

# CHAPTER 06

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## KEEPING THE PEACE IN AN INCREASINGLY MILITARIZED WORLD

+ “Time should come, when we don’t really need to refer to resolution 1325, because we have fully mainstreamed the role of women in peacekeeping and peacebuilding, and it will just be a natural phenomenon.”

**Netumbo Nandi-Ndaitwah**, Namibia Minister of Foreign Affairs, UN Women Video Interview, 2015

# HIGHLIGHTS FROM THE RESOLUTIONS

## + Resolution 1325

*Expresses its willingness to incorporate a gender perspective into peacekeeping operations, and urges the Secretary-General to ensure that, where appropriate, field operations include a gender component*

2000

2009

## + Resolution 1888

*Requests the Secretary-General to continue and strengthen efforts to implement the policy of zero tolerance of sexual exploitation and abuse in United Nations peacekeeping operations; and urges troop and police contributing countries to take appropriate preventative action, including predeployment and in-theater awareness training, and other action to ensure full accountability in cases of such conduct involving their personnel*

## + Resolution 2106

*Recognizes the role of United Nations peacekeeping contingents in preventing sexual violence, and, in this respect, calls for all predeployment and in-mission training of troop- and police-contributing country contingents to include training on sexual and gender-based violence, which also takes into account the distinct needs of children*



2013

When women activists first brought issues of concern to international multilateral fora in the 1920s, they were issues of peace that contained a strong voice against militarization. The world had seen a war that inflicted such mass scale devastation and destruction that for the first time, there were concerted international efforts to ensure ‘never again.’ With roots in peace movements and anti-militarization campaigns, women’s active role on the international stage has always been firm about linking women’s rights to peace and peacebuilding. As the world continues to experience protracted and deepening cycles of conflict, the lessons learned from concerted activism over two centuries should be brought to the fore.

At its core, the movement that pushed for the adoption of resolution 1325 in 2000 wanted the same thing as the founders of the United Nations and the writers of its Charter in 1945: less war and greater investments in human welfare, rather than in armaments. The most powerful force driving the advocates for a resolution on women, peace and security—inspired by the century-old feminist and pacifist movements—was the link between gender equality and peace.

Fifteen years after the adoption of resolution 1325, it is clear that the global community has neither achieved gender equality, nor found and sustained peace. On the contrary, we seem to be moving in the opposite direction—away from key elements agreed in the Beijing Platform for Action at the Fourth World Conference for Women in 1995, including commitments to reduce excessive military expenditures, control the availability of armaments, promote nonviolent forms of conflict resolution, and foster a culture of peace.

In recent times, armed conflicts have proliferated at a faster pace than our ability to tackle them effectively. This proliferation has taken place in a context of increased militarization, reflected both in the steady growth of military budgets as well as the frequent use of military force to settle disputes. In

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+ “We must review and redefine the role, purpose and culture of the military in today’s context.”

Participant at the Asia-Pacific regional civil society consultation for the Global Study

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2000, global military spending was already estimated above one trillion dollars.<sup>1</sup> Since then, annual military expenditures have increased by approximately 60 per cent,<sup>2</sup> or the equivalent of 2500 years of expenditure by international disarmament and non-proliferation organizations.<sup>3</sup> In addition to unilateral military operations, there is now an expanding list of military deployments supported by the UN and regional organizations, such as NATO, the European Union, the African Union and the Arab League.

The UN’s peacekeeping budget has more than tripled in the last fifteen years, and while the number of civilian staff in peacekeeping missions has grown by more than 50 per cent,<sup>4</sup> the numbers of uniformed personnel have tripled from 34,000 in 2000 to 106,000 in 2015. Missions now last three times longer than their predecessors.<sup>5</sup> In 2015, the Department of Peacekeeping Operations and the Department of Field Support managed 16 peacekeeping missions, the UN’s support to the African Union’s mission in Somalia, and a record number of authorized personnel. Recent mandates and policies have acknowledged that peacekeepers must be ready to

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*Since then, annual military expenditures have increased by approximately 60 per cent.*

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use force, including proactively, to protect civilians,<sup>6</sup> a task made more challenging by the reality that these missions are increasingly deployed in volatile, insecure environments where there is little or no peace to keep.

This Study emphasizes throughout the need for demilitarization and the development of effective strategies for prevention of conflict and nonviolent protection of civilians. This is one of the key messages and conclusions that emerged strongly from the global consultations and deliberations. However, it cannot be denied that military forces, both national and international, along with armed groups will continue to play a major role in the peace and security agenda of the United Nations. This necessarily raises the question of women's participation in the military. Although there is some debate as to whether the women, peace and security (WPS) agenda—which has its roots in the pacifist, anti-militarist struggle—should include this issue within its goals and advocacy, there is no doubt that women's presence raises awareness of women's issues in theaters of action, helps prevent sexual exploitation and abuse of the local population, and improves operational effectiveness.<sup>7</sup> Furthermore, a commitment to equality under CEDAW requires that women be given the same employment opportunities as men, including within military structures.

Since 2000, national militaries and the partners that work with them on women, peace and security have made efforts to improve the gender balance of military forces, from rank-and-file soldiers to senior officers and leaders; to make sure that gender issues are taken into account in the design, planning, conduct and evaluation of peace operations; to eliminate sexual exploitation, abuse or harassment committed by their own forces, and prevent or respond to conflict-related sexual violence and other human rights violations in the communities where they operate. While some progress is evident, much of it has been through incremental and sometimes ad-hoc measures that have yet to transform military structures and mindsets, or reverse the trend towards higher military budgets and excessive reliance on military solutions (discussed in greater detail in Chapter 8: *Preventing Conflict*).

Ultimately, for advocates of sustainable peace and security interlinked with development and human rights, the value of the women, peace and security agenda is its potential for transformation, rather than greater representation of women in existing paradigms of militarized response.

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## FOCUS ON

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### The report of the High-Level Independent Panel on United Nations Peace Operations: Increasing the number of women peacekeepers

The High-Level Independent Panel on United Nations Peace Operations noted in its report both the importance of increasing the numbers of women in UN peacekeeping missions, as well as doing so through measures such as financial incentives:

*“Recent peacekeeping experience confirms that uniformed female personnel play a vital role in reaching out and gaining the trust of women and girls within local communities, understanding and detecting their unique protection needs and*

*tailoring the responses of peace operations. [...] Troop- and police-contributing countries should implement their national action plans on Security Council resolution 1325 (2000) or develop such plans, and redouble efforts to increase the number of women serving in the national security sector. The Secretariat should develop a gender-sensitive force and police generation strategy to address the recruitment, retention and advancement of female uniformed personnel, **including by exploring such incentives as reimbursement premiums.**”<sup>8</sup>*

## FOCUS ON

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### New technologies in an increasingly militarized world - Drones

As nations work to enhance and protect military capabilities in a new era marked by global counterterrorist campaigns, sophisticated weapons technology has redefined the scope of the battlefield and blurred the line between weapon and warrior.<sup>9</sup> Today, military members stationed in one part of the world can use an unmanned combat aerial vehicle, commonly known as a drone, to attack a target many countries away. The continuous presence of drones hovering over communities has been linked to increased levels of psychosocial trauma,<sup>10</sup> with some women reporting to have miscarried from the sound and fear of nearby strikes.<sup>11</sup> Evidence that drones have killed humanitarian aid workers has discouraged rescuers from assisting victims, while fear of being perceived as a threat to drone operators has prevented civilians from participating in community gatherings, including funerals,<sup>12</sup> and fear of attack has

led to families withdrawing their children from school.<sup>13</sup> Drones’ presupposed accuracy means that mistakenly targeted civilians and their families are harmed further by stigma from community members, who may assume that such individuals and their families are affiliated with militant activity.<sup>14</sup>

While there has been considerable debate on the use of drones, including their impact on communities, effectiveness as modern weapons and status under international law, less has been said about their gendered impact. Recent analysis has begun highlighting these dimensions, noting that the impact of drone strikes on civilian populations has been highly sex-specific, targeting men disproportionately<sup>15</sup> and thus giving rise to an increase in female-headed households who, in a context of inequality, often struggle to support themselves.<sup>16</sup>

## WOMEN IN NATIONAL ARMED FORCES

Over the last two decades, a growing number of countries have increased the percentage of women in their armed forces. More recently, several have done so as their national military institutions adopt gender policies or sign on to national action plans on women, peace and security.<sup>17</sup> Some of the measures to increase female representation have included:<sup>18</sup>

- targeted recruitment campaigns;
- removing barriers and exclusion of women from certain categories of military personnel;
- improving and diversifying employment pathways;
- using images of female military officers in promotional and communications campaigns;
- conducting surveys and studies on recruitment and retention of women in the armed forces;
- tracking accurate data on women's representation and experiences in the military;
- changes in family policy;

- reforms addressing sexual harassment and abuse within the force; and
- changes to facilities, uniforms, and equipment.

A majority of the countries that have taken such measures are NATO countries. In 2000, only five countries within this military alliance reported specific policies and legislation for women's participation in armed forces. By 2013, these policies were in place in all 28 NATO countries.<sup>19</sup> For instance, in 2000, only six NATO countries had equal enlistment for women and men. By 2013, all NATO members offered this opportunity, although there are still certain positions in a number of countries that are closed for women, particularly in combat positions, submarines and tanks. Nevertheless, while these shifts in policy are significant, on average the representation of women has only risen very modestly from 7.4 per cent in 1999 to 10.6 per cent in 2013.

Some non-NATO countries have even higher percentages of women in their armed forces. For example, in Argentina, where measures have been adopted to recruit and retain women in all branches of the armed forces, women now make up 14.2 per cent of the Army, 16.4 per cent of the Navy, and 22.6 per cent of the Air Force, or 16.2 per cent across the entire force.<sup>20</sup> One such measure focused on allowing military women to receive support and exercise their right to sexual and reproductive health services without obstacles or delay—personnel of military hospitals that held a conscientious objection to the interruption of pregnancy were reassigned, and child care centers were opened specifically for parents who work in the security forces.<sup>21</sup> In South Africa, which has one of the highest percentages of women in the military, 34 per cent of the total armed forces are now women and they are aiming for 40 per cent. In addition, the South African National Defence Force now has several two-star generals that are women, and women are engaged in combat operations, pilot combat planes and drive tanks.<sup>22</sup>

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## FOCUS ON

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### Women in the Australian armed forces

In June 2014, at the largest summit ever convened on ending sexual violence in conflict, one of the most inspiring speeches came from a man in uniform. General David Morrison, Chief of the Australian Army, shared his experiences on the impact of diversity, in particular women's participation, in national forces:

*"I can state without hesitation that an end to sexual violence in conflict will not be achieved without fundamental reforms to how all armies recruit, retain, and employ women; and how they realize the improved military capability that is accrued through more effective gender and ethnic diversity [...]. Armies that revel in their separateness from civil society, that value the male over the female, that use their imposed values to exclude those who do not fit the particular traits of the dominant group, who celebrate the violence that is integral to my profession rather than seeking ways to contain it—they do nothing to distinguish the soldier from the brute."<sup>23</sup>*

Australia has adopted specific measures and publishes detailed annual reports on women in the Australian Defence Forces (ADF). In 2014, based on a careful examination of successful interventions in other male-dominated industries and institutions, targets were introduced stating that by 2023, 25 per cent of the Navy and the Air Force, and 15 per cent of the Army must be women.<sup>24</sup> As of June 2014, 15 per cent of the ADF total forces are women, ranging from close

to 12 per cent in the Army to above 18 per cent in the Navy and the Air Force.

Australia's specific policy measures are considerable. For example, flexible working arrangements have been introduced, along with a guide for commanders on these arrangements and a target that at all times at least two per cent of the trained force should be taking advantage of these arrangements.<sup>25</sup> The Chief of the ADF, the highest military post, has a gender advisor. Promotion boards are being diversified, and initial-minimum-period-of-service requirements for a number of categories are being reviewed. Gender restrictions have been removed from all ADF combat role employment categories. The Army has revised what it traditionally considered career path models to allow for career breaks, greater posting flexibility for primary care givers, and consideration of commensurate experience instead of traditional military career milestones. Furthermore, in all career development opportunities, the percentage of women participating must always be equal to the percentage of women in the selection pool that is being considered. For secondary schools, the Navy published a book about women at sea, with real stories from women in the Navy in order to highlight these role models to youth. The ADF has a Male Champions of Change initiative, makes extensive use of women in the army in advertising and marketing campaigns, and the Air Force became the first military organization in the world to achieve the accreditation of "Breastfeeding Friendly Workplace."



These positive measures stand in stark contrast however, to the persistent abuse and discrimination against women within national military institutions in many countries. For example, in 2013, a US Congressional Commission found that 23 per cent of US military women had experienced unwanted sexual contact since enlistment, ranging from groping to rape.<sup>26</sup> In 2015, the chief of the Indonesian armed forces reportedly defended the practice of virginity tests for all female recruits.<sup>27</sup> More often than not, military women tend to be subject to discrimination in their military careers, passed over for promotions and opportunities—including deployments in peacekeeping operations—or assigned to menial tasks that do not correspond with their training. In Pakistan, women compete for 32 spots in the Pakistan Military Academy each year, compared with the approximately 2000 spaces allotted to men.<sup>28</sup>

## **WOMEN'S PARTICIPATION IN THE MILITARY CONTINGENTS OF UN PEACEKEEPING MISSIONS**

### **Stagnant numbers of women in military peacekeeping roles**

An extremely low number of female military personnel are deployed in current peacekeeping missions.

**On average, only three per cent of the military in UN missions are women as of July 2015, and the majority of these are employed as support staff.**<sup>29</sup>

This number has not risen since 2011, and in fact, it has only risen incrementally over the past two decades—from one per cent of women peacekeepers in 1993—despite repeated calls for more women in peacekeeping since resolution 1325 was adopted in 2000.

One of the most cited reasons for this low number is that the percentage of women in the national militaries of some of the largest troop contributing countries (TCCs) is itself very low.<sup>31</sup> For example, the top three contributing countries—Bangladesh, India, and Pakistan—have few women in their armed forces.

Conversely, many of the countries that have a higher percentage of female military personnel contribute few peacekeepers to UN missions. European and North American countries with percentages of women in the military between eight and 20 per cent typically contribute more uniformed personnel and civilian staff to NATO, EU, and OSCE missions, rather than UN missions. Countries like Zimbabwe and Belarus reach 40 per cent of female representation in their deployments, but out of only 85 and five troops respectively.<sup>32</sup> There are notable exceptions to this trend: Ethiopia (2<sup>nd</sup> largest contributor, 6.3 per cent of female representation), Ghana (9<sup>th</sup> largest, 10.2 per cent), Nigeria (10<sup>th</sup> largest, 6.8 per cent), Tanzania (21<sup>st</sup> largest, 5.2 per cent), South Africa (14<sup>th</sup> largest, 15.6 per cent), and Uruguay (20<sup>th</sup> largest, 7.2 per cent) all significantly exceed the global average and deploy large numbers of peacekeepers.<sup>33</sup>

Some of the biggest TCCs are striving to improve their gender balance. In 2014, two Bangladeshi women officers became the first combat pilots in the history of that country, and the Bangladesh Air Force has launched a process to ensure that at least 20 per cent of their officers are women.<sup>34</sup> The number of women in the Rwanda Defense Forces almost tripled in ten years, and will have to increase even more to meet Rwanda's target to ensure that at least 30 per cent of their peacekeepers are women.<sup>35</sup>

More recently, some progress is also being seen in female leadership appointments. The first-ever female force commander in a UN mission, Kristin Lund from Norway, was appointed in 2014, making it also the first time that both the civilian and the military leaders of a mission—UNFICYP in Cyprus—were women. An all-time high was reached in May 2015—almost 40 per cent of peacekeeping missions are led by a woman, a historic record.<sup>36</sup>

No single source contains consistent and comprehensive data on the gender balance of military forces worldwide.<sup>37</sup> For the top contributing countries, estimates of the presence of women in the military are indicated in the table on page 141.

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The presence of women  
at the field level,  
particularly in leadership,  
encourages other women  
and girls to participate  
and lead [...].

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NGO Working Group on Women, Peace and Security,  
Statement of the Security Council at the Open Debate on  
Women, Peace and Security, 2008

**Percentage of female military personnel in armed forces, top 15 troop contributing countries to UN field missions, 2015<sup>38</sup>**

TROOP CONTRIBUTING COUNTRY	% WOMEN IN MILITARY
1 Bangladesh	3
2 Pakistan	1
3 India	4
4 Ethiopia	7
5 Rwanda	2
6 Nepal	2
7 Senegal	4
8 Ghana	17
9 Nigeria	10.5
10 Egypt	*
11 China	*
12 Indonesia	2
13 Tanzania	*
14 Morocco	3
15 South Africa	34

\* Figures not available for these troop contributing countries.

**The key role of female peacekeepers**

Women's participation in the military component of peacekeeping has been recognized as a critical factor contributing to mission success, both within the UN normative frameworks on peacekeeping and women, peace and security,<sup>39</sup> as well as by commanders on the ground themselves.<sup>40</sup> They note that women peacekeepers broaden the range of skills and capacities among all categories of personnel, enhance

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*Not a single female peacekeeper has ever been accused of sexual exploitation and abuse on mission.*

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the operational effectiveness of all tasks, and improve the mission's image, accessibility and credibility vis-à-vis the local population. Women peacekeepers also improve targeted outreach to women in host communities. This is crucial for various reasons, including capitalizing on women's familiarity with local protection strategies that affect women, and on their capacity to provide early warning, which is described in detail in Chapter 8: *Preventing Conflict*. It also bears noting that not a single female peacekeeper has ever been accused of sexual exploitation and abuse on mission.

Female military officers are in great demand for mixed staff protection teams and investigation teams looking into incidents involving female victims or witnesses. They drive strong civil-military coordination, and together with civilian and police counterparts, can more effectively reach out to and interact with civilians in the host country, as they appear less threatening and more accessible to affected populations.<sup>41</sup>

In addition, although women's professional competence extends beyond these areas, commanders have noted that female military officers have a special comparative advantage in house and body searches, interacting with survivors of gender-based violence, working in women's prisons and screening women in disarmament and demobilization sites.

**Boosting women's participation as military peacekeepers**

Both the UN Secretary-General and the Department of Peacekeeping Operations, through the Office of the Military Affairs Advisor, have encouraged TCCs to deploy more women—at least the same percentage of women as is found in their national armed forces. The Office of Military Affairs has appointed a full time military gender advisor with rank of Colonel based at headquarters, and has initiated the establishment of the Female Military Peacekeepers Network (FMPKN) to create a space of mutual support, mentoring, training and advocacy for UN female military staff.<sup>43</sup> UN Women has recently begun conducting two-week

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+ “In the field, I’ve always been the one called upon to work with local women—they trusted me more.”

**Major Khadessa Sy** of the Senegalese Army, who has served on UN peacekeeping missions in the Democratic Republic of Congo and Liberia<sup>42</sup>

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courses exclusively for female military officers, as part of a professional development opportunity that hopes to increase the deployment of women in peacekeeping operations. Similarly, Security Council mission authorization mandates have frequently called on States to consider women’s representation in their troop contributions. These recommendations are not enforced however, and there is no mechanism in place to induce compliance.

### Investing in women’s participation

In examining ways to increase women’s participation, the option of financial incentives has rarely been put forth. Recent recommendations from the Special Advisory Group on Reimbursement Rates for Peacekeeping Troops and the Secretary-General have included a *risk premium* (for individuals in units operating without restrictions and assuming exceptional levels of risk), a *'key enabling capacities' premium* (for those contingents deploying key enablers and force multipliers, always in high demand and short supply), and a *readiness premium* (adding a one-time extra pay if the trained personnel and equipment were ready in a very short amount of time, as an incentive to improve pre-deployment training and overall readiness).

Member States should consider adopting a gender-balance premium, defined along a certain set of criteria: percentage of women in the contingent, their rank and function, the specialized training on gender issues that the contingent has undergone, including pre-deployment training on conflict-related sexual violence, and in compliance with the existing Policy on Human Rights Screening of United Nations Personnel.<sup>44</sup> This is a recommendation echoed in the report of the High-Level Independent Panel on United Nations Peace Operations. It would need to be linked closely to force generation, which suggests which countries to approach for pledges and which pledges to accept. Another option for Member States to consider is the offering of in-kind benefits. Both types of benefits would be incentives tied to measurable increases of women in their military deployments.<sup>45</sup>

Similarly, peacekeeping budgets should allocate sufficient funds to better accommodate greater numbers of women among military contingents through necessary changes in mission facilities and life. This could include special family or leave arrangements for women,<sup>46</sup> adequate and appropriate mission facilities for women—from accommodation quarters and sanitary facilities to welfare and recreational spaces and activities, special medical and gynecological care, gender-specific uniforms or body armor;<sup>47</sup> and investments in the internal safety of the compound, among others. **These investments could be furthered immeasurably by adopting as standard practice gender-budgetary analysis in the development of peace operations budgets. This would allow for more robust data on how expenditure impacts the gender-sensitivity of missions and facilitates greater numbers of women’s participation.**

### WOMEN’S PARTICIPATION IN THE POLICE COMPONENT OF UN PEACEKEEPING MISSIONS

In 2000, when resolution 1325 was adopted, Lyn Holland became the first American woman to serve in a policing capacity in a peacekeeping mission when she joined the mission in Kosovo to assist victims of

rape. Also in Kosovo, Shahzadi Gulfam, the first Pakistani policewoman to be deployed to a peacekeeping mission, was helping to recruit women to the Kosovo Police Service.<sup>48</sup> In more recent times, the all-female Formed Police Unit from India, first deployed in Liberia in 2007 and subsequently emulated by Bangladesh<sup>49</sup> and other countries, has been celebrated as contributing to better outreach to women in communities. They have also been credited with inspiring Liberian women to join the police force, whose female representation grew from 13 to 21 per cent in five years.<sup>50</sup> In Haiti, Norwegian, Canadian, and Francophone African policewomen have been training, mentoring and accompanying the Haitian National Police to respond to cases of domestic violence and sexual abuse.<sup>51</sup> In Norway, 35 per cent of police officers serving in international peace operations have been female, and in 2014 four out of nine contingent leaders were women.<sup>52</sup>

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+ “What I have experienced is when local women see you are a woman, their faces light up. It’s like they get a connection. They relate.”

**Hester Paneras** of South Africa, Police Commissioner of UNAMID<sup>53</sup>

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The positive impact of having more women in the police component of missions is not limited to issues that mainly affect women. Their presence has been found to significantly lower rates of complaints of misconduct, of improper use of force, or inappropriate use of weapons, and women tend to be less authoritarian in their interactions with citizens and lower ranking officers.<sup>54</sup>

In 2009, the United Nations launched a campaign with the ambitious goal of ensuring that women make up one-fifth of all UN Police by 2014. Although the percentage of women has grown since then, the campaign has not yet met its target.<sup>55</sup> The Police Division has asked member States to deploy the same proportion of women that they already have in their national police forces, to review their recruitment policies and criteria for deployment to identify any inequalities or barriers to entry for women, and to identify whether their national criteria for recruitment to UN missions matches the UN criteria for recruitment to missions. In view of the applicable selection criteria relating to minimum years of prior national service, rank and other requirements, it would seem worthwhile to consider whether ‘preferential’ or ‘special’ measures might be adopted to increase the pool of eligible women for deployment. For example, the requirement of five years of prior national service for eligibility to be deployed as a UN civilian police officer can be prohibitive; instead, a reduced number of years (e.g., three) might be considered for women candidates for a pilot period.

The Police Division has also been giving visibility to the role of women in UN Police. They launched the international network of female police peacekeepers and an international peacekeeping award. They conduct regular mentoring and networking activities, and trainings around the world on strategies to increase women in UN Police and national police forces, and they collaborate on projects aimed at strengthening specific skills that female police need to pass the UN Selection Assistance Test. Importantly, the Police Division is also trying to address women’s specific needs for facilities including separate accommodations, and have been working to ensure that women are not segregated in missions and have equal status on the job, a serious problem that is rarely documented.

## **MAINSTREAMING GENDER IN UN PEACEKEEPING OPERATIONS**

There has been concrete progress in efforts to integrate a gender perspective into UN peacekeeping operations. In 2000, only UNMIK and UNTAET had

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+ *Almost every mandate of UN peacekeeping now includes specific provisions on women, peace and security, and almost every directive for the military and police components of missions now include specific instructions to address women's security.*

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gender advisors, and only a fifth of all peacekeeping missions had a specialized gender unit, usually comprising a sole officer freshly appointed to what was then a brand new post.<sup>56</sup> Now, all multidimensional peacekeeping missions have gender units,<sup>57</sup> and are also deploying women's protection advisors—first mandated in Security Council resolution 1888 in 2009. Almost every mandate of UN peacekeeping now includes specific provisions on women, peace and security, and almost every directive for the military and police components of missions now include specific instructions to address women's security.

In the last few years, there have been numerous gender-sensitive innovations in peace operations designed to implement commitments on human rights, the protection of civilians, and women, peace and security. These include: the establishment of monitoring, analysis and reporting arrangements (MARA) on conflict-related sexual violence; scenario-based training, prosecution support cells and mobile courts devoted to sexual and gender-based violence; a UNPOL best-practices toolkit on policing and training curriculum for UN Police on preventing and investigating sexual and gender-based violence in post-conflict settings; and special police units solely addressing gender-based violence (such as in Haiti since 2010).

'Open Days' have been organized for women's civil society groups to meet mission leadership, alongside community alert networks, joint protection teams, firewood patrols and civil-military cooperation projects involving fuel-efficient stoves and rolling water containers to spare women and girls a few dangerous trips out of camps to collect firewood or water. Gender-responsive quick impact projects have included the construction of shelters and adequate latrines and showers in camps, and the setting up of all-female formed police units.

Reports from missions in the Democratic Republic of the Congo, Haiti, and Darfur show that protection patrols within and around camps and communities of internally displaced persons, as well as escorts for women during livelihood activities, have helped deter sexual and gender-based violence. Mobile courts, legal aid and the provision of sustained capacity building and mentoring support to prosecutors, judges, judicial investigators, specialized police units and public defense services have helped increase the numbers of prosecutions and convictions for sexual violence crimes in conflict-affected settings like the Democratic Republic of Congo, Guinea, Sierra Leone or Somalia.

Unfortunately, while promising, these innovations still remain piecemeal and limited, more often pilot projects and special initiatives rather than the core business

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+ *Unfortunately, while promising, these innovations still remain piecemeal and limited, more often pilot projects and special initiatives rather than the core business of the whole operation.*

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of the whole operation. They lack consistent support from mission leadership,<sup>58</sup> representing more a tick-box obligation rather than a concrete tool to enhance the operational effectiveness of UN peacekeeping. Many of these shortcomings were highlighted by DPKO already in 2010 in their own *“Ten-Year Impact Study on the Implementation of UNSCR 1325.”*<sup>59</sup>

## Training

The growing list of training materials on gender, sexual exploitation and abuse, and on prevention and response to sexual violence are welcome, and have noticeably moved training beyond abstract concepts towards more hands-on, scenario-based learning that soldiers can relate to.<sup>60</sup> The length and periodicity of these trainings has also increased, from a forty-minute slot during induction for new arrivals in the mission—similar for all areas of mandate implementation—to specialized courses that now last a week or longer. While several Security Council resolutions have emphasized the importance of specific training in these areas,<sup>61</sup> it remains unclear whether troop contributing countries are undertaking this systematically. There is a need for a more rationalized approach in this regard, including spending less time on new training development, and more time on consistent implementation of training and building on good practice.

## Engaging women and addressing their specific needs from mission design to withdrawal

If peacekeeping missions are to respond effectively to the needs of the local population, women’s engagement and consultation in-country in the very design of missions right through to their drawdown must be prioritized. Missions should visibly and tangibly signal from the start a commitment to and respect for women’s physical integrity, a prioritization of women’s security, and an investment in women-led recovery. Unfortunately, this has not consistently been the case. As the High-level Independent Panel on United Nations Peace Operations concludes, “The

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**+** *Out of a total of 33 benchmarks adopted by these five missions, none especially referred to gender-specific issues or gender equality.*

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specific experience, rights, needs and roles of women and girls in conflict situations are often not included in preliminary analysis and assessments and thus do not feed into concrete strategies for the design of missions and the formulation of mandates.”<sup>62</sup>

Similarly, there is a need for concerted attention to gender equality and women’s empowerment in mission drawdown and withdrawal. This was stressed in the Security Council’s 2012 presidential statement,<sup>63</sup> and in the Secretary-General’s 2012 report on women, peace and security, which highlighted the “concern that mission drawdown can be associated with a drop in levels of funding and attention to gender equality commitments, and an erosion in levels of security and protection for women and girls.”<sup>64</sup>

The study of gender architecture in the field, undertaken by UN Women and partner entities for the Civilian Capacity Review in 2012,<sup>65</sup> recommended that when a peacekeeping mission and/or special political mission starts to envisage a drawdown, the gender unit and the operational planning unit need to plan for handing over relevant gender-related work to the UN country team and UN Women, while retaining in-house capacity to mainstream gender in mission plans and activities. An example of good practice in this regard was mentioned in the Secretary-General’s 2013 report on women, peace and security which highlights the joint work plan agreed to by the mission in Timor-Leste and the UN country team to gradually hand over the mission’s gender-related tasks to the country team during the drawdown period.<sup>66</sup>

In current DPKO-led missions, only MINUSTAH, UNMIL, UNMISS, UNOCI, and MINUSMA have established benchmarks to track progress or guide their decisions about reconfiguration or withdrawal. The benchmarks cover issues including security and stabilization, national dialogues and reconciliation, restoration of State authority, reform of the security sector, promotion and protection of human rights and humanitarian aid, free and fair elections, establishment of an independent and credible judicial and penal system, tangible improvements in the living conditions of the population, inclusive peace processes, sustainable development, effective disarmament and dismantling of militias, and training and capacity building of national police. Out of a total of 33 benchmarks adopted by these five missions, none especially referred to gender-specific issues or gender equality. Furthermore, each of these mission benchmarks is measured by a number of indicators. Out of 105 indicators, only five refer to gender issues, and of these most relate to sexual violence.<sup>67</sup> This implies that peacekeeping missions could complete their withdrawal without evaluating if the mission has addressed women's specific needs or the gender-specific provisions in that mission's mandate. It also suggests that missions are not adequately mainstreaming gender in their monitoring frameworks as a whole.<sup>68</sup>

Ultimately, efforts to more effectively mainstream women's participation and consultation—in mission design, implementation, and draw down—would be strengthened by a more effective use of the gender expertise and resources that already exist within the system as a whole, both across the Secretariat as well as the agencies, funds and programmes. This is echoed in relevant recommendations of both the Peace Operations and Peacebuilding Architecture reviews.<sup>69</sup> Strengthening coordination, coherence and integration as well as targeted expertise in the gender architecture of the UN is dealt with in detail in Chapter 10: *Key Actors - The United Nations*.

## SEXUAL EXPLOITATION AND ABUSE BY PEACEKEEPING PERSONNEL

Thirteen years ago, the Independent Experts' Assessment on the Impact of Armed Conflict on Women and Women's Role in Peacebuilding made references to this issue in its chapter on violence against women:

*“While the arrival of peacekeeping personnel has the obvious advantage of providing the local population with an increased sense of security, it may also have some negative repercussions. Sexual violence against women and prostitution, especially child prostitution, may increase with the influx of relatively well-off personnel in situations where local economies have been devastated and women do not have options for employment. In Kisangani and Goma in the DRC, members of local communities told us that peacekeepers were buying sex from young girls and that condoms were visibly scattered in the fields near UN compounds. A local woman told us that girls ‘just lie down in the fields for the men in full view of people as they are not allowed into the 12 camps.’ We heard similar stories in the Balkans and about conditions in Cambodia after peacekeepers arrived.”<sup>70</sup>*

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**+** *This problem has sullied the overall reputation of peacekeeping missions and profoundly embarrassed the UN.*

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Although much has been done to address the issue, and there is a markedly different awareness about it among UN personnel now as opposed to fifteen years ago, it is undeniable that this problem has sullied the overall reputation of peacekeeping missions and profoundly embarrassed the UN. While much of the work of missions remains virtually invisible to affected populations and the general public, it is the incidences of sexual exploitation and abuse that continue to grab the attention of both the international community and communities where peacekeepers are deployed. In consultations for the Global Study, women from the African continent were particularly concerned about this issue since much of peacekeeping, regional and international, takes place there. It is truly a frightening phenomenon when your protector becomes a predator. It is crucial that the UN signal a determined commitment to address this issue once and for all.

Within reporting on sexual exploitation and abuse, there is consensus on the nature of the problem and its complexities. Major points of agreement include the following:

- this issue does not only concern military personnel, and often, not even disproportionately so;
- the UN has made some, although very limited, progress in the last decade, as demonstrated by the decline in allegations and the increased responsiveness of some Member States to follow up on allegations;
- the number of allegations—a few dozen a year—nevertheless represents a small percentage of actual violations;
- while most victims are women and girls, men and boys are also affected, and the overwhelming majority do not feel safe reporting or obtaining redress;
- many allegations are not properly investigated by Member States, are considered unsubstantiated, or are resolved with very lenient disciplinary measures or criminal sentences; and
- although there is a widespread perception that sexual exploitation and abuse is mainly about field staff taking advantage of the easy availability of transactional or survival sex in violation of the UN's zero tolerance policy, almost half of all allegations relate to egregious crimes, including rape.

## FOCUS ON

### The UN's zero tolerance policy on sexual exploitation and abuse

The UN's zero tolerance policy prohibits the exchange of money, employment, goods, services and other assistance for sex; prohibits peacekeepers from engaging in sexual relations with persons under the age of 18 in any circumstances; and strongly discourages, but does not prohibit, non-transactional sexual relationships between UN personnel and local beneficiaries of assistance on the grounds that these relationships "are based on inherently unequal power dynamics" and "undermine the credibility and

integrity of the work of the United Nations."<sup>71</sup> The Secretary-General's Bulletin on special measures for protection from sexual exploitation and abuse prohibits sexual activity with children (persons under the age of 18),<sup>72</sup> and sexual relationships between UN staff and beneficiaries of assistance are "strongly discouraged."<sup>73</sup> However, the Head of Mission may use his/her discretion in applying this standard "where the beneficiaries of assistance are over the age of 18 and the circumstances of the case justify an exception."<sup>74</sup>

Where there is disagreement is on how to ensure accountability across different jurisdictions.<sup>75</sup> There is an increasingly vocal call for greater action, especially in the wake of new allegations against AU troops in Somalia and French troops in the Central African Republic, and a generally negative assessment by a team of experts commissioned by the UN to visit four missions where the problem is perceived to be widespread.<sup>76</sup>

### Ending impunity

The UN has, over the last decade, invested significant energy and resources to set up conduct and discipline units in each mission and headquarters, and has issued numerous recommendations by the Secretary-General, tasking relevant actors, including Member States as those with primary jurisdiction over their troops, to take stronger action to investigate and punish allegations and redress for victims. These include, as reiterated by the High-Level Independent Panel on United Nations Peace Operations:<sup>77</sup>

- Reporting by the Secretary-General on actions taken and not taken by individual Member States in follow up to credible allegations of sexual exploitation and abuse—explicitly naming the countries rather than only the aggregate number of allegations or responses.
- Establishing immediate response teams within missions, available to deploy in 1-2 days to collect and preserve evidence and protect the victims.
- Barring countries listed in the annexes of the Secretary-General's reports on Children and Armed Conflict, and Conflict-Related Sexual Violence from contributing troops, until de-listed.
- Revising the model memorandum of understanding with troop contributing countries to require national investigation officers within contingents and certified training of all troops on sexual exploitation and abuse.
- Completing investigations on sexual exploitation and abuse within six months - UN investigative bodies will have to report on meeting this deadline, and Member States are asked to adopt the same deadline.

- Repatriating, on the orders of the Secretary-General, individual troops, entire units, and commanders of contingents for failing to prevent and punish a pattern of abuse. The UN can also withhold service medals, payments of premiums and subsistence allowances, and suspend the corresponding reimbursement payments for the military personnel involved in an investigation.
- Applying, at the request of the Secretary-General, a range of administrative measures in respect to UN staff: withholding accumulated annual leave and repatriation grants that would normally be payable at the time of separation from the organization, placing individuals on administrative leave without pay, pending completion of investigations and disciplinary processes.

The High-Level Panel further noted that immunity for civilian staff does not apply to sexual crimes, and therefore should not be a way to obtain impunity.<sup>78</sup> Immunity from prosecution was never intended, and does not apply, to UN personnel alleged to have committed sexual exploitation and abuse. The immunity privileges are functional and relate to the exercise of official functions. The process by which the Secretary-General waives this immunity or clarifies it as non-applicable should be expedited to ensure that the conduct of any applicable legal proceedings is not delayed.

These are undoubtedly important steps, but more can be done. Countries that repeatedly fail to live up to their written assurances to investigate and prosecute their soldiers should not be allowed to contribute troops to peacekeeping missions. As recommended in the Zeid report<sup>79</sup> a decade ago and never implemented, if the UN has *prima facie* evidence of misconduct, the home country of the alleged perpetrator should be under the obligation to prosecute. If they do not, they should be obligated to provide a detailed explanation of the reasons why. As called for by non-governmental organizations in 2015,<sup>80</sup> the United Nations should empower an independent commission of inquiry to conduct a broad-based investigation on sexual exploitation and abuse and the handling of allegations by both Member States and the UN itself, including the failure to systematically

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+ *The home country of the alleged perpetrator should be under the obligation to prosecute. If they do not, they should be obligated to provide a detailed explanation of the reasons why.*

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apply many of the powers that it already has to hold individuals accountable for their actions. An Independent Review Panel was established in June 2015 to review the UN's response to the allegations of sexual exploitation and abuse by foreign military forces not under UN command in the Central African Republic, and this type of inquiry should be expanded to the overall response across the system.

While the UN should engage with States to ensure a more rigorous application of the existing legal framework in respect of criminal acts alleged to have been committed by its personnel, whether military or civilian, it should also explore new avenues to ensure accountability. Fresh consideration could be given to the proposal for an international convention under which States would undertake to investigate, prosecute and extradite alleged offenders and to render mutual legal assistance.<sup>81</sup>

Legal and academic experts have put forward the following possible options to ensure accountability in respect of serious crimes committed by UN personnel, including sexual crimes:<sup>82</sup>

(i) the establishment of hybrid courts, between the host State and the UN, which would require that the host State consents to the provision of international assistance to its domestic legal system; and

(ii) the shared exercise of jurisdiction by the host State and other States; where for example, the host State may investigate and prosecute the offence, and the State of nationality of the offender would provide the custodial facilities for any term of imprisonment.

However, the most preferable option—and one that would signal the commitment of the United Nations and Troop Contributing Countries to end this type of behavior altogether—would be the establishment of an international tribunal, created under a treaty between States, with jurisdiction to try UN staff in the field and all categories of peacekeepers.

While such a proposal would have significant resource and other implications—including changes to the current arrangements under which members of the military contingents are subject to the exclusive criminal jurisdiction of their sending States—they nevertheless are valuable contributions to the discussion on ending impunity. In the interim, depending on the context and the nature of due process in the country concerned, consideration should be given to requesting TCCs to waive the immunity of their personnel in respect of credible allegations of serious sexual crimes having been committed by them, so as to allow their prosecution by the host State authorities.

One of the most important measures to be taken to prevent sexual violence and abuse is pre-deployment training. Pre-deployment training on the prevention of sexual violence and abuse must be comprehensive and scenario-based for all troops. Commanders should also be given detailed training with added emphasis on the questions of accountability, reporting and investigation. SRSGs and Force Commanders should also get a week-long mandatory training week at headquarters on the prevention of sexual violence and abuse and other protection issues.

*"I cannot put into words how anguished, angered and ashamed I am by recurrent reports over the years of sexual exploitation and abuse by UN forces. When the United Nations deploys peacekeepers, we do so to protect the world's*

*most vulnerable people in the world's most desperate places. I will not tolerate any action that causes people to replace trust with fear. [...] I believe the disturbing number of allegations we have seen in many countries...speaks to the need to take action now. Enough is enough.*

*"I want leaders to know that they are accountable for their troops, police and civilians. They must also ensure that all receive continuous human rights education and training. I want Member States to know that I cannot do this alone. They have the ultimate responsibility to hold individual uniformed personnel to account and they must take decisive preventive and punitive action. I want perpetrators to know that if they commit a crime, we will do everything possible to pursue them and bring them to justice. I want victims to know that we will strive to uphold our institutional responsibility to safeguard their security and dignity."*

Remarks to the press by the Secretary-General on serious allegations of crimes of sexual violence by UN peacekeepers in the Central African Republic, 12 August 2015

### **Assistance to victims of sexual exploitation and abuse**

Another important dimension of this problem is the persistent lack of assistance and support for victims of abuse and exploitation. The General Assembly adopted a resolution in 2008 approving a strategy for assistance to victims—regardless of the substantiation of the substantiation of allegations—with measures including medical care, emergency shelter, food, clothes, basic necessities, legal aid, psychological counsel and assistance pursuing paternity claims.<sup>83</sup> Relevant UN entities were requested to implement the strategy in an active and coordinated manner. Seven years later, these mechanisms to assist victims are largely non-existent, and the urgency of this issue cannot be overstated.

For example, complaints channels are neither known, nor understood nor deemed safe by the community.

Further, the Secretary-General has proposed the creation of a common trust fund, but this is meant to fund prevention activities, awareness-raising and community outreach, rather than to compensate victims. Repeated calls for the creation of victims' assistance programmes have not been accompanied by the necessary resource allocations and operational guidance.

The High-Level Independent Panel on United Nations Peace Operations encourages the Secretariat to "initiate consultations with Member States, ensuring the active involvement of local communities and victims of sexual exploitation and abuse, to develop appropriate forms of compensation. Member States should also support the creation by the Secretary-General of an effective and adequately resourced victim assistance programme to support individual victims and children born as a result of sexual exploitation and abuse."<sup>84</sup> The report does not advance specific ideas, but calls for earmarking pockets of funds at the country level. That the international entities operating on the ground set money aside for this purpose—based either on the size of their field presence or the involvement of their employees in accusations—is something that could be considered and piloted.

### **PROTECTING UNARMED CIVILIANS**

The High-Level Independent Panel on United Nations Peace Operations summed up one of the main organizing principles of its 2015 report thus:

*"Lasting peace is not achieved nor sustained by military and technical engagements but through political solutions [...]. The avoidance of war rather than its resolution should be at the center of national, regional, and international effort and investment [...]. Unarmed strategies must be at the forefront of UN efforts to protect civilians."<sup>85</sup>*

The concerns associated with growing militarization square off against calls for military intervention to prevent atrocities, and against repeated criticisms leveled at UN peacekeepers for their passivity and


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“There is something very wrong with a system where the most violent [rebels] are [...] entrusted to shape the future of a population. The military institution continues to be a block to building sustainable peace since it promotes the use of violence and militarism.”

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Respondent to the CSO Survey, working at the global level in conflict areas of Asia, Middle East, North Africa

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*A repeated theme in consultations for this study was that women's leadership is a protection strategy in its own right.*

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inaction when civilians are in need of protection. Both sentiments have been prevalent in debates about peacekeeping and protection of civilians for more than two decades. However, there is ample room to reconcile both ideas by promoting and supporting non-violent protection actions, of which military actors and their police and civilian partners could make more use.

Missions are meant to implement their duty to protect civilians not only through providing direct physical protection, but also through dialogue and engagement and the establishment of a protective environment.<sup>86</sup> A repeated theme in consultations for this Study was that women's leadership is a protection strategy in its own right. On the one hand, women's empowerment and the protection of women's rights reduces women's vulnerability and enhances their ability to protect themselves and claim their rights. On the other hand, women's representation, participation and leadership in protection mechanisms—such as political leadership and public administration, military and police, national security institutions, refugee camp committees, community protection mechanisms and accountability bodies among others—are essential to guarantee better protection for women and girls. In this context, while it is important that the mission's protection tasks and activities respond to the most prevalent threats against women and girls in their area of operations, many of these tasks and activities do not require exchanging fire. A non-exhaustive list of the interventions undertaken by peacekeeping missions that could be considered for scaling up and replication include:

- Special attention to women's protection risks or threats in joint protection teams and joint investigation teams.
- Consultation of women in threat assessments and community engagements (from the establishment of community protection mechanisms, to alert networks, to the design of camp layouts, etc.).
- Tailoring protection activities to women's mobility patterns and economic activity (firewood patrols, water-route patrols, field patrols, market patrols and escorts).
- Establishment of safe spaces in camps for women and girls.
- Appointment of female election monitors and special attention to gender-based electoral violence.
- Dial-in radio programmes and cell phones for women to report threats and ensure the community is informed of risks.
- Provision of security umbrella and escorts for women's rights defenders and organizations working on women's rights or gender-based violence.
- Establishment of perpetrator profiling systems by the Joint Mission Analysis Centre that include patterns of attacks against women and girls, including conflict-related sexual violence, and sex-disaggregated tracking of civilian casualties.<sup>87</sup>
- Special attention to women's protection in the implementation of mission-substantive areas, such as disarmament and demobilization activities, security sector reform, transitional justice, mine clearance and small arms control.
- Evacuation of populations at risk from danger zones.

Chapter 8: *Preventing Conflict* describes in greater detail the importance of women's participation in

## FOCUS ON

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### Unarmed civilian protection

Unarmed civilian protection (UCP) is a methodology for the direct protection of civilians and violence reduction that has grown in practice and recognition. In the last few years, it has especially proven its effectiveness to protect women and girls. Initially pioneered and developed by organizations such as Nonviolent Peaceforce, Cure Violence, and Peace Brigades International, it is estimated that, since 1990, 50 civil society organizations have applied UCP methods in 35 conflict areas.<sup>88</sup>

These organizations deploy professionally trained unarmed civilians who provide direct physical protection by presence, and who strengthen local protection mechanisms. This includes, for example, protective accompaniment and inter-positioning, ceasefire monitoring, rumor control, early warning and early response, confidence building, multi-track dialogue and local-level mediation and supporting local organizations committed to protection, reconciliation and human rights. Interestingly, it is estimated that women represent between 40 and 50 per cent of the deployed personnel of these organizations, a percentage much higher than in UN peacekeeping missions.

For example, Nonviolent Peaceforce has been working in South Sudan since 2010. Alerted by South Sudanese women in the Protection of Civilians site in Bentiu that they were being raped by soldiers when exiting the compound to collect water or firewood, the group began to send two or more civilian protectors along with them. No woman has been attacked when accompanied.<sup>89</sup> In the past year, Nonviolent Peaceforce provided over 1,000 accompaniments for vulnerable people, primarily women and children, throughout South Sudan. In Jonglei, Nonviolent Peaceforce facilitated dialogues between the community and the police and military peacekeepers of the UN mission, including community security meetings only for women to express their protection concerns. UNPOL, the national police, and Nonviolent Peaceforce took turns to jointly patrol the areas where there had been more attacks on women. Additionally, ten women's peacekeeping teams have been formed and trained by Nonviolent Peaceforce, intervening in early marriage plans, the return and integration of children, mediating between fighting clans, accompanying rape survivors and engaging with local chiefs. Currently, Nonviolent Peaceforce has more than 150 staff in 11 field sites and their headquarters in Juba. 40 per cent of their staff are South Sudanese and 40 per cent are women.

short-term strategies for conflict prevention, including early warning mechanisms, community dialogue at the local level and women's situation rooms, where women in the affected population monitor for signs of escalation of violence.

To protect the humanitarian space, many advocate for protection by presence, proven to be effective even if it is not armed military presence, but unarmed military personnel or civilian peace forces.<sup>90</sup> Others prefer to invest far more resources and attention on preventive actions that address the root causes of conflict and its economic drivers, foster peace education in schools and among citizens in general, and raise awareness on women's rights and masculinity and its relationship to violence in a given context.


### **Engaging with non-State actors**

Although the Rome Statute recognizes the individual criminal responsibility of members of non-State actors for war crimes and crimes against humanity, these actors are typically not accepted as part of the international community, and many states strongly object to international or regional actors interacting with them, since this may increase their legitimacy and status.

Nevertheless, one way of contributing to a protection environment without resorting to violence is to engage with armed non-State actors. The overwhelming majority of wars today involve non-State actors fighting with a government or with other non-State actors. In

recent years, the United Nations and other international actors have highlighted human rights abuses and violations by non-State actors, reminding these groups of their obligations under international humanitarian law and the consequences for committing atrocities. The UN Secretary-General has also included them in 'name-and-shame lists' for grave violations committed against children or for sexual violence in conflict. There have also been examples of constructive dialogue and engagement, including the signing of action plans or commitments by armed non-State actors. For example, Security Council resolutions 1960 (2010) and 2106 (2013) urge parties to make and implement specific and time-bound commitments to combat sexual violence. In this regard, the Secretary-General's Special Representative on Sexual Violence, on behalf of the UN system, has signed Communiqués with several governments as well as engaged with non-State parties to armed conflict on the prevention of and response to conflict-related sexual violence.<sup>91</sup>

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 *There have been examples of constructive dialogue and engagement, including the signing of action plans or commitments by armed non-State actors.*

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## FOCUS ON

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### Private military and security companies and the WPS agenda

National governments, private corporations, and even the UN often hire private military and security companies (PSCs) to provide 'security services' in conflict and post-conflict countries. For example, in 2013, the United States had 108,000 contractor personnel in Afghanistan alone, including 18,000 private security contractors.<sup>92</sup> The UN contracts with armed and unarmed private security companies to protect its personnel and assets when the host government is unable or unwilling to do so. From 2013-2014, the United Nations spent more than \$42 million on armed and unarmed security providers across 12 countries where there are peacekeeping missions, and 11 countries where there are special political missions.<sup>93</sup> However, this privatization of security has yet to be matched by comprehensive and coherent regulation of PSCs' personnel and activities.<sup>94</sup> This failure has significant implications for victims of human rights violations perpetrated by PSCs, including women and girls. In consultations for the Global Study, women from contexts as diverse as the Horn of Africa and the Pacific Islands spoke of the threats to their safety and well-being that these groups pose. And reports of horrific cases of sexual exploitation and abuse by armed and unarmed UN PSC contractors in the DRC and South Sudan also highlight the relevance of this problem for the UN.<sup>95</sup>

Women, peace and security advocates have made clear that private military contractors must come under greater regulation, and some steps have been taken in this direction:

- The CEDAW Committee's *General*

*Recommendation 30 on women in conflict prevention, conflict and post-conflict situations* includes private military and security corporations among the non-State actors which must be regulated, both by States parties, and through self-policing.<sup>96</sup>

- The *UN Working Group on the use of mercenaries as a means of violating human rights and impeding the exercise of the right of peoples to self-determination* has proposed a possible legally binding convention on PSCs, and has stated that minimum standards for regulation must include clear human rights and humanitarian law standards.<sup>97</sup> The Working Group has also made recommendations specifically to the UN regarding accountability for human rights violations, including sexual exploitation and abuse, committed by armed and unarmed security contractors it has hired.<sup>98</sup>
- The UN Guiding Principles on Business and Human Rights recognize the heightened risk of human rights abuse in conflict-affected settings, and suggests that States help ensure that businesses are not involved with such abuses, including by providing adequate assistance to business enterprises to assess and address the heightened risk of abuses, "paying special attention to both gender-based and sexual violence."<sup>99</sup>

## RECOMMENDATIONS

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### Moving progress beyond 2015: Proposals for action

#### Member States should:

- ✓ Set specific targets for the improved recruitment, retention and promotion of women in their armed forces and the leadership of security institutions.
- ✓ Ensure that every soldier they deploy is thoroughly vetted, trained and held accountable for their actions, including when they abuse or exploit women and girls.
- ✓ Commit to doctrines and planning that takes into account the impact on women and girls of every military deployment and operation, and that considers the use of unarmed military protection as a preferable or complementary protection method, where appropriate.

#### The UN, in collaboration with Member States, should:

- ✓ Encourage Member States to deploy more female military officers to UN peacekeeping missions by adopting financial incentives, such as a gender-balance premium.
- ✓ Ensure gender-responsive budgeting and financial tracking of investments on gender equality in missions by requesting peacekeeping budget experts and planning officers, along with gender-responsive budget experts, to review mission budgets and make a recommendation on methodology and capacity needed.<sup>100</sup>
- ✓ Ensure that all UN peacekeepers are provided scenario-based training on issues related to gender equality—from gender mainstreaming in peace operations to preventing and responding

to conflict-related sexual violence—by calling on Member States to invest in the capacity of national peacekeeping training centers for the largest troop contributing countries, so that they become permanent features in their pre-deployment training curriculum.

- ✓ Address impunity and lack of assistance for victims of sexual exploitation and abuse by fully implementing the recommendations of the High-Level Independent Panel on United Nations Peace Operations<sup>101</sup> and the Secretary-General's recent annual report on sexual exploitation and abuse.<sup>102</sup> In addition:

- Countries that repeatedly fail to live up to their written assurances to investigate and prosecute their soldiers should not be allowed to contribute troops to peacekeeping missions.
- If the United Nations has obtained *prima facie* evidence of misconduct, the home country of the alleged perpetrator should be under the obligation to prosecute, and if they don't, they should be obligated to provide a detailed explanation of their findings.
- The United Nations should empower an independent commission of inquiry to conduct a broad-based investigation on sexual exploitation and abuse and the handling of allegations by both member states and the UN itself, including the failure to systematically apply many of the powers that it already has to hold individuals accountable for their actions.
- Consider engaging with States in support of establishing an international tribunal with jurisdiction to try UN staff and all categories of

peacekeepers that have allegedly committed serious crimes, including sexual abuse.

- Make concrete proposals on the ground about how to fund Victims Assistance Mechanisms and render them operational, including from pooled funds in each country or from the operating budget of the entities that employ the accused.
  - ✓ Take steps to improve regulation and oversight of all private contractors hired by the United Nations with regards to sexual exploitation and abuse. The UN should revise and fully implement guidelines to regulate these companies, including through permanent or temporary debarment of companies from further contracts and keeping
- a centralized register of companies whose staff have repeatedly been linked to allegations of sexual exploitation and abuse.<sup>103</sup>
- ✓ Promote women’s empowerment and non-violent means of protection, and take into account the whole range of women’s protection issues and the interventions to address them—including women’s leadership and women’s empowerment—in mission planning, implementation and reporting, as well as in policy discussions on the protection of civilians in the context of peace operations.
  - ✓ Scale up their support to unarmed civilian protection (UCP) in conflict-affected countries, including working alongside peace operations.

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26. "Sexual Assault in the Military," Statutory Enforcement Report (U.S. Commission on Civil Rights, September 2013). See also, "Report of the Special Rapporteur on Violence against Women, Its Causes and Consequences, Ms. Rashida Manjoo: Mission to the United States of America," UN Doc. A/HRC/17/26/Add.5 (United Nations Human Rights Council, June 1, 2011), para. 22–31.

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28. Aeyliya Husain, "Meet Pakistan's Lady Cadets," *Foreign Affairs*, August 17, 2014, <https://www.foreignaffairs.com/articles/south-asia/2014-08-17/meet-pakistans-lady-cadets>.
29. "Report of the Secretary-General: Women and Peace and Security," UN Doc. S/2015/716 (United Nations Security Council, September 17, 2015), 80.
30. "Women in Peacekeeping"; Charlotte Anderholt, "Female Participation in Formed Police Units: A Report on the Integration of Women in Formed Police Units of Peacekeeping Operations" (U.S. Army Peacekeeping & Stability Operations Institute, September 2012).
31. The low percentage of women in the armed forces of TCCs is not the only reason offered. Often, women are not interested in peacekeeping operations if they have more advantageous career opportunities at home or do not have family support to leave for one or multiple rotations. Lack of experience with firearms and manual transmission vehicles is frequently cited as another entry barrier.
32. It should be noted, however, that the percentage in missions is typically lower than the percentage in national armed forces. Most markedly, based on national submissions to the Global Study, in Albania the percentage of women in the armed forces has increased steadily, from 12 per cent in 2010 to almost 18 per cent nowadays, but the percentage of women deployed as peacekeepers by Albania ranges from 1 to 1.5 per cent. Approximately 4 per cent of the Indian armed forces are women, but less than 1.7 per cent of their deployed troops are women. According to Karim and Beardsley (2015, forthcoming), recruiters and commanders often take safety and cultural considerations into account when making decisions about deploying women or not.
33. "Monthly Summary of Troop Contribution to UN Operations" (Department of Peacekeeping Operations (DPKO), July 31, 2015).
34. Hasan Jahid Tusher, "Country Gets First Female Combat Pilots," *The Daily Star*, December 18, 2014, <http://www.thedailystar.net/country-gets-first-female-combat-pilots-55874>; "Air Force to Have 20pc Women Officers," *The News Today*, March 12, 2015, [http://www.newstoday.com.bd/index.php?option=details&news\\_id=2405408&date=2015-03-12](http://www.newstoday.com.bd/index.php?option=details&news_id=2405408&date=2015-03-12).
35. Georgina Holmes, "Gendering the Rwanda Defence Force: A Critical Assessment," *Journal of Intervention and Statebuilding* 8, no. 4 (October 2, 2014): 329.
36. This data is calculated annually by UN Women for the report of the Secretary-General on Women and Peace and Security. See, "Secretary-General's Report on Women and Peace and Security (2015)," para. 114..
37. Most of the available data pertains to NATO countries and Latin American countries.
38. Based on data collected for the Global Study, including publicly available sources, discussions with gender advisors of national militaries, and researchers Sabrina Karim and Kyle Beardsley who compiled data on almost 50 TCCs from a variety of sources.
39. "Women, Peace and Security," United Nations Peacekeeping, accessed July 22, 2015, <http://www.un.org/en/peacekeeping/issues/women/wps.shtml>.
40. See, e.g., foreword by Force Commander Major General Paolo Serra in "Promoting Women, Peace and Identifying Security: Piloting Military Gender Guidelines in UNIFIL" (United Nations Interim Force in Lebanon, June 2014), 4.
41. See, e.g., "Integrating a Gender Perspective into the Work of the United Nations Military in Peacekeeping Operations," DPKO/DFS Guidelines (United Nations Department of Peacekeeping Operations and Department of Field Support (DPKO/DFS), March 2010), 19.
42. Ryan Lenora Brown, "Would More Female Soldiers Improve UN Peacekeeping Missions?," *Christian Science Monitor*, September 21, 2015, <http://www.csmonitor.com/World/Africa/2015/0921/Would-more-female-soldiers-improve-UN-peacekeeping-missions>.
43. "Female Military Peacekeepers Network," United Nations Peacekeeping, accessed July 22, 2015, <http://www.un.org/en/peacekeeping/issues/military/femalenetw.shtml>.
44. "Human Rights Screening of United Nations Personnel," United Nations Policy (United Nations, December 11, 2012).
45. In the survey that informed the most recent round of reimbursement negotiations, the countries surveyed noted that it costs more to recruit, train and deploy female personnel, which could be a direct justification to argue for a different reimbursement rate. At least one country reported that it has recently introduced an additional allowance for women to encourage them to join the armed forces. Another country reported an additional travel allowance for female troops to make it easier for them to maintain contact with their children. A number of sample countries reported on specific items of clothing provided to women and separate accommodations. Others reported additional costs due to covering women-specific health issues. The extra costs were mainly due to specific needs and facilities for women (including maternity leaves and sanitary facilities) or upfront costs in changes to facilities or uniforms to facilitate women's integration in the armed forces. See, "Results of the Revised Survey to Establish the Standard Rate of Reimbursement to Troop-Contributing Countries, as Approved by the General Assembly in Its Resolution 67/261 on the Report of the Senior Advisory

- Group on Rates of Reimbursement to Troop-Contributing Countries,” UN Doc. A/68/813 (United Nations General Assembly, March 26, 2014).
46. Family leave is determined by the sending national military.
  47. Body armor is provided by the sending national military.
  48. Anderholt, “Female Participation in Formed Police Units: A Report on the Integration of Women in Formed Police Units of Peacekeeping Operations,” 25.
  49. Bangladesh has deployed an all-female formed police unit in Haiti since 2010.
  50. Laura Bacon, “Liberia Leans In,” *Foreign Policy*, accessed September 23, 2015, <https://foreignpolicy.com/2013/06/03/liberia-leans-in/>.
  51. “UN Peacekeeping - on the Front Lines to End Violence against Women,” UN News Centre, March 8, 2013, <http://www.un.org/apps/news/story.asp?NewsID=44325#.VgWRhstVhBc>.
  52. “Norway’s Input to the Secretary-General’s Report on Women, Peace and Security 2014, and to the Global Study on UNSCR1325,” Global Study Submission, (March 2015).
  53. “Interview with Hester Paneras, Police Commissioner for the African Union - UN Mission in Darfur,” UN News Centre, November 11, 2013, <http://www.un.org/apps/news/newsmakers.asp?NewsID=98>.
  54. “Security Sector Reform Integrated Technical Guidance Notes” (United Nations SSR Task Force, 2012); Anderholt, “Female Participation in Formed Police Units: A Report on the Integration of Women in Formed Police Units of Peacekeeping Operations.”
  55. The police component in missions consists of individual policemen and women, and formed police units. Although women are now 18 per cent of those that are individually recruited, the percentage drops to 10 per cent when adding formed police units. “Gender Statistics by Mission for the Month of May 2015” (Department of Peacekeeping Operations (DPKO), May 2015).
  56. See Elisabeth Rehn and Ellen Johnson Sirleaf, “Women, War, Peace: The Independent Experts’ Assessment on the Impact of Armed Conflict on Women and Women’s Role in Peace-Building,” *Progress of the World’s Women* (New York, NY: United Nations Development Fund for Women, 2002), 67–68.
  57. In coordination with the gender, justice and other components as appropriate, the human rights components in UN peace operations contribute to, inter alia, analysis of sexual and gender-based violence; devise effective strategies to prevent and respond to sexual and gender-based violence; support the establishment or implementation of laws, policies, institutions and practices which safeguard the equal rights of women and girls and protect all individuals against sexual and gender-based crimes in accordance with legally binding human rights treaties; and ensure accountability for violations and remedy for victims. See, “Policy on Human Rights in Peacekeeping Operations and Political Missions” (Office of the High Commissioner for Human Rights (OHCHR), Department for Peacekeeping Operations (DPKO), Department of Political Affairs (DPA), Department of Field Support (DFS), 2011), para. 50.
  58. “Report of the High-Level Independent Panel on United Nations Peace Operations (2015),” para. 239 (vi).
  59. “Ten-Year Impact Study on Implementation of UN Security Council Resolution 1325 (2000) on Women, Peace and Security in Peacekeeping” (New York: United Nations Department of Peacekeeping Operations (DPKO), Department of Field Support (DFS), 2010).
  60. Good examples of trainings on gender issues were self-reported by Chile, Croatia, the Netherlands, Latvia, France, Switzerland, Norway, Portugal, Ireland, Sweden, Romania, Malaysia, Bulgaria, Iceland, Lithuania, Austria, Norway, Albania, Germany, Australia, Brazil, Argentina, Spain, Slovenia, and Finland.
  61. “Resolution 1960 (2010),” UN Doc. S/RES/1960 (United Nations Security Council, December 16, 2010), para. 10; “Resolution 2122 (2013),” UN Doc. S/RES/2122 (2013) (United Nations Security Council, October 18, 2013), para. 9.
  62. “Report of the High-Level Independent Panel on United Nations Peace Operations (2015),” para. 239(ii).
  63. “Statement by the President of the Security Council,” UN Doc. S/PRST/2012/23 (United Nations Security Council, October 31, 2012), 2.
  64. “Report of the Secretary-General: Women and Peace and Security,” UN Doc. S/2012/732 (United Nations Security Council, October 2, 2012), para. 61.
  65. Carole Doucet, “UN Gender Architecture in Post-Conflict Countries” (UN Women, UN Wide Inter-Agency Task Team, September 20, 2012).
  66. “Report of the Secretary-General: Women and Peace and Security,” UN Doc. S/2013/525 (United Nations Security Council, September 4, 2013), para. 14.
  67. Calculations made by UN Women based on public mission reports.
  68. A notable exception to this trend is UNAMA, a political mission led by the Department of Political Affairs, whose benchmarks are full of references to gender issues.
  69. “Report of the High-Level Independent Panel on United Nations Peace Operations (2015),” para. 242; “The Challenge of Sustaining Peace,” UN Doc. A/69/968–S/2015/490 (Advisory Group of Experts for the 2015 Review of the United Nations Peacebuilding Architecture, June 29, 2015), para. 159.

70. Rehn and Sirleaf, "Women, War, Peace: The Independent Experts' Assessment on the Impact of Armed Conflict on Women and Women's Role in Peace-Building," 14.
71. "Sexual Exploitation and Abuse Policy," United Nations Conduct and Discipline Unit, accessed September 23, 2015, <https://cdu.unlb.org/Policy/SexualExploitationandAbusePolicy.aspx>.
72. "Secretary-General's Bulletin: Special Measures for Protection from Sexual Exploitation and Sexual Abuse," UN Doc. ST/SGB/2003/13 (United Nations Secretariat, October 9, 2003), para. 3.2(b). There is an exception where a staff member is legally married to the person under the age of 18 but over the age of majority or consent in their country of citizenship. *Ibid.*, para. 4.4.
73. "Secretary-General's Bulletin on Special Measures for Protection from Sexual Exploitation and Sexual Abuse (2003)," para. 3.2(d).
74. *Ibid.*, para. 4.5.
75. Military personnel are subject to the exclusive criminal jurisdiction of the troop contributing country, and UN officials and experts on mission can be tried either by the host State or by the State of nationality of the accused if they have extraterritorial jurisdiction.
76. Thelma Awori, Catherine Lutz, and Paban J. Thapa, "Expert Mission to Evaluate Risks to SEA Prevention Efforts in MINUSTAH, UNMIL, MONUSCO, and UNMISS," November 3, 2013.
77. "Report of the High-Level Independent Panel on United Nations Peace Operations (2015)," 76–77.
78. *Ibid.*, xiii.
79. Zeid Ra'ad al Hussein, "A Comprehensive Strategy to Eliminate Future Sexual Exploitation and Abuse in United Nations Peacekeeping Operations," UN Doc. A/59/710 (United Nations General Assembly, March 24, 2005).
80. "The Campaign," Code Blue, accessed July 23, 2015, <http://www.codebluecampaign.com/about-the-campaign/>.
81. Group of Legal Experts, "Report of the Group of Legal Experts on Ensuring the Accountability of United Nations Staff and Experts on Mission with Respect to Criminal Acts Committed in Peacekeeping Operations," UN Doc. A/60/980 (United Nations General Assembly, August 16, 2006), para. 62 – 68.
82. Carla Ferstman, "Criminalizing Sexual Exploitation and Abuse by Peacekeepers," Special Report (United States Institute of Peace, September 2013). See also, Marco Odello, "Tackling Criminal Acts in Peacekeeping Operations: The Accountability of Peacekeepers," *Journal of Conflict and Security Law* 15, no. 2 (2010): 347–91.
83. "United Nations Comprehensive Strategy on Assistance and Support to Victims of Sexual Exploitation and Abuse by United Nations Staff and Related Personnel," UN Doc. A/RES/62/214 (United Nations General Assembly, March 7, 2008), para. 5(c), 6–8.
84. "Report of the High-Level Independent Panel on United Nations Peace Operations (2015)," para. 267.
85. *Ibid.*, para. 84.
86. "The Protection of Civilians in UN Peacekeeping," DPKO/DFS Policy (Department of Peacekeeping Operations / Department of Field Support (DPKO/DFS), April 2015).
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88. Janzen, "Shifting Practices of Peace: What Is the Current State of Unarmed Civilian Peacekeeping?"
89. "Case Studies of Unarmed Civilian Protection" (Nonviolent Peaceforce, July 2015).
90. Liam Mahony, "Proactive Presence: Field Strategies for Civilian Protection" (Centre for Humanitarian Dialogue, 2006); Liam Mahony, "Non-Military Strategies for Civilian Protection in the DRC" (Fieldview Solutions, March 2013); Hugo Slim and Andrew Bonwick, "Protection: An ALNAP Guide for Humanitarian Agencies" (London: Overseas Development Institute, August 2005); Randy Janzen, "Shifting Practices of Peace: What Is the Current State of Unarmed Civilian Peacekeeping?," *Peace Studies Journal* 7 (December 2014); Canan Gündüz and Raul Torralba, "Evaluation of the Nonviolent Peaceforce Project with the Civilian Protection Component of the International Monitoring Team in Mindanao, Philippines" (Initiatives for International Dialogue, May 6, 2014).
91. "Joint Communiqué of the Republic of South Sudan and the United Nations on the Prevention of Conflict-Related Sexual Violence," Office of the Special Representative of the Secretary-General on Sexual Violence in Conflict, October 12, 2014, <http://www.un.org/sexualviolenceinconflict/joint-communication/joint-communication-of-the-republic-of-south-sudan-and-the-united-nations-on-the-prevention-of-conflict-related-sexual-violence/>.
92. Moshe Schwartz and Jennifer Church, "Department of Defense's Use of Contractors to Support Military Operations: Background, Analysis, and Issues for Congress" (Congressional Research Service, May 17, 2013), 2.
93. "Use of Mercenaries as a Means of Violating Human Rights and Impeding the Exercise of the Right of Peoples to Self-Determination: Note by the Secretary-General," UN Doc. A/69/338 (United Nations General Assembly, August 14, 2014), para. 11.
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95. Paul Lewis, Oliver Laughland, and Roger Hamilton, "UN Paid Millions to Russian Aviation Firm since Learning of Sex Attack on Girl," *The Guardian*, July 30, 2015, <http://www.theguardian.com/world/2015/jul/30/united-nations-utair-congo-sexual-attack>; Megan Nobert, "Aid Worker: I Was Drugged and Raped by Another Humanitarian in South Sudan," *The Guardian*, July 29, 2015, <http://www.theguardian.com/global-development-professionals-network/2015/jul/29/aid-worker-rape-humanitarian-south-sudan-sexual-violence>.
96. "Report of the High-Level Independent Panel on United Nations Peace Operations (2015)," 76–77.
97. "Concept Note on a Possible Legally Binding Instrument for the Regulation of Private Military Security Companies" (Working Group on the use of mercenaries as a means of violating human rights and impeding the exercise of the right of peoples to self-determination, April 9, 2015), 4.
98. "Note by the Secretary-General on Use of Mercenaries as a Means of Violating Human Rights and Impeding the Exercise of the Right of Peoples to Self-Determination (2014)."
99. "Guiding Principles on Business and Human Rights" (United Nations Office of the High Commissioner for Human Rights (OHCHR), 2011), para. 7(b).
100. Even if only some categories of spending are eligible for gender-responsive budgeting and financial tracking, experts on peacekeeping and gender-responsive budgeting should be able to make that determination, and to advise on what methodology to use or whether to focus on either budget design, tracking spending, or (preferably) both.
101. "Report of the High-Level Independent Panel on United Nations Peace Operations (2015)," 76–77.
102. "Report of the Secretary-General: Special Measures for Protection from Sexual Exploitation and Abuse," UN Doc. A/69/779 (United Nations General Assembly, February 13, 2013).
103. Drawn from the 2014 report the UN Working Group on the use of mercenaries, (A/69/338) para. 80, 82–83. Although the recommendations of the Working Group pertain only to security contractors for the UN, here, they should be understood to apply to all types of UN contractors.



