when two Somalis were shot in the back by Canadian peacekeepers, one fatally; the torture of a young Somali just two weeks later; the implications of UN peacekeepers in human trafficking in Bosnia are just a few examples of peacekeeping scandals. In fact, it is hard to find a peacekeeping venture that does not have incidents where the local population suffered in one way or the other under the hands of the very people that were sent to provide them with security. While these cases have gained international media attention, the nature of peacekeeping missions has not been challenged. In fact, these incidences were put aside with explanations pointing towards the act of "a few bad apples", or "the extraordinary circumstances of conflict and war". Peacekeeping violence is exceptionalized and even in the rare cases of legal inquiries, they seem "to contain the violence, functioning as a kind of narrative shield that dissolves the horror in a storm of words" (Razack, 2004, p. 12). These justifications are exemplary of the deeper underlying problems of institutions such as the UN that present Resolutions 1325 as the solution to the problems. However, Resolution 1325 only scratches upon the surface of them or, even more frightening, worsens the situation all together.

Literature Review

How are peacekeepers implicated in crimes?

Until now, when it comes to asking how peacekeepers are involved in misconduct and scandals, what has been mostly subject of analysis in the academic discourse, are very specific cases and instances of peacekeepers' misbehavior. Relevant literature touches upon case studies such as the peacekeeping mission in Bosnia, the DRC or Somalia and

examines how specific incidences are representative of the difficulties peacekeeping missions face. Some crucial reports have been released mostly by the civil sector, for instance Save the Children UK's report written by Corinna Csaky in 2008. She interviewed hundreds of locals from several countries with ongoing foreign assistance programs including southern Sudan, Côte d'Ivoire and Haiti and found that "significant levels of abuse of boys and girls continue in emergencies, with much of it going unreported.", shockingly with peacekeepers being the primary perpetrators (2008). The range of sexual violence committed by international workers and volunteers included verbal sexual abuse, oral sex, lesbian sexual displays, child pornography, forced and traded sex, child prostitution and sexual slavery.

Scholars have theorized femininity and women's experiences of militarization by looking at civilian women living and working in and around military bases. So far the relation between military bases and the rise of prostitution and human trafficking has been the subject of discussion in critical feminist IR. Cynthia Enloe (1995) revealed the close relationship of military bases and the environments they are in and with that shed light on the exploitative and oppressive practices that accompany military operations. However, thorough analysis of how women's' and girls' lives are affected by peacekeepers is lacking.

Why are peacekeepers involved in crimes?

Masculinity studies has produced significant work that discusses the construction of masculine identities and the production of hegemonic masculinities in militaries. Yet, although peacekeepers are predominantly soldiers, this knowledge has not been applied to peacekeeping operations. Scholars such as Sandra Whitworth (2004) for instance have critically examined the UN discourses on women, peace and security. As one of the few, she established that peacekeeping – an altruistic and benign undertaking - stands in stark contrast to the ideal warrior who has been subject to a training that promotes aggression and violence. Withworth has examined the ways in which masculinity is constructed in the military and has equally linked that to the sexual violence against girls and women (Lopes, 2011). Similarly, Paul Higate and Marsha Henry (2004) have passionately argued for a re-examination of the use of soldiers as peacekeepers. Their empirical research has demonstrated how peacekeepers construct their masculinities, especially in relation to local women. The research was focused on exploring

peacekeepers' perceptions of gender and gender relations and it was conducted through interviews as well as informal discussions and ethnographic observations. Another small scale qualitative study was conducted by them in Liberia which led them to establish that in fact, women felt both secure and insecure around male peacekeepers. Also, interestingly, Higate found that peacekeepers view the sexual involvement with locals in various ways: either as business, as a reprieve from their lonely and difficult lives, as charity for less fortunate or as victim hood from the aggression of predatory women. In any cases, due to the advances of local women they felt their sense of attractiveness and thus masculinity confirmed. Duncanson (2009) examined how masculinities are constructed in relation to other men, particularly paying attention to how peacekeepers construct themselves. Based on autobiographical accounts of soldiers in Bosnia she utters that there is an alternative discourse of peacekeeper masculinity that may or may not challenge the hegemonic masculinity narrative. While peacekeepers masculinity has the potential to disrupt traditional linkages between militarism and masculinity it at the same time still relies on the feminized and racialized Other. In any case, she established how the soldiers experienced a tension between the desire to do what they learned to be most effective in bringing about peace and the desire or demand to be manly. Equally, Martin (2006) revealed through her interviews that the hypermasculine culture of the military is prone to encourage sexual exploitation and local girls and women. By the same token, due to the tradition of a so-called 'wall of silence', where members of a group protect their fellows, an environment is created and sustained that allows these behaviors to flourish (Behr, 2011). Simic (2010) with her qualitative research in Bosnia represents a rather different approach to the sexual involvement of peacekeepers with locals. She criticizes, based on interviews with peacekeepers and local women that studies which identified the problematic of sexual exploitation and abuse within the peacekeeping context disregard that there are sexual relations that are voluntary and non-exploitative. This sex-positive standpoint however stands alone in a bulk of research discussing the unequal power relations between peacekeepers and local girls and women. Razack (2004) has provided a revealing analysis of the case of Canadian peacekeepers who were involved in cases of torture and murder of Somali boys and men, demonstrating what role race plays in peacekeeping.

What is the role of UNSCR 1325 with regards to peacekeeping?

The passing of UNSCR 1325 has stirred hope that measures to prevent peacekeepers from harming the environments they are deployed in have been developed. However, since UNSCR 1325 refers to the role of women in peacekeeping, research has predominantly focused on discussing to what extent more women in peacekeeping missions can contribute to the betterment of the deployments. Accordingly, most research has taken up the task of assessing the implementation of 1325, however, without critically investigating the UNSCR 1325 itself. Rather, these investigations have dealt with the challenges of implementing the resolution in regards to peacekeeping missions, but have neglected to question the resolution and the very narratives that have evolved around it. Only a few have criticized how the discourse on women, peace and security essentially bases itself on a dichotomous notion of men=aggressive, women= peaceful, perpetuating a stereotypical representation of masculinity and femininity.

Research Question

In response to the discourse on peacekeeping missions, stimulated by UNSCR 1325 as well as numerous cases of sexual misbehavior or criminal behavior of peacekeepers, various theories have been advanced by feminist IR scholars attempting to illuminate the complexity of peacekeeping missions. These scholars have, however, only offered partial accounts of why peacekeeping missions are mostly less successful – and even harmful - than anticipated. More importantly, research has failed to situate peacekeeping in the bigger picture of world politics. What the literature review has shown is that there is no comprehensive analysis of how it is possible that peacekeepers are perpetrators of violence. While some violations of conduct have stirred attention, scholars have so far failed to truly investigate the reasons behind peacekeepers' crimes. Therefore, with this research I aim to deepen the understanding behind why peacekeeping should be regarded as a more controversial endeavor. My research stems from the concern that peacekeeping missions are not examined enough in regards to their implications. Thus, this thesis will be part of the discourse that questions the UN, international and mainstream discourses on women, peace and security. It is crucial to unravel how gender is an essential component of militarization and how images of masculinity and femininity as well as the lives of women and men are affected by peacekeeping missions.

Consequently, this thesis is framed around two major research questions. Chapter 1, 2 and 3 will identify how and why peacekeeping missions are implicated in the very horrors they seek to address. Chapter 4 will investigate what role UNSCR 1325 plays with regards to peacekeeping. In the first part, I will demonstrate the types of misconduct peacekeepers are involved such as the sexual exploitation of local girls and women. I will illuminate the reasons for these incidences by first scrutinizing how the fact that peacekeepers are predominantly soldiers contributes to the problematic. Second, I will investigate how the fantasy of the exotic native Other, who can be sexually taken advantage of plays into the crimes committed by peacekeepers. Having discussed the latter I will demonstrate how other incidents peacekeepers have been associated with are equally if not more reminiscent of the racist nature of peacekeeping. Ultimately, I will reveal how peacekeeping missions operate under the larger framework of a neo-colonial that order draws on an old colonial script in which the West saves helpless non-Westerns from their fate. Instead of exploring one particular peacekeeping deployment this thesis provides a framework for understanding the complexities and problems of peacekeeping missions at large. The second part of this research build upon the theoretical reflections I have sketched out. I will assess how the UNSCR 1325 has played a role in improving peacekeeping missions.

Before investigating these two research questions, I will turn towards sketching out my theoretical framework. Subsequently, I will present my methodology as well as critically reflect upon my position as a researcher. Afterwards, I will give a short background of peacekeeping missions and their origin.

Theoretical Framework

The heartland of the discipline of International Relations was and for some still is war. After WW I International Relations (IR) was founded as a separate discipline to investigate the causes of war and the conditions for peace (Pettman, 1996). However, despite the fact that IR began to emerge in an era when the women's movement started, "it did not admit their understandings to the discipline, nor attend to the gendered politics of peace and war" (p. 592.). Instead, realism, which is considered the founding ideology of international relations theory, is dominated by an elite of white and male practitioners who enable a patriarchal discourse that renders women invisible from high politics of IR (Blanchard, 2003). Ultimately, mainstream IR is not accepting that,

war and peace are feminist issues. Why? Because women are located in particular and dangerous ways in both the discourses about war and in war politics on the ground. Furthermore violence itself is often sexualized (Pettman, 1996). Zalewski (1995) states that the two essential questions feminists ask within international relations to rethink and re-present conventional knowledges and understandings of the discipline is: 'What work is gender doing' and: 'What about women?'. Essentially, feminist international relations suggests that the binary relation between war and peace makes it an "ontologically suspicious concept" (Blanchard, 2003, p. 1299) that relies on the degradation of femininity. It was crucial for feminist scholars to establish that a gendered analysis of war and the military reveals the myths and ideologies about gender that are used to create ideas about what it means to be a good woman and a good man and how these constructions of identity shape male and female identities. Statements like 'boys will be boys' not only represent deep beliefs about gender but is in fact "playing a deeply serious role in the processes and practices of world politics" (Zalewski, 1995, p. 349).

One can identify two different ways of looking at feminism and IR theory. On the one hand, as Keohane (in Tickner, 1997) suggests, one can treat feminist IR as a subject to be studied and not a way of studying IR. Thus, one can either look at IR through feminist lenses or look at feminist IR. Since men's experiences are taken as representative for human experience, asking "where are the women in IR" is in itself powerfully challenging IR. Another way of categorizing feminist approaches to IR is to look at gender and IR. Those who were unsatisfied with only adding women's voices to the discourse turned to investigating how practices and experiences are shaped by gender. This approach takes feminist international relations theory beyond the so-called 'women question' (Wibben, 2004).

Cynthia Enloe's (1989) groundbreaking work of *Bananas, Beaches and Bases* amplifies one of the major themes of international relations feminists – the recognition of the importance of gendered language. By pointing out how gender is intrinsic in both traditional (military bases and diplomacy) and ordinary (sex tourism), Enloe contests the restriction of security to high politics alone (Tickner, 1997). Further feminist publication on issues of war and the military are Elshtain and Sheila Tobias's *Women and Men's War*, Ann Tickner's *Gender in International Relations* as well as Spike Peterson's *Gendered States* collections. These foundational works of remarkably curious

and courageous women have paved the way for a sophisticated critique of mainstream international relations and security theory. Furthermore, masculinity studies and in particular Robert Connell's theory of hegemonic masculinities has been essential to discuss what makes men willing to fight in wars. "Men are warriors; women are pacifists. Men are naturally more violent than women". These common accounts both perpetuate a dichotomous relationship between masculinity and femininity as well as treat both notions as "natural, innately guiding a person's behavior down certain biological paths, or so the argument goes" (Enloe, 1989, p. 87). Goldstein (2005), like Connell states that the reality of biology is that it "provides diverse potential, and cultures limit, select, and channel them" (cited in Evangelista 2003: 329). The prevalent belief that men are more prone to violence is, according to Connell (2005) rather reinforced by societal contrivances rather than biological urges (O'Connor, 2006).

Feminist international relations theory should, according to Sarah Brown strive to identify and explain how "social stratification and inequality are structured at the level of global relations" (in Blanchard, 2003, p. 1298), which this research is contributing to. I am using this theoretical framework because a deeper examination of gendered constructions can aid to understand not only some of the causes of war but also how certain ways of thinking about security have been legitimized at the expense of others, both in the discipline of IR and in political practice (Tickner, 2001). Feminists understand that in order to produce genuine change it is necessary to challenge not only the content of a particular narrative, but also its structure. In other words, it is not enough to simply add women, or even to achieve greater visibility of the ways in which gender shapes international relations, but it is important to also transform how IR produces, disseminates, and recreates knowledges.

"Feminist IR challenges the discipline to develop dynamic approaches that can be constantly revised, that can adapt to evolving events and issues, and that are imaginative enough to capture subtleties that remain unnoticed in formalized models. It disturbs because it denies the possibility of traditional cumulative knowledge and demands that scholars continually question and revise their own assumptions" (Wibben, 2011, p. 109).

By the same token, this research utilizes a postcolonial framework which enables an analysis that unravels the discursive power visible in how security discourse "positions

people in their relation to (their gendered selves)...and to other (gendered) human beings within a particular symbolic (gender) order” (Hudson, 2012, p. 451). A postcolonial feminist approach to UN peacekeeping missions is committed to “subaltern” voices. While Western feminists have been critiqued for claiming to accurately represent women of the global South and thus “reproducing the axioms of imperialism” (Hudson, 2012, p. 459), postcolonial feminist analysis is sensitive to the complex power relations that “emanate from overlapping identity constructions of race, gender, class and culture in specific historical and geographical contexts” (ibid.). The long tradition of false and romanticized images of the East have served as justifications for the West’s imperialist endeavors. In the end, Orientalism helped the West to define itself namely as culturally and intellectually superior. So, according to Orientalism, Westerners and Orientals are in binary opposition of each other. Uncovering the ways in which power operates could ultimately create new spaces for contestation and finally stimulate the search for alternative ways of doing politics. Using a postcolonial-feminist lens enables us to more judiciously evaluate the gendered and sexualized dimensions of popular and academic discourse on peacekeeping missions. Ultimately, it is about contesting the constructed truths of gendered knowledge and actions that will help to challenge and question the power relations inherent in the representation and legitimization of these narratives.

Methodology

“If knowledge productions have to change, knowledge must be differently written and differently designed if it is to bear other social relations than those of ruling”. This kind of feminist research is an attempt to do this. However, “understanding how we represent others, who has the power to represent others, and the implications of our representations of others, is imperative to any feminist research project” (Devalault & Gross, 1994, p. 28) and is crucial for avoiding reinforcing the very power structures feminists aim to debunk. Said (1997) has pointed out that essentially,

“anyone who teaches, writes about or researches the Orient – and this applies whether the person is an anthropologist, sociologist, historian, or philologist--either in its specific

or its general aspects, is an Orientalist, and what he or she says or does is Orientalism. . .” (p. 2).

As far as Orientalism is concerned the Orient cannot speak for itself and needs to be represented. Spivak (1988) famously said that “there is no unrepresentable subaltern subject that can know and speak itself” (p .73). She wonders whether a third world subject could be studied without the researcher being involved in the colonial project. She argues that research in a way is always colonial since it has to define an object of study, namely the “other”. The West’s desire for subjectivity is, according to her, just a justification for the conquest of other cultures. The biggest problem is that in a sense, the West is talking to itself because it uses a language that is tainted with colonialism. Presenting another voice, the voice of the marginalized is thus difficult and apparently impossible (McLeod, 2010).

Keeping these fundamental challenges in mind will be essential for successfully conducting this research. Despite the challenges Spivak and Said have pointed out - or perhaps because of their accounts - this research is even more committed to striving for an alternative way of knowledge production. Lijeströn (as cited in Repo, 2006) draws attention to how research is also the production and reproduction of discourse. “The researcher is therefore a part of the discourses one engages with and produces, as there is no such thing as perception and assessment from a distance” (p. 41, *ibid.*). Despite this difficulty, the researcher can still utilize his or her emancipatory potential to think how the realities he or she is deconstructing could be reconstructed differently.

As pointed out earlier above, so far the research that has been done on this issue has been diverse but lacking focus. On the one hand, we have seen empirical researchers who have conducted interviews with peacekeepers, prostitutes and other stakeholders. This research has obviously been very specific to the concrete cases. Higate and Henry conducted a few small-scale empirical and ethnographic studies in the DRC, Sierra Leone and Somalia where interviews with both UN staff and civilians aimed to paint a better picture of the situations. Similarly, Martin provided us with more data from the DRC by conducting interviews. Autobiographical interviews with peacekeepers by Duncanson were an attempt to pay close attention to the inner worlds of peacekeepers. Razack’s research evolved around examining the records of military trials and public hearings about the deployment of Canadian peacekeepers to Somalia. She also examined the texts

of popular culture where both national and international myths can be tracked. Other various reports and papers based themselves on the data collected from specific cases but have remained theoretical.

This research will engage in “alternative ways of thinking” (Smith, 1990, p. 20) regarding research and knowledge building. This means that as feminist research it is refuting positivist notions such as the belief in a fixed and unchangeable social reality and an underling truth that is ‘out there’ to find. Following the tradition of Foucault, my overall methodology is based on discourse analysis. The discourses that I will examine are the prominent UN discourses on women, peace and security, mainstream media and UN documents such as the Zeid Report and UNSCR 1325. I will interrogate these cultural texts to unravel the marks of power relations that produced them. As cultural theorist Hall (1997) states, popular texts have an oppositional possibility and within texts “hegemony is also contested, resisted and challenged” (p. 112). For Foucault (1980) “discourses are practices that are comprised of ideas, ideologies and referents, that systematically construct both the subjects and objects of which they speak, and thus discourses are integral to the construction of social reality” (p. 90). For example, the ways in which ‘gender mainstreaming’, ‘gender analysis’ and ‘gender equality’ are ‘spoken’ about creates them as forms of social knowledge that make it difficult – but not impossible – to think or to speak outside the terms of reference they establish for conceptualizing people and social relations. So discourse is not that *what* is said, but precisely what which constrains and enables what *can* be said. There are, however, a finite number of discourses and these are often in competition. This lack of discursive unity opens up spaces for contestation (Bacchi, 2010). In Foucault’s (1972: 120) words, discourse is an ‘asset’, ‘by nature, the object of a struggle, a political struggle’. Discourses of status may sideline but can never eliminate (what Foucault calls) ‘subjugated knowledges’ – ‘erudite’ and local knowledges that create the space for challenge (Foucault, 1980). A related point, clarified shortly, is that practices ‘from below’ are themselves constitutive. Discursive practices then can be understood – not as ‘linguistic performances’ nor as ‘human based practices’ – but as the multiple, ongoing and contested means through which some statements, but not others, are rendered credible and consequential (Barad 2003 in Bacchi, 2010).

The main part of my thesis is based on literature review. The literature stems from critical theorists, feminist international relations theorists, country-sponsored

investigations on specific cases of scandals peacekeepers have been involved in and reports by civil society organizations such as Save the Children. By collecting and critically investigating existing research on peacekeeping missions and their implications on local communities I will be able to provide a comprehensive and in-depth theoretical framework. The aim is to sketch out a theoretical framework that can be used to bridge the gap between theory and practice. Subsequently, in my final Chapter I will use content analysis to scrutinize the UN framework in place for dealing with women peace and security. The assessment of SC Resolution 1325 will allow me to translate my theoretical considerations into practical applications in form of recommendations to the resolution itself. Content analysis is about gathering data through newspapers, media or other cultural artifacts, in my case I will turn towards UN SC Resolutions. By interrogating the material items produced within the culture we can learn not only how cultural artifacts reflect social norms but how the norms and values are shaped. We have to realize that UN Security Council Resolutions and reports on peacekeeping missions are not produced within a vacuum but are the products of a very specific time and space (Nagy Hesse-Biber & Leavy, 2006). "By using such documents feminist researchers identify social norms without using interactive methods that may affect the norms they are trying to study" (Reinharz, in Nagy Hesse-Biber & Leavy, 2006, p. 235)

My position as a researcher

Since "most of us, most of the time, reproduce gender, class and countless other relations of domination unreflectively, situating oneself and the subject of study is priority" (Wibben, 2004, p.77).

Feminist scholarship suggests that "by being present as a real person in the text, as a scholarly writer positioned along axes of signification such as gender and ethnicity, class and sexual orientation, you assume responsibility of the interests and perspectives presented" (Student Manual, p. 40). This is an important standpoint I am considerate of throughout my thesis. By the same token, I should be aware of the fact that with my research I indicate how knowledge is something produced in the intersection of material and text, writer and reader. As Latour has famously claimed "science is politics by other means" (ibid.). Indeed, scholarship is political and as Haraway puts it "can only exist

where there is more than one voice, more than one reality” (Haraway 1984, in *ibid.*). The recognition, negotiation, suppression, construction and legitimacy of *difference* are what politics is about. As being part of feminist scholarship I also take active part and have a special interest in such politics of difference. Thus, I am aware of how I am a producer of knowledge that is both political and scientific, both recognizing, creating negotiating, suppressing and legitimizing difference. In the end, as Braidotti writes, it is about collectively “changing the shape of the thinkable” (p. 41).

Background of Peacekeeping Missions

The post-Cold War was dominated by two competing though related narratives. The first one, as put forward by IR realist John Mearsheimer, asserted that with the end of the Cold War new waves of ethnic, religious and civilizational conflicts will arise. By the same token, former UN Secretary Boutros Boutros-Ghali declared confidently that the United Nations had the answer to the possible anarchy, namely peacekeeping. (Higate, 2004). Essentially, “where anarchy established the problem, the United Nations provided its solution” (Whitworth, 2004, p. 23). With this declaration the UN committed itself to being the carrier of hope and stability. Indeed, an unforeseen number of violent conflicts took place that were new in their nature (intra state wars) and brutality. The burden on the UN rose, and with it its critics. Discussions about the future operations were prevalent; however, the pressing nature of things prohibited critical questions from being posed. “Even to suggest that there might be more to studying peacekeeping than simply figuring out how to do it can be met with moral outrage, as though raising such issues trivializes the horrors and violence of contemporary global politics” (*ibid.*). Consequently, many crucial issues remained uncontested. In the end, “thanks to peacekeeping; the UN was not left without meaning” (*ibid.*). Indeed, peacekeeping developed into a form of insurances for post-Cold War militarism.

“The mobilizing ideology that had characterized the rationale for military preparedness throughout the Cold War did not have to be abandoned with the demise of the Cold War (...) it only needed to be accommodated to the new forms of conflict and the new means of addressing those conflicts” (p.25).

Consequently, peacekeeping provided the new rationale for many militaries that otherwise had no *raison d'être*.

The peacekeeping operations of the UN, known as blue helmets, are troops that, depending on their mandate, patrol borders, monitor ceasefires and assist local communities in their search for durable peace. The first operation was their deployment in 1948 as observer missions to monitor ceasefires between Arab nations and Israel and to Kashmir (Rubinstein, 2010). The early missions were mostly improvised. Since the end of the Cold War, the scope of peacekeeping operations has widened and intensified. Not only do peacekeeping missions now include civilian police officers, experts on elections, mine experts, humanitarians and political and public information specialists but their responsibilities range from assisting in the implementation of peace agreements to protecting and delivering humanitarian assistance over training local police forces and monitoring elections and human rights in general. In numbers this proliferation of peacekeeping missions means, that fifteen missions were launched between 1956 and 1989 and a further twenty-two were launched between 1989 and 1995. In personnel this means that while in 1991 the UN has deployed 11,000 blue helmets by 1994, the number increased to 75,000. These missions symbolized consensual conjoint and impartial action (Rubinstein, 2010). Essentially, peacekeeping became the way through which the UN asserted and keeps asserting its visibility internationally, constituting perhaps the “major instrument of diplomacy available to the United Nations for insuring peace and international security” (p.458).

Chapter 1

“As far as I am concerned there is no such a thing as consensual sex between soldiers and the local population in a war or conflict zone”. Rome Dallaire

There is a long history of UN peacekeeping missions engaging in sexual misconduct during their deployment and scholars and international organizations have been alarmed by reports on the crimes committed by peacekeepers in Somalia, DRC and Sierra Leone. In 2004, after serious accusations of sexual abuse emerged against peacekeepers in the Democratic Republic of the Congo (DRC), an important milestone when it comes to combatting the sexual misconduct of peacekeepers was the Comprehensive Review, known as the Prince Zeid report which sheds light on the

allegations of sexual abuse by peacekeepers in the Congo. The report revealed the 150 reported sexual assaults by peacekeepers, including rape, prostitution and pedophilia. Calling the crimes inexcusable, the report called increased attention by the UN to punish the wrongdoers. However, one of the problematic of punishing peacekeepers is that peacekeepers are soldiers on loan from troop-contributing countries. This means, that with respect to them, the UN has no disciplinary authority. The soldiers are only subject to discipline by their own national authorities (Allred, 2006). Peacekeepers from over 45 nationalities have been accused of sexual abuse and exploitation. It has also been established that the vast majority of perpetrators are male peacekeepers who abuse women or young girls. According to Olivera Simic (2010), these reports have illustrated “varieties of sexual offenses that range from forced prostitution, sex trafficking, rape, trading sex for food, and child pornography” (p.396). A regional human rights officer in Bosnia even states that “without the peacekeeping presence, there would have been little or no forced prostitution in Bosnia” (Allred, 2006, p.6). The numbers regarding the increase in prostitution in peacekeeping countries are astonishing. The peacekeepers presence in Cambodia for instance increased local prostitution 3.5 times in two years with 25% of peacekeepers returning home HIV positive. So not only do peacekeepers in these cases leave girls and women behind, often impregnated, peacekeeping missions also contribute to the spread of diseases such as HIV. Although reports emerged already in the mid-1990s, it was only after the UNHCR and Save the Children UK reports on acts of sexual exploitation¹ by peacekeepers in Sierra Leone, Guinea and Liberia was issued that the UN was galvanized into action (Himmelstrand, 2011). In 2003 a zero tolerance policy was enacted, publishing a code of conduct. However, Kofi Annan acknowledged that the procedures in place “were manifestly inadequate and a fundamental change in approach was needed” (Simic, 2010, p. 193).

The construction of the soldier

The infamous explanation given by the chief commander of the UN’s Cambodian peacekeeping mission when confronted by complaints about his male peacekeepers’

¹ sexual exploitation outlined by the UN Secretary-General’s Bulletin, Special Measures for Protection from Sexual Exploitation and Sexual Abuse (ST/SGB/2003/13): “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” under the age of eighteen and the exchange of goods or services for sexual acts, both of which are strictly prohibited conduct for personnel

inappropriate behavior was that “Boys will be boys! Eighteen-year-old hot-blooded soldiers have a right to chase young beautiful beings of the opposite sex” (in Martin, 2006, p. 3). How can this – the normalization, tolerance if not encouragement of this behavior - be explained? Whitworth argues that the rather open attitude towards peacekeepers troops’ use of prostitutes stems from their certain aspects of militarized masculinity. So, it is important to examine the way in which the young men are trained to be soldiers since it will aid us to understand the consequences of the deployment of soldiers as peacekeepers.

Essentialist accounts of men and masculinity put forward the notion of a natural male aggressive behavior in society. Francis Fukuyama (1998) in fact argued that the reasons for men’s close relation to aggression, violence and war are rooted in biology. Apparently “there is a surprisingly widespread belief that this is natural. Human males are genetically programmed to be hunters and killers” (p. 27). Consequently, “the basic social program that any society faces is to control the aggressive tendencies of its young men” (ibid.). Being a soldier is thus seen as a natural activity especially for young men who will learn to appropriately use their natural tendencies. Not only are these tendencies in men seen as natural they are arguable unchangeable. Fukuyama even goes as far as to argue that “the realms of war and international politics in particular will remain controlled by men for longer than many feminist would like. Most important, the task of re-socializing men to be more like women - that is, less violent – will run into limits. “What is bred in the bone cannot be altered easily by changes in culture and ideology” (Fukuyama, in Whitworth, 2004, p.154).

This essentialist account of men also has repercussions for notions of femininity. While masculinity is equaled with violent and disruptive behavior women in contrast are considered peaceful and more cooperative. At the same time, these essentialist notions and prevailing stereotypes about men and women have always been contested by exceptions: those men who are peaceful and those women who are – against all odds – comfortable with violence (Carreiras, 2010). These essentialist accounts are thus failing to account for the vast diversity of both women and men in terms of their attitudes toward and participation in acts of violence. Instead of these dichotomous notions it is more fruitful to employ multiple masculinities and femininities. Certainly, at every point in time or place a certain vision of masculinity predominates an “other” or, as Bob Connell (2005) calls it becomes culturally exalted or hegemonic. Naturally, with

one form of masculinity being hegemonic others are culturally discredited or despised. The contestation over which masculinity becomes hegemonic is not based on some natural characteristics rather it is the result of social practices. Thus, masculinities like femininities are created.

The link between masculinity and violence has also been examined by the masculinity researcher R.W. Connell who challenges the essentialist assumption that aggression and violence is inherent to men. On the contrary, he claims that they are “as likely to be consequence of social relations” (Connell, 2005, p. 34). Connell puts forward that masculinity, like war, is a cultural construction, a set of social practices (Pettman, 1996). He utters that most men are non-violent and that even the vast majority of soldiers never kills. Men who are part of masculinized institutions in the end do not “reflect but actively produce(s), particular versions of masculinity” (Connell, 2005, p. 1814). By the same token, he establishes that hegemonic masculinity which is a configuration of masculinity that “represent(s) the currently accepted answer to the problem of the legitimacy of patriarchy” (ibid.), is predominantly implicated in violence. It refers to a culturally normative ideal of male behavior that presupposes a hierarchy of masculinities. This hegemonic masculinity takes precedence as the preferred type over other ones. Hegemony implies the subordination of another group which in regards to masculinity happens by the subordination of homosexual masculinity to heterosexual masculinity (Carreiras, 2010). Heterosexuality and homophobia, as well as perceiving women as mere sexual objects for men, are inherent to hegemonic masculinity (Connell & Messerschmidt, 2005). In the training the young men receive Enloe and Whitworth contend that a particular kind of identity – militarized masculinity – is created. Militarized masculinity is a combination of traits and attitudes that are hyper-masculine and hegemonic (Lopes, 2011).

“Of all the sites where masculinities are constructed, reproduced, and deployed, those associated with war and the military are some of the most direct. Despite far-reaching political, social, and technological changes, the warrior still seems to be a key symbol of masculinity...The stance, facial expressions, and the weapons clearly connote aggression, courage, a capacity for violence, and sometimes, a willingness for sacrifice. The uniform absorbs individualities into a generalized and timeless masculinity while also connoting a control of emotion and a subordination to a larger rationality (Morgen, in Lopes, 2011, p.15).

As Goldstein (2001) argues “men are made, not born. They are told to be a man” (p. 264). “The difference between an ordinary man or boy and a reliable killer, as any drill sergeant could attest, is profound. A transformation is required”, says Ehrenreich (in Whitworth, 2005, p.155). This transformation is a complex undertaking because as Ehrenreich points out “

It’s easy enough to teach a man to shoot a gun: the problem is to make him willing to get into situations where guns are being shot and to remain there long enough to do some shooting of his own” (in Whitworth 2004, p. 155).

However, she continues to stress that “in the fanatical routines of boot camp, a man leaves behind his former identity and is reborn as a creature of the military – an automaton and also, ideally willing killer of other men” (ibid.). The transformation of a young man into a warrior involves the “lure of masculinity itself and more specifically, in the words of Sherene Razack, white masculinity” (Whitworth, 2005, p.159). In many societies men are expected to undergo a rite of passage to prove their manhood. The military promises to turn a boy into a man. In fact, the warrior seems to prevail as the key symbol of masculinity. Peterson and Runyan (2004) stress how militaries need men to act as “true” men, that is, to be willing to kill and die on the behalf of the state in order to prove their manhood. This valorized ideal masculine “type”, embodying values such as strength, honor and loyalty, ultimately functions as the protector of the homeland, (Connell, 2005).

Ultimately, militaries are institutions that employ a training that aims to break down the individuality of recruits and replace it with a commitment to and dependence on the total institution of which they are now a part of (Whitworth, 2005, p. 155). Fundamentally, the basic military training helps to nurture the exaggerated ideals of masculinity that militaries require. Indeed, the myths associated with militarized masculinity are at the forefront of young men’s socialization. Myths are

“partial truths that emphasize specific versions of reality and conceal or overlook others. In all cultures myths are crucial in defining what is natural, normal and legitimate. They are inextricably involved in relations of power, because they ensure that some accounts of reality count more than others” (Tickner, 2001, p. 87).

Furthermore, these myths manifest themselves in rituals that “encode and transmit information about basic, ideal social arrangements” (ibid.). The training these soon to be soldiers go through is thus an indoctrination process that inculcates them into the norms and values of the militaristic community. Military indoctrination starts upon arrival where all signs of the recruit’s life are stripped away: clothing, hair and most belongings. The separation from families and society in general is part of the plan to isolate the soldiers from what is normal. This is essential because contact with larger society will remind the recruits of the societal norms and values they have been taught such as you don’t kill that in the end of their training has to be destroyed. “They tore you down. They tore everything civilian out of your entire existence – your speech, your thoughts, your sight, your memory – anything that was civilian they tore out and then they re-built you and made you over” a U.S. Marine described it once (Whitworth, 2005).

Inherent to the training are humiliation and hazing strategies that aim to break down the recruit. Methods such as verbal or physical assault, performing humiliating tasks or being punished in front of the whole group are methods employed. Insults and constant reminders that “you are worthless” achieve that when the recruits are being rebuilt as soldiers they realize that only through the military can they achieve any goal (Whitworth, 2011). The role of the officer, sergeant or instructor is to be the source of both fear and reward. His authority and the recruits’ desire to please him results in the fact that “we’re so connected physically and mentally, that if there’s one person that we admire...the others will group around him. If he incites his group to racist behavior, they’ll follow, even if they don’t agree, because they won’t distinguish themselves from the group. Because the group’s all you’ve got” (Whitworth, 2005, p.158).

A crucial part of militarized masculinity is that it prepares to eliminate the enemy in times of war. The transformation to a militarized masculinity is most effective through denigration of everything that is different whether that is a woman, people of color or homosexuality. Whitworth points out that this is only possible through dehumanizing and denigrating the enemy. In order to do so, one must first eliminate the other within themselves, which the military trainings ultimately does (Lopes, 2011). Hegemonic masculinities’ dominance relies on its opposition to and competition with subordinated masculinities and femininities. Hooper states that “as masculinity is the valued term, it can be argued that femininity is merely a residual category, a foil or Other for masculinity to define itself against” (in Sjoberg & Via, 2010, p.43). A claim to

masculinity is therefore a positional claim in opposition to a feminine other, constructing it as the lesser of the two binaries. Consequently, without the opposite masculine social norms would be without content (Sjoberg, 2011). Thus, it is no coincidence that the insulting language that is being used is gendered, raced and homophobic in their nature. In fact, it serves to make the young soldiers learn to deny and to obliterate the “other” within themselves. Gendered and raced insults crafted to play on her or his specific feminine or masculine anxieties, including whore, faggot, sissies, cunt, ladies, pussies, nigger and sometimes simply you women. Soldiers are supposed to be physically and emotionally tough which is achieved through teaching them to deny all that I feminine and soft. This exemplifies how these discursive practices produce certain truths that all soldiers are expected to participate in. By the same token, these practices constitute both the construction of the “other” (women, homosexual, black etc.) and the “self” vis-à-vis the other.

“Initiation rituals, bastardisation and feminization of newer or weaker male recruits, disdain of anyone seen as wimpy, forced ‘surrogate heterosexual’ sex where those performing penetrative sex on other men would probably deny that they are homosexual, all mark and sexualize bodies and boundaries” (Pettman, 1996, p. 108).

What has been illuminated here is how the training of soldiers constitutes men with militarized masculinities that rely on violently misogynist, homophobic values. I have also highlighted how these soldiers’ construction is closely tied to the maintenance of a nation. Importantly, this has implications for peacekeeping deployments. Kent (2007) explains that a peacekeeper must combine the qualities of a soldier with those of a social worker. A peacekeeper must be a “warrior-prince-of-peace” who provides support, hope, sensitivity and aid for the desperate people of host nations (Whitworth, 2004). As Betts-Fetherston for example points out: “there is no switch inside a blue helmet that automatically turns a soldier trained for war fighting into an individual prepared to work non-violently and with cultural sensitivity in a highly militarized environment” (Higate & Henry, 2004, p. 484). The contradiction that exists here is that peacekeeping missions depend on soldiers who – despite their training – “are supposed to perform military duties without being militaristic” (Lopes, 2011, p. 5). Ironically, these may be

the very qualities that we require from someone who is part of a mission that aims to keep, create, promote or maintain something called peace.

Chapter 2

“Militarism and sexism are the twins that have been created in the bowels of patriarchy, and through time, they have littered the histories of human kind in the name, ironically of peace and progress.”

(F. Santos, Gathering the Dust)

In the previous section I have examined the construction of the kind of masculinities that are dominant in military institutions. This chapter will discuss the consequences of the construction of this type of militarized masculinity which, as experience shows, gives a “sense of license to sexually assault and exploit women” (Lopes, 2011, p. 4) when deployed on peacekeeping missions. Practices of dehumanizing the other and everything that is considered feminine can indeed pave the way for violence outside the realm of military warfare. As Brownmiller has famously argued, women are subject to sexual violence “precisely because she is women, and therefore an enemy” (in Godec, 2010, p. 14). Since the masculine behavior praised in militaries is perpetuating gendered insults that teach the soldiers that the feminine is their opposite and their enemy, by committing sexual crimes a soldiers can reassert his masculinity in front of his comrades. Whitworth (2004) claims that as a social identity militarized masculinity is static and unstable and thus requires to be constantly reinforced. Since women serve as “a hallmark of masculine success”, soldiers can easily reinforce their masculinity through sexually conquering a woman (Behr, 2011). Enloe (2007) asserts that militaries have acknowledged that “a steady supply of women’s sexual services to convince their soldiers that they are manly” (p. 90).

The construction of the Other

As outlined earlier, militarized masculinity relies on the celebration of heterosexuality that perceives prostitution as a form of recreation and male bonding. Indeed,

peacekeepers report that going to brothels is a common recreational activity where male soldiers even purchase prostitute for each other (Lopes, 2011). The normalization of these activities is rooted in the fact, that sexual engagement with local women is central to the masculinity of many male peacekeepers. It is not unusual that male peacekeepers believe that giving money to local women in exchange for sex is a benevolent act. Since the construction of heterosexuality is central in the shaping of the soldier this heterosexuality should be reproduced as often as possible. "Military authorities, with varying degrees of covertness will seek to provide outlets for sexual needs of their men, again highlighting other well-established gendered contrasts between masculine animality and female passivity" (Morgan, 1994, p. 172). As the conquest of women is perceived as the highest proof of heterosexuality, the visits to prostitutes are tolerated if not encouraged. Hence, not surprisingly prostitution is practiced and witnessed as a subculture of military bases. Termed 'rest and relaxation', soldiers are provided with a break from military activities and are offered the opportunity to rejuvenate the body and morale of the warrior (d'Estree, 2008). Whitworth (2007) argues that peacekeeping is not considered real soldiering and thus is less valuable amongst soldiers. So, since they are lightly armed and only allowed to use force in cases of self-defense peacekeeping soldiers are not able to assert their masculinity. Consequently, according to Whitworth, sexual violence is a means to prove to themselves and their fellows that they are still masculine (Behr, 2011). An interviewed soldier in Razack's research admits, that men, who spend a lot of time together feel a need to prove they are not homosexual by 'getting themselves a women'. He states that "when we go out the women becomes a machine, an object that we'd use as much as possible, and talk about as much as possible because afterwards there won't be any women around" (Razack, 2004, p. 70).

Throughout their militaristic training young men are confronted with traditions that perpetuate an aggressive behavior towards women. Chants such as "this is my rifle [holding up the rifle]; this is my gun [pointing to the penis]; one's for fighting, the other's for fun", are common in trainings (Jennings, 2009). This is not to suggest that males are prone to be engaged in rape or violence against women. (Rape and gender-based violence are rarely about sex itself and much more about power—sexualized violence rather than violent sex.) However, O'Connor (2006) rightly establishes that "male sexuality and expressions of male sexuality—sexual identity—can encode social

interactions and may create relationships of domination” (p. 336), especially where a “disparity of power (can appear) to exist” (p. 366). In fact, it has been documented that hunger is one of the major driving forces for girls and women to make contact with peacekeepers. Under-aged girls have been forced into having sex with peacekeepers in exchange for food. “[S]urvival sex creates a context in which abusive sexual relationships are more accepted and in which many men – whether civilian or combatant – regard sex as a “service” easy to get with the use of pressure.” (Notar, 2006, p. 416). This reveals the level of dependency these girls and young women experience since performing sexual favors may be their only source of income or food. “The protracted economic crisis and existing social inequalities [...] have made women and girls more vulnerable to certain forms of violence, as well as sexual exploitation and abuse” (Martin, 2006, p. 24). As a result, forced prostitution remains a means to earn a living in an impoverished society. This situation clearly increases the risk of being exploited by people with a higher economic and political power. Surprisingly, some peacekeepers believe that their actions are beneficial for the local women and girls. Admittedly it is difficult to evaluate if or to what extent the relationships are genuinely romantic, however based on the inequalities in life-conditions, power and economy it can confidently be assumed that relationships with a true romantic nature remain rare (Himmelstrand, 2011). Some scholars claim that depicting the relationship between peacekeepers and local women as solely problematic and labeling it sexual exploitation is taking away women’s agency. Nevertheless, it is essential to consider the vulnerable situation local women are in which makes it highly unlikely that there is a real choice for the women involved (Allais, 2011; Notar, 2006).

While military masculinity seems to be crucial when it comes to explaining the sexually violent behavior of soldiers it should not be dismissed that there are other explanations for this behavior. O’Connor (2006) importantly states that the arrival of peacekeepers is not the only factor contributing to the increase in prostitution and sex trafficking rates. We should not deny that the environments peacekeepers are deployed in are conflict environments that, as experiences have shown, provide an atmosphere in which violent crimes against women escalate. Agathengolou and Ling (2009) also state that naturally post-conflict societies are ripe for sex trafficking. As Browning investigated in his book *Ordinary Men*, through studying Nazi soldiers, he established that as a result of the amount of violence they witnessed and experienced gradually their

hesitance to engage in violent acts themselves vanished. Indeed, there are theories claiming that the presence of weapons and violence fuels the cycle of brutalization, ultimately becoming a norm that soldiers adhere to (Razack, 2004). We should also not dismiss the fact that the nature of peacekeeping missions has been changing. Missions are less occupied with maintaining and establishing peace following conflict but rather broker a peace between two groups under their terms. In practice this means that peacekeepers are more exposed to potentially dangerous situation where violence can break out. Consequently, no doubt, soldiers must be prepared to face conflict situation. Simultaneously, their responsibility to maintain the neutral character of peacekeepers remains. Also, intra-state conflicts involve numerous parties who are not state militaries, making it more difficult to identify partners and enemies (d'Estree, 2008).

Nevertheless, it is truly paradoxical that peacekeepers undermine the very notion of security – the very thing they are supposed to provide to people – by partaking and strengthening global insecurities. It is truly disturbing that the many cases of sexual misconduct have been discarded with the excuse of “boys will be boys”. “What do you think is going to happen when you have thousands of men away from home?” is a common response to the behavior of peacekeepers or soldiers in general. The reasons why these incidences shock us to our very core is that we are seeing peacekeepers as altruistic humanitarians and are forgetting that due to the very training that they have received as soldiers they are still soldiers at heart who have been trained to kill (Higate, 2004). So Agathangelou and Ling (2003) rightfully urge for a reexamination of the impact of peacekeepers by asking us to reflect upon what kind of global governance the international community is licensing that – in the name of peace and justice- sexually exploit and traffic girls and women for pleasure and profit.

As I established, the sexual exploitation of local girls and women stems largely from the militaristic training these soldiers received and rarely from the “stress” of conflict or war. This is not to argue that all individuals active in peacekeeping (or in the military for that matter) become involved in sexual abuse however the fact that such a large amount of incidences happen should be alarming and stimulate critical discussion and analysis of the underlying reasons. This analysis revealed to what extent military masculinity and the traits and values associated with it is explanatory for the sexual misbehavior of peacekeepers. The strong and ubiquitous influence of military

masculinity that praises a strong performance of male sexual identity clearly exemplifies the many cases of sexual misconduct.

The fantasy of the exotic Native

On the other hand, Henry & Higate (2008) warn that relying too much on militarized masculinities as explanation for the sexual exploits of peacekeepers “not only strips male peacekeepers of their agency, but also presents masculinity as homogenized” (in Hudson, 2012, p. 449). They point out that focusing too much on the concept of military masculinities can distract from the social-structural context that peacekeepers operate within. Instead, they suggest using the “notion of a particularly oppressive ‘social masculinities’” because this allows for greater recognition of the intersectionality of gender, power and sexuality. In fact, when examining the cases of sexual misconduct it is inevitable to see that another prominent narrative around peacekeeping is that peacekeepers are those saving the local women from the uncivilized, barbaric men. This myth is premised upon a notion of cultural essentialism, presenting non-Western women as victims of their culture. Clearly, this “arrogant perception reinforces stereotypes and racist representations of that culture and privileges the culture of the West” (Godec, 2010, p. 9). From a feminist and postcolonial perspective this narrative produces subjects that are dependent upon sexual and racial differentiation and therefore portraying the Western white male and the hero and savior of the non-white female. This hero narrative is inherent to the colonialist imaginary that relies upon the construction of female victimhood. As Fanon puts it “not only must the hero be a hero; he must be hero in relation to the female victims” (ibid.). Indubitably, this reinforces racist and sexist perceptions of the local population that the peacekeepers seek out to support. Consequently, the following section will elucidate how the colonialist imaginary contributes to peacekeepers’ sexual misbehavior.

Higate & Henry (2004) claim that due to the fact that all peacekeepers have been trained in national armies they have been subjected to sexist, homophobic and racist practices. On their deployment, the peacekeepers are situated in a foreign and “othered” environment in which their understandings of acceptable sexuality are reconfigured. Interviews with peacekeepers showed that for a number of peacekeepers the deployment offered an opportunity to partake in activities they would never attempt in their home country. The colonial stereotype of the hypersexualized African women appears to influence the behavior of the peacekeepers (Higate & Henry, 2004).

Consequently, a further explanation for the many cases of peacekeepers' misbehavior is potentially rooted in the fantasy of the exotic Native women who, based on an orientalist thinking, is always available to consume. This, how the colonial stereotypes of the hypersexualized Native women constitutes to the peacekeepers' sexual misbehaviors, will be the subject of the further analysis.

Colonial discourse established how the black female was considered both the inherently primate and sexually available as well as the menacing and dangerous object of desire. During the height of the European empire scientific scholarship went hand in hand with the colonial production of knowledge on race and sexuality (Ponzanesi, 2005). Disguised as ethnographical work that aimed to categorize the different races present in the empire, the European ruler was fascinated with the black women's physique and sexuality. As Said (1979) puts it, oriental women are "usually the creatures of the male powerfantasy. They express unlimited sensuality, they are more or less stupid and above all they are willing" (p. 207.). More precisely, the view that the Orient is both a space of illicit and dangerous sex and the site of carefully suppressed animalistic sexual instincts is at the heart of the orientalist notions of sexuality (Hasan, 2005). Local women were represented by Western colonizers as black Venuses, depicting them as highly eroticized, overtly pornographic.

Driven by their desire to illuminate the dark continent of black femaleness, of racial and sexual alterity, male European writers and artists constructed one of the predominant narratives around the Harem and Black Venus. The Black Venus became the embodiment of the most archaic, secretive and untamable dives of nature, making her both the "the epitome of the collective unconscious fantasy and equally of the primordial fear of the Other" (Ponzanesi, 2005, p. 165). In fact the image of the 'black Venus' turned into a forceful trope for the racialized and sexualized relationship between the colonizer and the colonized. More precisely this meant that the female exotic body was constructed as the infantile, irrational 'other' with an animalistic sexuality. The physical examination of the colonized body revealed enlarged buttocks and elongated vaginas which, as argued, were evidence for a primitive and abnormal sexual appetite. As a consequence, the discourse manifested "that primitive genitalia mirrored their primitive sexual appetite, transforming black women into a pathologized, deviant and degraded object" (ibid.). Indeed, "the appropriation and subjugation of the female exotic body was sustained by a meticulously constructed racial grammar in

which the Other was represented as infantile, irrational and prey to primordial sexual lust, and consequently as mysterious and inherently subversive” (Ponzanesi, 2005, p. 167).

Postcolonial critiques establish that the colonial discourse objectified and commodified native women. The harem fantasy, that highlighted the native women’s putatively excessive carnal and promiscuous nature, rendered colonial women “part of the goods of the Empire, the living reward that white men could, if they wish to, reap. They were there to be used sexually” (Hasan, 2005, p. 29). Colonized women’s sexuality was thus represented in racialized gender stereotypes, seeing them as sexual creates. The colonizer saw the colonized women’s sexual nature as less controlled than that of good white women. In colonial literature it was established that in eastern brothels all sexual desires could be gratified (Hasan, 2005). Consequently, the peacekeepers whose trainings base themselves on racialized and sexualized language and traditions are acting in accordance with these understandings.

This chapter elucidated how apart from the ramifications of the militarized masculinity traits of peacekeepers, the colonial fantasy of the native women whose sexual exploitation is part of the conquering endeavor is imperative to explore. It gives us insight into the motivation and justification of the sexual exploitation of girls and women. It has also introduced us to the notion that peacekeeping missions might be inherently motivated by colonialist narratives. The following Chapter will provide an exploration of this idea.

Chapter 3

In 1993 the international community was outraged by the pictures circulating in the media. On 4th March 1993, two Somalis were shot in the back by Canadian soldiers, one fatally. Not even two weeks later, a Somali prisoner, sixteen year old boy was tortured to death by Canadian soldiers. The photos that leaked showed a bloodied, battered head of a black man. Two years after these incidences a videotape was obtained that showed how a black soldier is being smeared with feces spelling out the words ‘I love the KKK’, then being humiliated and tortured. In the same video we can see those peacekeepers who were charged with the death of the young Somali, shouting: ‘We haven’t killed

enough n- yet” (Razack, 2004, p. 4). The case of mostly Canadian peacekeepers who engaged in torture, rape and killing of Somali population represents only the beginning of a series of reported instances of peacekeepers’ crimes.

These instances of violence are traditionally explained with reference to the inherent violent characters of men, the particular and extraordinary circumstances of witnessing war and conflict or simply the act of a “few bad apples”. These explanations however naturalize violence and essentialize accounts of masculinity. As the previous section revealed the sexual misconduct by peacekeepers is also motivated by a post-colonial narrative that portrays the local girls and women as easily accessible and inherent to the conquering mission. Indeed, when examining further scandals peacekeepers have been associated with it becomes obvious that some of the crimes committed are intrinsically racist. This chapter will investigate how the peacekeepers have been involved in violent acts motivated by racism. This analysis will establish how, in order for us to be able make sense of the misbehavior of peacekeepers we have to situate peacekeeping in the larger framework of a new world order that is reminiscent of colonialism and the mission civilisatrice. Hence, it will become evident how peacekeeping plays a vital role in maintaining and reinforcing a neo-liberal world order that is, “on the whole ... de-historicized, leaving in place an old colonial script in which the West saves helpless refugees from their fates” (Agathangelou & Ling, 2009, p. 58). So, despite the fact that peacekeeping might be a crucial service provided by international agencies such as the UN and NATO in ceasing violence at least temporarily and aiding to establish structures and rights in a post-conflict country, I will argue that it operates within a context of neo-liberal power and capital. This context in fact, as Agathangelou and Ling argue, draws upon and mirrors traditions of colonialism and thus reinforces unequal treatments of race, gender, class and culture.

Power inherent in peacekeeping

Throughout its establishment peacekeeping missions have been primarily deployed in countries of Africa, Asia, Middle East and Latin America. These countries that received peacekeeping missions are predominantly defined by what they are lacking, namely centralized democratically elected governments, market economies and institutions associated with Western forms of governance. Therefore, they are not “normal states”. They are understood as being different from “us” but, thankfully, “we” can be reassured

that the kinds of irrational barbarism currently defining “their” lives will never come to define “ours” (Whitworth, 2004, p. 39). As Roxanne Lynn Doty puts it the global South has been in a process of negation in which the regions of the third world are constructed as “blank spaces” that are awaiting to be filled with “such things as civilization, progress, modernization and democracy” (ibid.).

Already the way in which peacekeeping missions are decided is an act of power. A peacekeeping mandate is set in motion by a Security Council Resolution. Due to the diplomatic nature of the Resolutions the mandates are often too ambiguously formulated, leaving much room for interpretation. Consequently, mandates establish the authority of the UN to create peacekeeping missions and with that restore “law and order, normalcy, democracy and economic restructuring” (Whitworth, 2005, p. 97). Simultaneously, these mandates also identify who is to be saved and who is not. Indeed, the use of terms such as order and normalcy convey powerful messages because they imply that they – namely Western style economic and political institutionalism - are the ultimate aim and that they have to be conveyed and restored. Romeo Dallaire goes even further in claiming that the missions establish that some people’s lives are more important than others. Ultimately, mandates define “the “subjects” of peacekeeping both in terms of who delivers it (the UN) and what is to be accomplished” (Whitworth, 2004, p. 34).

Racism in peacekeeping

What the Somalia Affair and those similar to it have to teach us is that the dehumanization of others is more easily accomplished when we understand those others to be different. Not a few peacekeepers have admitted to have developed negative feelings towards the local population.

“I never saw a starving Somali. I never saw a grateful Somali”; “We were sent to help them, and they did nothing to help us”. Soldiers from the mission in Somalia recollect fellow soldiers saying that Somalia should “be used as a nuclear dump, its worthless” or “[...] tar monkeys, why should we help them? If they haven’t improved in the last thousand years they won’t improve now. They’re so backwards, why bother” (Whitworth, 2005, p. 102).

Another peacekeeper reported that “violence is a part of their culture and a language they understand” (ibid.). The racist comments were accompanied with notions of homophobic hatred: “Everybody is gay here. Somali men wear sarongs, they hold hands with one another”. “Real men wear pants and stand to urinate and they certainly don’t hold hands” a peacekeeper notes. These statements are evidence for the fact that the dichotomous relationship of protector/colonizer and victim/colonized is inherent to peacekeeping and that the feeling of being men of superior morality is already established before the peacekeepers leave to their countries of deployment. When the peacekeepers are in the receiving countries they “draw...on and sustain...a national mythology in which bodies of color are imagined as outside the nation and white men become the normative citizens” (Agathangelou & Ling, 2003, p. 64). Moreover, for some peacekeepers “race is a form of pleasure in one’s body that is articulated by and through humiliation of the Other” (ibid.). These attitudes towards the local population are previously ingrained in the peacekeepers and these feelings are likely to intensify once they are deployed. The idea of the civilized North and the barbaric South that need disciplining is ingrained in their militaristic training (Darby, 2009). This uncivilized world they are deployed in does not have the same legal and moral order as the countries of the peacekeepers and conversations with the local population manifest that they were made very aware of the subordinate legal, moral and racial status (Agathangelou & Ling, 2009).

For Razack (2004) the brutal behavior of the peacekeepers does not come as a surprise. It is just logical that when being subjected to the inferior “third world” peacekeepers are going to represent their superiority they have taught to live by. Peacekeeping violence, because it is transformed into a story of Northern goodness and heroism tells a great deal about how violence directed against bodies of color becomes normalized – almost as a necessary part of the civilizing process. These missions, according to Razack are opportunities to prove the national manhood that is achieved through violence that ultimately establishes their individual as well as the potency of their nations.

The incidences in Somalia also manifest how the tasks of peacekeepers, namely to protect the people from the “internal evil that threatens them” (Razack, 2004, p. 17) results in peacekeepers sometimes descending into savagery themselves. Ironically,

their racial superiority is confirmed through the encounter with Africa and Africans who turn out to represent savagery – a savagery that ultimately confirm the civility of the peacekeepers. In line with this thinking is the idea, as portrayed in colonial novels of Africa, that the landscape represents “the evil of Africa herself rather than the inherent brutality of imperialism, a hell [...] in which few men can be saints” (p. 59). In fact, she argues that “Africa and Africans drive Europeans beyond the boundaries of civility” (p. 55). Referring to Joseph Conrad’s book *Heart of Darkness* in which a white man in the Congo loses his bearings and himself in the savagery of the Dark Continent she asserts that the very fact that peacekeepers partake in violence enables that soldiers imagine themselves as the civilizing men who, through required violence, bring order to the country. Thus, she clearly characterizes the incidences of violence and sexual exploitation as colonial violence that serve to establish the nations of the global North as the superior powers. So oddly enough although black men are considered to be barbaric the white peacekeepers “must roast Black children over an open flame to convince themselves that they are indeed in control” (p. 61).

“Men who understand their role as bringing order and civilization to Africans, and who view themselves as confronted with ungrateful and thieving natives, will resort to violence to conquer their own fear and to convince themselves that they are indeed men in control, successfully defending the values of their nation” (p. 91).

The new and old world order

However, taking the conditions of military training and life that valorize racist and homophobic behavior as the sole explanation for the violent incidences in peacekeeping deployment would “miss how white men and states secure their power and just how much violence it takes to do so” (Razack, 2004, p. 56). Consequently, it is equally significant to show how their activities are done in the name of a broader notion of racial superiority.

It is important to realize that – at latest - the war on terror has made us aware of the racial underpinnings of the new world order. Struggles such as the war against terror, fighting against the “axis of evil” follow a racial logic. Analyzing the role of racism in the new world order, Razack (2004) concludes that peacekeeping has to be situated in the larger framework of a world that is so clearly divided into good and evil. Arguably,

peacekeeping is comprised of the same kind of logic that characterized nineteenth-century colonial projects that referred to the obligations of the first world to bring knowledge and experience about democracy to the so-called developing world. Sketching out the logic of these peacekeeping missions gives us the sense, as Roland Paris (2002) puts it, that they are an “updated version of the mission civilisatrice, the colonial-era notion that the advanced states of Europe had a moral responsibility to civilize the indigenous societies that they were colonizing” (p. 651). The author claims that peacekeeping plays an essential role in mythologies of the New World Order. Indeed, the color line that structures peacekeeping is that of the white civilized nations standing on one side and the uncivilized others standing on the opposite one. Consequently, Agathengolou and Ling (2009) clearly label peacekeeping to be a neocolonial endeavor. They even go as far as to claim that peacekeeping as a mechanism has been installed to keep peace for the neoliberal imperium which involves the configuration of identities and social relations accordingly. Razack (2004) utters that peacekeeping is “Rudyard Kipling’s white man’s burden, barely transformed from its nineteenth century origins in colonialism, when it provided moral sanction for waging savage wars of peace” (p. 4). Indeed, the narratives still dominating international and national politics is that of civilized first world people educating and disciplining uncivilized third world peoples. This construction of good and evil are enacted globally and are powerful tools to construct our every-day lives.

This division is, Razack (2004) points out, however imperative for our sense of self and belonging. She says that “we are being hailed as civilized beings who inhabit ordered democracies, citizens who are called upon to look after, instruct, or defend ourselves, against, the uncivilized Other” (p. 155). Razack argues that the acts of violence were committed in the belief that their task is to discipline the natives. In this regard, she unravels how peacekeeping violence is racial because of the fact that our sense of self is so closely tied to our imagination of the third world others. Ultimately, the acts of violence committed by the peacekeepers served to reify their own masculine and racial superiority. Those committing the atrocious crimes did it in the name of patriotism, their believed obligation and duty to discipline the Native. Dividing the world into good and evil fundamentally gives us a sense of self and belonging – we however like to forget that this division is profoundly racially structured. To put it differently, peacekeeping is intrinsically linked to our sense of self, which in the end we come to

know through the color line. Razack (2004) claims that our sense of self is so deep that “it becomes inconceivable to imagine that Third World Other have any sort of personhood” (p. 9). In fact, we do not see the role of race. “Race is a form of bodily pleasure and legal expressions of the colorline are, similarly, sensations that people have both in and about their bodies. However, to “unmake the color line is to unmake ourselves” (p. 12). As Said described in his analysis of Orientalism, the Western self and the Oriental other are in a dichotomous relationship. We know from Hegel’s *Phenomenology of Spirit* that the “selfconsciousness exists...only I being acknowledged” (2003, p. 13). The process of self-consciousness takes place at the expense of the other because the moment the self becomes conscious of itself, the other is negated and destroyed. The master and slave may both come to see and feel themselves through the law that defines commands and is their expression of their situation (Villet, 2011).

On top of that, this means that the violence is done “in our name and whether we participate directly in it, observe it, condone it, or simply fail to name it for what it is, we are each accountable” (Razack, 2004, p. 57). It is truly disturbing that those who advocate for war and those who advocate for humanitarian intervention can essentially sound the same. For instance George W. Bush’s war on terror and plea against the dark threat is embedded in the language of peacekeeping and humanitarian aid. In his speeches we can witness how fighting for peace, establishing peace through war is a universal and timeless act out of the shared belief in the humanity of all peoples. This fantasy of our moral superiority prohibits us to even begin to think about the humanity of the Other. Paradoxically, we can still believe that, as Romeo Dallaire does, “all humans are humans. There are no humans more human than others. That’s it” (p. 87) and still perceive the world as made up of those needing aid and those providing it. Problematic here is that not only do we not examine how we have contribute to their crises but that the paradigm of pity and compassion ultimately discourages respect and true belief in the personhood of Others.

Moreover, it should not be forgotten that this feeling of superiority partly bases itself on the belief in a hierarchy of religions. The colonial narrative has always been and still is accompanied by the idea that the uncivilized backwardness of people can be explained with their unwillingness to secularize. On the other hand, feelings of superiority also stems from the belief in the superiority of Christianity over Islam. Both aspects are crucial to take into account but due to the scope of this research this aspect

cannot be explained more in depth. However, it surely remains an aspect that requires further research.

This chapter has examined that peacekeeping forces are a complex and dangerous undertaking since they consist of men who are themselves racialized, gendered and sexualized. As consequence, they externalize the prejudices they have been subjected to. Ultimately, this analysis establishes that peacekeeping is a form of colonial violence, a violence that mimics colonial violence in its inversion between stereotypical representations and actions.

Chapter 4

“The continued lament that the UN needs to contribute greater resources for gender mainstreaming, to add women into decision-making positions, and to produce yet more studies to illustrate how existing UN practices can be “gendered” is missing the point. The practices of the Un were already gendered, and in failing to recognize this – and attempt simply to “fit in” to prevailing practices – more critical interventions are foreclosed”.

(Whitworth, 2004, p. 139)

Having scrutinized how and why peacekeepers commit crimes I will now turn to investigating what role UNSCR 1325 has in regards to improving peacekeeping missions. Resolution 1325 which was passed by the UN Security Council in 2000 covers a variety of issues. It emphasizes the need to protect women during conflict, the inclusion of women in peace processes, gender mainstreaming in peace operations as well as in the UN system. Its preamble reaffirms “the important role of women in the prevention and resolution of conflicts and in peace-building” and goes on to emphasize “the importance of their equal participation and full involvement in all efforts for the maintenance and promotion of peace and security, and the need to increase their role in decision-making with regard to conflict prevention and resolution” (UN, 2000). This is a landmark step in raising awareness about the impact armed conflict have on women and girls as well as acknowledging the crucial role women can play in conflict resolution and peacebuilding. UNSCR 1325 makes the case for the protection and participation of women by stressing how conflict has a different effect on men and women as well as emphasizing that

women have a positive role to play in peacebuilding and peacekeeping (Tickner. 2001). Consequently, this resolution has impacted the peacekeeping functions of the UN.

Despite the message UNSCR 1325 has sent to the international community, the transformative potential of the Resolution, especially on peacekeeping operations has been called into question. First, it has been criticized that the language of the Resolution itself is of essentialist nature. When referring to gender the Resolution refers to women only and not to both genders. Secondly, the fact that the Resolution calls for the inclusion of women is based on the idea that women are inherently more peaceful than man and can hence contribute differently and better to peacekeeping and peacemaking processes. This notion maintains the dichotomous image of men and women, characterizing the former as violent and the latter as peaceful. Consequently, the dominant UN and international affairs discourses contribute to categorizing men as a homogenous group whose natural instincts, namely violence and aggression, are controllable through the presence of women. The criticism put forward is that the UN discourse on women, peace and security is part of enacting certain forms of femininities and masculinities (Otto, 2010). Simultaneously, women are considered “mothers, victims of, or at risk of sexual violence” and not individuals or subjects of their own right. Thus, “if emphasis on difference is based on essentialist definitions of femininity or on the simple acceptance of the status quo, it risks reproducing predominant gender regimes rather than tackling gender disparities” (Purkarthofer, 2006, p. 6). As Vayrynen (2004) puts it “the UN discourse produces neoliberal modes of masculinity and femininity where the problem-solving epistemology gives priority to the ‘Rationalist’ and managerialist masculinity and renders the variety of ambivalent and unsecured masculinities and femininities silent” (p. 131).

Furthermore, one of the less anticipated yet positive consequences of Resolution 1325 has been that some light has been shed on the gender dynamics inside the international peacekeeping operations themselves (Enloe, 2007). Questions about what kind of impact the international civilian aid providers and military peacekeepers were having on women’s and girls’ lives were finally being asked. So, another criticism has been that although 1325 stresses the importance of including women as more active agents in post-conflict peacekeeping and management feminist critiques such as Whitworth and Sjoberg have uttered that this project will remain doomed if the gendered discursive practices and attitudes implicit within peacekeeping are not

explored more productively. While it is important to note that due to the Resolution women's issues have reached unprecedented visibility, the resolution "has been fitted into the UN's way of doing business without transforming how that business is done" (Whitworth, 2004, p. 138).

Moreover, Enloe and Whitworth point out that gender is used to further the status quo of the UN. This means that gender is not used as a critical term but as one that promotes the prevailing practice of both militaries and the UN itself. The focus of the UN on gender leaves the politics of masculinity safely off the policy table. More precisely, this means that the fact that the UN provides more resources on developing how to mainstream gender is "a mute point because the UN has a gender culture within itself that ultimately condones militarized masculinity" (Lopes, 2013, p. 28). Cohn challenges the structures of the Resolution by adhering to the fact that "letting some women into decision-making positions seems a small price to pay for leaving the war system essentially undisturbed" (in Heathcote, 2010, p. 6). Equally, Enloe declares that the Resolution stirred outrage because it was

"feminist informed women [...] who had become outraged with what they discovered was happening to diverse women and girls in war-torn societies and who then channeled – not diluted – their outrage into strategically savvy lobbying of UN and state officials that produced the sophisticated thinking behind each clause in 1325 (2010, p. 307).

Moreover, since the Security Council is empowered under Chapter VI and VII it can authorize measures of force which some feminists argue is inherently contradictory to feminist aims such as disarmament and non-violence. A further controversial aspect has been that the sexual exploitation of women and girls is addressed as consequences of armed conflict rather than an intrinsic element of military structures (Heathcote, 2010). "In fact, the structure of the Security Council Resolution proposes military actors and military action as the answer, rather than the cause of women's vulnerability during armed conflict" (p. 15). So, although SC Resolutions have established specific gender units that should bring the gender perspective to peacekeeping operations, Otto (2010) vehemently criticizes these feminists as confirming to the institutional structures. This

so-called Governance Feminism explains how feminists have become installed in legal institutional power (Otto, 2010; Tryggestad, 2009).

What has been established here is that essentially the Resolution leaves the enforcement powers of the Security Council in place and with it ensures the maintenance of the UNs' structure of violence. Consequently, it can be argued that the Resolution does not address how militarized masculinities reproduce war and to what extent it is responsible for sexual violence, neither is it discussed how, in the perpetration of such crimes, racism intersects with sexism (Purkarthofer, 2006). Indeed, the resolution hardly addresses structural aspects such as gender-specific division of labor, construction of hegemonic and militarized masculinities and its consequences. The problem is that the UN should not focus on how to integrate gender in the UN discourses and activities on conflict resolution and peace operations but it should be asked how the UN discourse itself produces certain typed of femininities and masculinities that are hegemonic (Vayrynen, 2004).

However, despite my critique, a few positive results of the Resolution are worth mentioning. The positive impact of the Resolution has been that first of all, there is a new language that views women as subjects of international security. Secondly, while the Resolution has sparked immense criticism on an academic level, the Resolution has been the fundament for the development of policies and programs that have provided adequate funding and support to civil society and national action plans. So fundamentally, it has provided tools and methods for the empowerment and support of women on the ground. While I firmly believe that for peacekeeping missions to have a more desirable impact on their countries of deployment structural changes within the UN are needed, the efforts of the feminists behind 1325 should not be disregarded. Otto (2010) points out that "these processes are creating productive footholds for feminist ideas" (p. 105) that can be sites where feminist dialogues can be shaped and re-engaged with.

"Clearly, feminist ideas can gain institutional power, whether on the coat-tails of the Bush Administration's anti-trafficking agenda, President Obama's new agenda for women, or the Security Council's need to reassure critics of its gender legitimacy. However, while the content of feminist ideas is reshaped to serve the institution in the

processes of institutionalization, it is unduly pessimistic to describe this as creating 'new forms of exile' for feminism" (ibid.).

Rather, we should think of these processes as creating productive footholds for feminist ideas, which need to be critically engaged with and re-appropriated for the political purposes of feminism, while also celebrating them cautiously as feminist achievements.

What does this mean with regards to my concrete suggestions for peacekeeping missions? I believe that without doubt, it has become evident that there is no quick fix to the problems of peacekeeping. The attempts to improve the workings of peacekeeping missions range from introducing trainings on gender and cultural sensitivity, courses to mediation and antiracist trainings. While these efforts should not be discarded completely, they do little to institutionally reorganize peacekeeping. Thus, the UN as a framework has to be reformed in a way that it productively addresses the fact that militarized masculinities and the racial division of the world remain unquestioned within the UN and more importantly, that the UN itself with a Resolution like 1325 maintains and perpetuates the aforementioned.

This thesis does not aim to provide concrete amendments to the Resolution itself but it provides a method that can ameliorate and facilitate the betterment of the UN in its attempt to improve the workings of peacekeeping missions. As the previous discussion has revealed there seems to be a discrepancy between those feminists criticizing the very structures of the UN and those who have adjusted themselves to fit their feminist endeavors to the workings of this institutions. In the practice of 'practicing what you preach' these feminists working on international relations and security should not define themselves with regards to their differences but their similarities. I believe their strengths should be directed towards developing a kind of academia, one that is not complicit with the constitution of the Empire. Agathangelou and Ling (2009) forcefully demonstrate how a new form of Empire serves to consolidate our new neoliberal world order that operates on an understanding of colonialism and patriarchy. Interestingly, they also point out how the "imperium cannot exercise [...] without an underlying infrastructure of intellectual complicity" (p. 47). They claim that this complicity operates to support, enhance and establish the rationalizations needed. "Linking world politics as a realm of practical politics with sources of knowledge

production and a field of academic training and education demands that we begin with this recognition of the academy's complicity" (ibid.). Without doubt, the production of specific knowledges is crucial for upholding the current structures. The House of IR is complicit with world politics and thus validates the voices, visions and actions of world maker. However, "there's another category of world makers – and their contestations and struggles already affect the academy. These world-makers are not-so recognized, often illegalized and /or at the margins" (p. 67). While this group affects world politics, IR as a discipline remains fixated on the exclusion of the voices of the 'other'. Therefore, I suggest that feminist international relations theory continues producing alternative voices of international relations and security that challenges the House of IR. Producing non-complicit academic theory by a joint feminist front will enable a critical examination of UN structures that are supporting and excusing the workings of peacekeeping missions. As I have stressed earlier in order to produce genuine change it is necessary to challenge not only the content of a particular narrative, but also its structure. In other words, it is not enough to simply add women, or even to achieve greater visibility of the ways in which gender shapes international relations, but it is important to also transform how IR produces, disseminates, and recreates knowledges. The strategy thus should be that "feminist IR challenges the discipline to develop dynamic approaches that can be constantly revised, that can adapt to evolving events and issues, and that are imaginative enough to capture subtleties that remain unnoticed in formalized models" (Wibben, 2011, p. 109). More precisely this means that feminist international relations should continue disturbing the complicit House of IR. In the end it is about continually questioning and revising our own assumptions and, as Enloe would put it, about remaining curious.

Conclusion

As Sandra Whitworth (2004) so aptly puts it, "peacekeeping is full of contradictions" (p. 4). This fact makes it relevant to investigate this topic in the first place. Why? Fundamentally, it is about meaning: meanings about peace, security, peacekeeping, masculinities and militaries. Since these themes do not affect "us" directly, one tends to be hesitant to engage in a critical inquiry about them. However, these contestations over meanings matter "and they matter not only to those who wage and sustain them, but

they matter also to most of the rest of us who are left to live with the consequences” (Whitworth, 2004, p. 1). The contradictions of peacekeeping become apparent also when talking to those directly affected by their presence. Whitworth states that in her conversations with for instance Cambodian women they on the hand had wished the UN had done a better job, “had been smarter and more thoughtful before they arrived” (ibid.) but on the other hand, they all - even the most critical ones - agreed that many aspects of their lives have improved since the deployment of the missions.

Importantly, this thesis does not claim to provide an exhausted analysis of how and why peacekeeping is such a controversial undertaking. It has to also be acknowledged that factors such as the psychological challenges that peacekeepers undergo have not been analyzed. By the same token, this topic can also create debates about the agency of individuals arguing that an inherent morality of each human being could prohibit these soldiers from committing horrendous acts. I also want to stress, that the tasks these mostly young men fulfill have to be admired and appreciated. They indeed constitute a minority of people who are willing to wear the ‘blue helmet’.

To sum up, the purpose of this thesis has been to unravel how and why peacekeepers are involved in crimes against the local communities as well as discussing what role UNSCR 1325 plays in addressing peacekeeping. Ultimately, this thesis has identified the following: Firstly, I discussed how the sexual exploitation of local girls and women by peacekeepers can be explained with reference to the militaristic training soldiers are exposed to, in which a militarized masculinity that perpetuates misogynistic attitudes is constructed. Secondly, I have established how this militaristic training is sending a message about the fantasy of the exotic other that can be sexually exploited and how this strengthens the environment in which sexual misconduct is tolerated. Thirdly, by taking the latter notion further and exploring other scandals peacekeepers have been associated with I elucidated the role of race and racism in peacekeeping missions. This under-researched aspect of peacekeeping turns out to be the larger framework peacekeeping missions operate under. Peacekeepers existence is part of a new global world order that maintains a neo-colonial system. Subsequently, I showed how peacekeeping is involved in the production of our Western selves which explains the resistance towards unraveling the problems of peacekeeping. Finally, having explored peacekeeping missions theoretically I turned towards discussing the role of UNSCR 1325 with regards to its success in improving peacekeeping missions. On the one

hand, I showed how the Resolution itself maintains the structures that enable the very horrors I described previously. On the other hand, I proposed that for producing a less harmful UN Resolution we need a less complicit production of knowledge within the House of IR.

Ultimately, this research showed why and how feminist analysis urgently needs to shift the focus towards the way peacekeeping is sometimes implicated in the very horrors and violence it seeks to address. It is crucial to understand peacekeeping in terms of its role in the production of meanings as opposed to simply seeing it as a series of operations or events. Investigating these meanings will give us a better understanding of the reasons why peacekeeping has been so narrowly construed and why efforts to engage with it have been so vehemently opposed. Peacekeeping is intrinsically involved in the production of meanings around the UN, militaries and “us” and “them” which makes the resistance unraveling them understandable. “Being democratic, freedom-loving and humanitarian have been important constitutive elements in the construction of the Western self”. Since peacekeeping has clearly developed into a site through which the Western self is constituted, engaging critically with it means disrupting not only the silences accorded feminist questions around peacekeeping but also a series of taken-for-granted assumptions and meanings that are being constituted through peacekeeping and its associated narratives (Whitworth 2004, p. 25).

After having sketched out the horrible ways that peacekeeping can go wrong, it might be most tempting to say that staying at home avoids many mistakes that have proven to be made. Staying at home at moments of crises, is however, truly immoral. The question should not be *if* “we” go, but how we can make sure to keep critically reflecting upon *how* we go. It is imperative to remind us that peacekeepers ultimately are representatives of the UN, the most influential organ of international relations and leader of the struggle for respect of human rights worldwide. Peacekeepers hence should be the guardians of these rights and the carriers of the message of “never again”. As history has shown, the dehumanization of the Other is accompanied by a profound belief in our own superiority. We may not “be able to give up these patriotic and exclusionary impulses altogether, but we can learn to love a land instead of just patrolling a territory” as Roy poetically insists (in Razack, 2004, p. 14). What is required is that we “divest ourselves of the fantasy of the white man and his burden [...] and begin

to acknowledge how we are implicated in the crises of our time. Only then can peacekeeping transcend the racial scripts in which it is so deeply mired” (ibid.).

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