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Institute of Political Studies

Department of Security Studies

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Gender Mainstreaming in UN Peacekeeping Operations

Master's thesis

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Declaration

1. I hereby declare that I have compiled this thesis using the listed literature and resources only.

2. I hereby declare that my thesis has not been used to gain any other academic title.

3. I fully agree to my work being used for study and scientific purposes.

In Prague on the 28th of December   Bc. Lucie Jašová

References

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Abstract

Responding to the inequal impact of women in conflict and their contribution to peace processes, the Security Council has adopted eleven resolutions within the Women, Peace, and Security agenda, which further defined gender mainstreaming strategy within the field of peace and security. The strategy calls for integrating gender perspectives and considerations in all peacekeeping structures. Framed with the liberal feminist approach, this work aims to analyse how five of the current UN peacekeeping operations reflect gender mainstreaming strategy, both in their mandates and operational practice. Using the content analysis method, the study examines the missions' mandates to evaluate gender mainstreaming references from the establishing resolutions to the current one and is further supplemented by the review of their implementation process. The findings reveal a significant gap within the establishing mandates, as UNISFA and MONUSCO included minimal gender references in their authorizing resolutions while UNMISS covered almost all gender considerations. Such disparities have become less evident within the current mandates. The analysis of the operational practice further suggests a two-track gap between the mission's mandate and the situation in the field, as the evidence gathered shows that continuing commitment within mission's mandates does not necessarily imply strong implementation; however, a lack of reference does not exclude the components from operational practice.

Abstrakt

Ve snaze upozornit na nerovný vliv konfliktu na ženy a snahu podpořit jejich participaci na mírových procesech přijala Rada bezpečnosti jedenáct rezolucí v rámci tzv. Agendy o ženách, míru a bezpečnosti, které dále definují strategii gender mainstreamingu v oblasti míru a bezpečnosti. Tato strategie vyzývá k začlenění genderových perspektiv ve všech strukturách peacekeepingových operací. Tato práce, teoreticky zasazená do liberálního feministického přístupu, si klade za cíl analyzovat jakým způsobem pět současných mírových misí reflektuje gender mainstreaming ve svých mandátech a také v rámci implementace. S použitím obsahové analýzy tato studie zkoumá reference odkazující se na výše zmíněnou strategii, a to od ustanovujícího mandátu až po ten současný, a zároveň je doplněna o rozbor procesu implementace v rámci samotné mise. Zjištění práce odhalily významnou mezeru mezi ustanovujícími mandáty, kdy UNISFA a MONUSCO obsahovaly

minimum referencí odkazující se na gender mainstreaming, zatímco mandát mise UNMISS pokryl téměř všechna genderová hlediska. S postupem času se rozdíly staly méně patrné, a v současné době má všech pět misí mandát zohledňující gender mainstreaming. Analýza implementace dále naznačuje dvojitou propast mezi rezolucí a situací v terénu, kdy shromážděná data ukazují, že dlouhotrvající závazek v rámci mandátu mise nutně neznamená důslednou implementaci, na druhé straně však nedostatečná reference nevylučuje konkrétní prvek z operační praxe.

Keywords

gender mainstreaming; United Nations; Peacekeeping Operations; Female Peacekeepers; Women, Peace and Security Agenda

Klíčová slova

gender mainstreaming; Organizace spojených národů; peacekeepingové operace; ženy v mírových misích; Agenda o ženách, míru a bezpečnosti

Title

Gender Mainstreaming in UN Peacekeeping Operations

Název práce

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1. Introduction

Despite the positive predictions of some scholars, the collapse of the end of the Cold War did not reduce the challenges of the international stability but rather has given rise to more complex threats (Hudson, 2005: 785). To reflect the change of the new security environment, the United Nations significantly broadened the nature and the scope of the peace operations. From previously traditional cease-fire monitoring activities, the contemporary peace missions have transformed into robust multidimensional operations carrying a wide range of tasks, from active combat to peace building activities (Crawford et al., 2015: 258). Such a shift resulted in expanding the mission mandate to cover all specific needs, including more open gender perspective integration (Olsson, 2000: 1).

The incorporation of a gender perspective into policy framework within different institutions has been part of gender mainstreaming strategy since the 1990s (Olsson and Gizelis, 2014: 522). Gender mainstreaming became more a prominent action within the United Nations peacekeeping via the Beijing Platform for Action and Windhoek Declaration in the late 1990s, declaring the need to improve the existing gender imbalance of peacekeeping personnel (Dharmapuri, 2013: 2) while addressing the needs of women in the conflict and post-conflict environment (Carey, 2001: 50). Following this development, in 2000, the Security Council adopted resolution 1325, officially establishing the Women, Peace, and Security agenda by calling on increasing the number of women in peacekeeping, addressing the inequal impact of war on women and recognizing their contribution to peace processes (Hudson, 2005: 786).

For the first time, the United Nations linked the needs and contributions of women resulting from the conflict and post-conflict periods (Cohn et al., 2004: 130). The year 2020 symbolizes a two-decade anniversary of the Women, Peace, and Security agenda, which now consists of eleven resolutions further expanding on gender issues within war and post-war situations. Since its institutionalization in 2000, the agenda has been framing gender mainstreaming strategy within UN peacekeeping missions, both in practice and discourse (Baldwin and Taylor, 2020: 1).

The aim to incorporate gender considerations in peacekeeping is a two-track objective, both in internal and external way, meaning that the missions should be gender-balanced in terms of the personnel composition, and at the same time, should promote gender equality

within the host-community engagement. Therefore, the mission's mandate should appropriately mainstream gender perspective to meet these goals (Dharmapuri, 2013: 6). As such, the Women, Peace, and Security agenda's resolutions are the major points to navigate the mission's tasks and activities on the field, providing an important platform to influence the local environment (Baldwin and Taylor, 2020: 14).

The peacekeeping operations started to incorporate gender language in the 2000s. However, the operational process of mainstreaming gender issues varies across the missions (Karim and Beardsley, 2013: 466-467), while the Women, Peace, and Security agenda has been expanding over the years. This thesis aims to analyse how the current United Nations peacekeeping missions reflect gender mainstreaming strategy in their mandate and implementation. The presented research explores the variation in gendered content of mandates and their implementation, therefore offering insights on the prevalence of gender issues within the UN rhetoric and operational practices.

1. 1 Research Objective and Research Questions

As discussed in the literature overview, there is, surprisingly, little research on the content of the mandate and its implementation within the feminist and gender scholarship, given that gender mainstreaming strategy has been part of the United Nations structures for more than twenty years. The Department of Peace Operations has been including specific strategies to bring this strategy into operational practice since the early 2000s. However, it is the mission's mandate that first determines the scope of action in the field, as it is a legally binding document reflecting a particular conflict environment. That being said, the research objective of this thesis is to analyse how gender mainstreaming, defined by the Women, Peace, and Security agenda, is incorporated in the current UN peacekeeping missions. Thus, the main research question is formulated as follows:

RQ1: How do the current UN peacekeeping operations mandates and their implementation reflect gender mainstreaming strategy?

The thesis will also examine the proportion of women personnel in current peacekeeping missions. Hence, I formulated a second research question:

RQ2: What is the proportion of women's personnel in the current UN peacekeeping operations?

By focusing on the reflection of gender mainstreaming strategy in mandates and its implementation, this work aims to fill the gap in the research on gender mainstreaming in peacekeeping operations. A key objective is to evaluate how gender mainstreamed are current UN missions and what are the leading themes of such strategy and to analyse the implementation process of gender mainstreaming as well.

1. 2 Methodology and Case Studies Selection

Given the interpretative nature of the main research objective, this thesis is based on a qualitative approach, specifically using content analysis to illustrate the reflection of gender mainstreaming in missions mandate, since the content analysis allows to classify of a large number of words and phrases into fewer content categories (Weber, 1990). The qualitative content analysis enables analysing documents while examining the construction of meanings and contextualizing the text into categories (Kohlbacher, 2006). To illustrate the development of gender mainstreaming integration over the years, all missions mandates, from the authorizing resolution to the current one, will be considered in the analysis.

Having said that, the mandate's content will be examined within four categories. Additionally, each category is further defined by several sub-categories. I argue that gender mainstreaming strategy has been developed on the basis of the liberal feminist approach. Thus, the following chapter discusses the content of each Women, Peace, and Security agenda's resolutions and justify the selection process of the following classifications:

1. **goal of gender equality:** defined by (1) the pledge to gender equality and (2) the commitment to increase the number of female personnel;

2. **women's agency and their participation in politics and other areas:** described by the reference to (1) women's participation in politics, (2) women's participation in other areas, (3) women's organizations, groups, or organizations and (4) the security of the women in public positions;

3. **protection of women from sexual and other gender-based violence:** defined by the reference to (1) protection of women from conflict, (2) prevention of sexual and other gender-based violence, (3) the presence of women's protection advisor, and (4) accountability for perpetrators and justice for victims of SGBV;

4. gender element: described by the reference to (1) the presence of gender advisor, (2) gender awareness training, (3) gender-oriented programmes and strategies, (4) treating gender as a cross-cutting issue, and most recently (5) including gender data expertise and analysis.

Additionally, the implementation process will be using content analysis, examining the reports of the Secretary-General and the audit reports conducted by the Office of Internal Oversight Services to provide an insight into operational practice considering gender mainstreaming strategy. However, the study is not a critical feminist discourse analysis of gender mainstreaming strategy in UN records, as such research has been conducted multiple times over the years.

Regarding the second research question, I will use descriptive statistics, following the liberal feminist approach, to illustrate the proportion of women in current UN peacekeeping missions, both in chapter three and chapter four. The data will be collected from the United Nations Peacekeeping dataset for gender statistics. Partially, the descriptive statistic will also be used within the implementation process regarding the protection of women from sexual and other gender-based violence; specifically, the data for the number of reported cases from the Secretary-General reports on conflict-related violence and the figures for personnel misconducts tracked by the Conduct in Field Missions Unit.

As for the case study selection, the thesis will focus on five current peacekeeping missions out of twelve that are now deployed under the UN. The case selection is based on two main rationales. First, the date of the establishment, adoption of the authorizing resolution respectively is considered. As outlined earlier, this work focuses on current missions; therefore, only operations that are still running are considered and more importantly, given the research objective, only missions that have been established recently were taken into account since the major resolutions within the Women, Peace, and Security agenda have been developed during the 2000-2010 period. Second, the scope of the mission is considered as gender mainstreaming contain a broad portfolio of actions; therefore, only missions with complex mandate scope are studied. Thus, by applying those rationales, the empirical section will focus on five operations: MINUSMA, MINUSCA, MONUSCO, UNMISS and UNISFA.

Finally, to demonstrate the shift in gender mainstreaming content within peacekeeping mandates, each mission will receive a score for both establishing and current resolution. Due to the unsystematic data collection regarding the implementation process of gender mainstreaming within the peacekeeping operations, the following categorization is solely based on the content of the resolutions since the information available on operational practices varies across the examined operations. Expanding upon Kreft's (2017) gender mainstreaming assessment, the missions' mandates will be evaluated within four categories:

1. not gender-mainstreamed mandate: receives a score of 1. Mandates included in this classification do not refer to any of the abovementioned four categories, or there is a reflection of one category exclusively without further consideration of other parts of gender mainstreaming content.

2. barely gender-mainstreamed mandate: Mandates receiving the score of 2 are classified as barely gender-mainstreamed, as the resolutions overlook entirely one of the four categories but partially cover the remaining three categories.

3. further gender-mainstreamed mandate: receives a score of 3. The resolutions assigned to the classification of further gender-mainstreamed reflect all four mentioned categories to some extent.

4. fully gender-mainstreamed mandate: The mandates receiving the highest score of 4 demonstrate reflection to all four categories. The resolution is considered fully gender-mainstreamed if the mandate fully covers all four categories or only one is partially reflected.

After the introduction, a theoretical chapter will follow, discussing the concept of gender mainstreaming within the UN system, specifically the content of Women, Peace, and Security agenda resolutions relevant for peacekeeping. The section will further argue that gender mainstreaming as a policy framework is based on the liberal feminist approach. The third chapter focuses on the changing nature of peacekeeping in the post-Cold War era by discussing the arguments for increasing the number of female personnel while addressing the existing barriers and the current proportion of women peacekeepers. The fourth section represents the empirical part itself; each of the five missions is examined separately, with a

brief introduction followed by the analysis of the given category and its implementation. In the end, findings will be discussed.

1. 3 Literature Overview

As outlined, the main objective of this work is to examine how is gender mainstreaming strategy reflected within the current UN peacekeeping operations' mandates and operational practices and what is the current proportion of female personnel. Therefore, this literature review aims to provide detailed overview of the topic and to map the existing knowledge. While there has been much research on why gender perspective and presence of women are essential in peacekeeping, few scholars have considered the importance of the mandate, centring their analysis on the content.

The early research concerning women in UN peacekeeping operations mainly focuses on the gender division of labour within the national security institutions and its consequences for gender composition of the UN forces (Olsson, 2000; De Groot, 2001; Stiehm, 2001).

Olsson suggests multidimensional peacekeeping operations may address this gender imbalance given the large civilian component. Therefore, the multidimensional missions may offer more job opportunities for women, regardless of their low number in security institutions (Olsson, 2000). Stiehm states that the UN commitment to gender mainstreaming and gender balancing is clear, but it needs to be embedded within the mission's mandate (Stiehm, 2001). Following Olsson's observations on the particularly low percentage of women in the field (Olsson, 2000), Stiehm focuses on the peacekeeping missions between 1993 and 2000 with a broader civilian element within the mandate. She observes that more women are in missions with a significant civilian focus, although the overall personnel in such operations is still male-dominated (Stiehm, 2001).

Väyrynen highlights that female peacekeepers can carry out the same duties under the same conditions as male personnel (Väyrynen, 2004). But at the same time, De Groot points out that there is no evidence women are better at keeping the peace (De Groot, 2001); although with regard to their alleged calmer and more conciliatory nature, they may improve the operational success (De Groot, 2001; Olsson, 2000). Similarly, Mazurana suggests that there is no evidence indicating that the presence of women in peacekeeping is damaging for the overall objectives. Analysing the UNAMIR mission, she states that local women preferred to engage with female soldiers, who also have no history of sexual and

gender-based violence. Consequently, Mazurana agrees with De Groot that female personnel may improve operational effectiveness, but research on the benefits of female peacekeepers is limited (Mazurana, 2003; De Groot, 2001).

As mentioned, the scholars from the initial phase consider the possible added value of women concerning the operational effectiveness (De Groot, 2001; Mazurana, 2003; Olsson, 2000; Stiehm, 2001). Accordingly, more researches have focused on interpreting the UN Department of Peace Operations' documents and guidelines regarding female peacekeepers and their unique contributions.

Karim and Beardsley talk about the passive and active benefaction of more gender-balanced personnel and women representation, respectively, stating that female peacekeepers actively represent women when their action promotes women's rights (Karim and Beardsley, 2013). Such involvement is primarily linked to the practical advantages of uniformed female personnel and their closer relations with local women and children, as it is believed they have what Dharmapuri (2013) calls comparative operational advantage, meaning that they can improve intelligence gathering (Jennings, 2011) through female body searches, and provide screening and assistance to female ex-combatants (Dharmapuri, 2013; Karim and Beardsley, 2013). By establishing connections with such vulnerable groups, they can better address their difficulties and needs (Jennings, 2011; Dharmapuri, 2013).

One of the major topics scholars have been studying is the connection between the presence of female peacekeepers and sexual abuse, the reduction of sexual allegations by mission's personnel, respectively. Generally, academia presents three strands of this argument (Jennings, 2010; Karim and Beardsley, 2013; Karim and Beardsley, 2016; Odanović, 2010; Simić, 2010). First, a more significant proportion of women among the staff is considered to lower the personnel's overall level of sexual violence (Jennings, 2011). Karim and Beardsley (2016) talk about 'shrinking the pool of possible offenders' as female peacekeepers are less likely to engage in sexual violence; thus, their presence can statistically decrease the number of sexual offences (Simić, 2010). Secondly, as Crawford and MacDonald (2013) point out, the lack of female peacekeepers means coordination difficulties since victims are less likely to report the assaults to male personnel (Dharmapuri, 2013). On the other hand, women peacekeepers are better aware of the issues locals face (Odanović, 2010). Therefore, women and children are inclined to report such

offences to another female because it is easier for them to be interviewed by women thanks to their empathetic response. Thus, female peacekeepers assist victims of sexual exploitation and abuse (Jennings, 2011). Third, female officers are assumed to have what scholars identify as a *'civilising/pacifying effect'* on their colleagues (Crawford and MacDonald, 2013; Jennings, 2011; Karim and Beardsley, 2016; Simić, 2010). Meaning that greater involvement of women will hamper the traditional patriarchal environment of uniformed personnel (Crawford and MacDonald, 2013), assuming that females will confront potential perpetrators of sexual misconduct and, in solidarity with local women, report them (Karim and Beardsley, 2016). It is, therefore, believed that their male colleagues will be better-behaved (Jennings, 2011; Simić, 2010). Accordingly, women personnel contribute to improving the discipline (Odanović, 2010) while enhancing the UN's image (Simić, 2010).

The fact that local children and women are likely to report sexual misconduct to female staff can be understood as what Karim and Beardsley describe by passive representation, meaning that women personnel influence how the host population behaves (Karim and Beardsley, 2013). Furthermore, female officers are a source of encouragement for local community by acting as role models for women (Jennings, 2011, Odanović, 2010; Simić, 2010). By representing their gender in all the tasks in peacekeeping, they promote and encourage women from local communities to take an active role in peacebuilding and post-conflict reconstruction affairs (Odanović, 2010; Simić, 2010).

Nevertheless, the scholars express the need to continue with the research to confirm such claims. Consequently, the following strand of literature addresses these demands to some extent. One of the first works bringing such evidence from the field is the article by Bridges and Horsfall, focusing on the experiences of female peacekeepers. The researchers conducted interviews with thirty women across the Australian Defence Force. The data gathered within this research supports the allegations that having more gender-balanced personnel is beneficial to the overall effectiveness of the missions, as female peacekeepers mitigate sexual misconducts perpetrated by their male counterparts and improve relations with the host nation (Bridges and Horsfall, 2009).

On the other hand, Sion states, in her work focusing on the experiences of Dutch female peacekeepers in Western Balkan, that female personnel is limited in their capacity to contribute to peacekeeping because the missions are considered to be dangerous by the

operation's staff. Therefore, their ability to bring added value to the overall effectiveness is significantly reduced (Sion, 2009). Similarly, Heinecken examines the claims concerning additional operational effectiveness with the experiences of South African women peacekeepers stationed in Sub-Saharan Africa. She argues that despite the hypermasculine environment and the generally low number of women within personnel, more female peacekeepers are beneficial to operational success. However, Heinecken agrees with Sion on the issue of addressing sexual violence and better access to local communities, stating that the socio-cultural context in local communities is important, given that peace operations often occur in a very traditional environment (Heinecken, 2015).

Karim was the first to address policymakers statements concerning the added operational effectiveness resulting from more gender-balanced personnel from both points of view; she focuses on female peacekeepers from the UN Mission in Liberia (UNMIL) themselves as the way local population perceive women in blue helmets. She finds that the insights of female personnel overlap with the proclaimed perspectives of policymakers, meaning that they perceive their contribution as unique in terms of improving relations with the host nation, mitigating sexual violence, and contributing to gender equality awareness (Karim, 2017). At the same time, the locals acknowledged the so-called access gap previously addressed by Sion (2009) and Heinecken (2015), claiming that although local communities thought female peacekeepers to be more effective. Nevertheless, they prefer male soldiers and domestic actors to deal with sexual perpetrators, respectively, to ensure the protection of citizens from sexual violence, given the sensitiveness of such issues and societal norms in the country (Karim, 2017). Kurewba and Sikhulekile conducted research with women from Zimbabwean security and law enforcement institutions deployed in the UN missions in Liberia (UNMIL) and East Timor/Timor-Leste (UNMISET; UNMIT). Similarly to Karim's findings, Kurewba and Sikhulekile state that female peacekeepers bring numerous benefits to peacekeeping as outlined by the policymakers. Their findings are similar to Bridges and Horsfall (2009) and Karim (2017), claiming that female peacekeepers can better interact with local populations, especially vulnerable groups. In contrast to Sion (2009), Heinecken (2015) and Karim (2017), Kurewba and Sikhulekile conclude that uniformed women are also better at dealing with sexual assaults (Kurewba and Sikhulekile, 2018).

Simultaneously, as the research works focused on the benefits women bring to peacekeeping, several scholars highlight the overall low numbers of female officers in peacekeeping, addressing the barriers they face (Baldwin and Taylor, 2020; Dharmapuri, 2013; Ghittoni, 2018; Karim, 2017; Odanović, 2010). As many of them point out, one of the main obstacles is that the low numbers of women in peacekeeping results from the overall small proportion of female officers in police and army forces globally. Since the decision regarding gender composition is up to troop and police-contributing countries, the UN faces such a barrier given the division of labour (Baldwin and Taylor, 2020; Ghittoni, 2018; Odanović, 2010). In their work focusing on the variations of gender composition among the contributing countries, Crawford, Lebovic, and MacDonald offer a conclusion that while political rights and the democracy index are important factors, the contributions are mostly a product of force size – in terms of size of the mission and the country's population (Crawford et al., 2015). Nonetheless, some barriers can be addressed and further minimized within gender mainstreaming resolutions and specific mandates in peacekeeping; such as practical difficulties for women related to lack of medical care and family-friendly policies (Ghittoni et al., 2018) to broader issues of gender stereotyping and biases, specifically the resistance to deploying female officers in field work, perceiving them as victims to possible violence rather than protectors (Baldwin and Taylor, 2020; Ghittoni et al., 2018). Tidblad-Lundholm (2020) adds that women peacekeepers tend to be deployed within the later stage of the mission due to the uncertainty in the initial phase.

As mentioned above, the scholarship has been focusing mainly on rationales for including female peacekeepers and the barriers they face. That being said, there is, surprisingly, a minor focus on the actual content of operation mandates concerning gender perspective. However, several scholars have mentioned the importance of mandate and language respectively regarding gender mainstreaming in peacekeeping missions. As Karim and Beardsley (2013) point out, following the adoption of resolution 1325 in 2000, operations' mandates have been scripted to promote gender mainstreaming and balancing. Consequently, since then, the mission mandates began to incorporate gendered language, especially with concern to sexual misconduct by peacekeeping personnel. Baldwin and Taylor (2020) emphasize that gender mainstreaming, defined by the Women, Peace, and Security (WPS) agenda, impacts the way peacekeeping mandates are constructed, especially on the rhetoric level. Similarly, Rimmer (2016) notes that gender aspects under

the WPS are now more routinely part of the peacekeeping mandates and fieldwork, following the HIPPO report.

Despite the unsystematic implementation of the WPS agenda into operational action (Tryggestad, 2009; Karim and Beardsley, 2013), there is a reference to gender in almost every authorizing mandate (Karim, 2017), and such progress should not be ignored (Karim and Beardsley, 2013) as mandate determines the focus of peacekeeping operation and, to some extent, the modus operandi of mission staff. The strategies, defined by the mandate, then affect local societies in which they operate (Baldwin and Taylor, 2020). Karim and Beardsley (2013) discover a correlation between the language in the mandate and the influence of gender balance in mission. Dharmapuri (2013) explains this finding using the example of the Indian female formed police unit successful deployment within the UN mission in Liberia (UNMIL). Among other gender aspects, the operation's mandate underlined the commitment to increase women's involvement in local police service. Consequently, as the female peacekeepers supervise the recruitment, Liberia's national police units are composed of nearly 20 per cent of women.

As of yet, only Hudson (2005) and Kreft (2017) further examined the importance of peacekeeping mandate concerning gender mainstreaming, since, as Hudson (2005) points out, the mandate is crucial as it shapes all the decisions and budgeting within the particular operation. She focuses on six multidimensional missions from the early 2000s, concluding that resolution 1325 lead to the more systematic consideration of gender in mandates and field missions. Similarly, Kreft (2017) analyses the implementation of resolution 1325 within peacekeeping, specifically how the resolution affects mission mandates, noting that the reference to gender is essential for fully gender mainstreamed peacekeeping. Kreft examines all authorizing mandates (as of 2017), concluding that resolution 1325 positively impacts gender reference in peacekeeping mandates, as there were only four mandates before the authorization of the resolution 1325 with such reference. She also highlights that host countries where sexual violence is expected received statistically more gendered content.

As outlined above, this thesis examines how the current UN peacekeeping operations mandates and their implementation reflect gender mainstreaming strategy. Such an objective implies a strong focus on the use of language and the mandate's content in general. As demonstrated, many studies have focused on the benefits of women personnel,

and broadly gender perspective, in peace operations as manifested by the policymakers. Drawing primarily on Hudson's and Kreft's research on peacekeeping mandates, the thesis will aim to fill the existing gap on how the current multidimensional UN operations reflect gender mainstreaming in their mandates and operational practices.

1. 4 Limitations

The thesis is subject to two limitations. First, by current UN peacekeeping missions, I mean five operations, as outlined within the methodological sub-section. Although, there are twelve ongoing missions under the UN at this moment. Since the overall aim of this study is to reflect in detail how is gender mainstreaming incorporated within operations mandates and their implementation, I have chosen to focus on five particular missions comprehensively rather than examine all twelve operations in a more general context, considering the scope of the thesis. However, the analysis of the remaining seven missions could be addressed in future research.

The second limitation stems from the lack of data concerning the implementation of gender mainstreaming in field work. Since there is no existing data collection and the only information provided comes from the United Nations, the evaluation of operational practices may provide an incomplete and biased picture. Furthermore, the information regarding the implementation processes varies across the five studied missions, meaning that it is difficult to evaluate the operational practices systematically.

2.   Conceptual and Theoretical Framework: Gender Mainstreaming and Liberal Feminism

2. 1. Conceptualisation: Gender Mainstreaming Strategy within the UN System

The term gender mainstreaming refers to the efforts to scrutinise and reform policy development and implementation at all stages and fields from gender-specific approach to address and improve existing inequalities (True, 2003: 369). Gender mainstreaming describes the process of assessing gender implications to any actions to 'mainstream' women's knowledge, experiences, and perceptions in policymaking and implementation (Karim and Beardsley, 2013: 465).

The concept of gender mainstreaming emerged within the critical debate on the international development paradigm throughout the 1970s and 1980s, questioning the slow pace of women empowerment and the limitations of gender equality objectives. Shortly after the Fourth World Conference on Women in 1995, the Beijing Platform for Action turned gender mainstreaming into a broader strategy of gender equality (True, 2010: 190-192). As such, the concept represents a method of incorporating gender perspectives in policy practices and normative frameworks (Olsson and Gizelis, 2014: 522).

As a result of these efforts, the UN Economic and Social Council defines gender mainstreaming as follows:

'Mainstreaming a gender perspective is the process of assessing the implication for women and men of any planned action, including legislation, policies, and programmes, in all areas and at all levels. It is a strategy for making women as well as men's concerns and experiences an integral dimension of the design, implementation, monitoring and evaluation of policies and programmes in all political, economic and societal spheres so that women and men benefit equally, and inequality is not perpetuated. The ultimate goal is to achieve gender equality' (ECOSOC, 1997).

Simply put, the strategy of gender mainstreaming demands tools and techniques which would target the issues of gender imbalance (Väyrynen, 2004: 137-138). The UN has developed several legal mechanisms to address gender imbalance. The critical document, resolution 1325 on 'Women, Peace, and Security'(WPS), was adopted by the Security Council in 2000, creating the 'WPS agenda' which focuses on the positive role of women

in conflict prevention, peace-building activities and post-conflict processes, including negotiations as well as emphasises the negative experiences that females face during the conflict (Fapohunda, 2011: 163). Consequently, other crucial documents regarding gender mainstreaming strategy within the UN system followed. By 2020, the WPS agenda is defined by eleven resolutions in total; S/RES/1325 (2000), S/RES/1820 (2008), S/RES/1888 (2009), S/RES/1889 (2009), S/RES/1960 (2010), S/RES/2106 (2013), S/RES/2122 (2013), S/RES/2242 (2015), and most recent resolutions S/RES/2467, S/RES/2493 adopted in 2019 and S/RES/2538 adopted in 2020 (United Nations, 2020d).

2. 2. 'Gender Mainstreaming' Resolutions

Given the research objective and the relatively broad content of these resolutions concerning the WPS agenda, I will be focusing on the individual implications for peacekeeping operations (and their mandates) within this section. Regarding UN peacekeeping, the most important resolutions are the first four: e.g., resolutions 1325, 1820, 1888, and 1889 as they set the specific direction. The most recent six resolutions follow that direction, modifying the organisational set-up of those particular implications.

As was mentioned earlier, the landmark resolution of the WPS agenda was resolution 1325, adopted in 2000, recognising the importance of gender in peace and security, including gender expertise within the multidimensional peace operations. For the first time, the United Nations have addressed conflicts' impact on women (True, 2003: 373). The resolution highlights the importance of women's inclusion in all decision-making processes and all UN bodies, including peace operations. Resolution 1325 further acknowledges the positive contribution of women peacekeepers and the need to address gender perspectives in peacekeeping. For this purpose, the resolution emphasises the importance of specialised training concerning gender issues for the personnel (S/RES/1325).

Given the allegations of sexual exploitation and abuse committed by both the armed groups and peacekeeping personnel deployed by the UN, the Security Council has focused on integrating gender considerations to eliminate such incidents (Crawford and MacDonald, 2011: 83). Therefore, resolution 1820, adopted in 2008, recognises sexual violence as one of the war's strategies. Apart from re-calling for more significant deployment of women, the resolution stresses that women are targeted by sexual violence during conflict. Thus, the resolution advocates for the protection of women and girls from

such violence in conflict and, at the same time, calls for relevant training for personnel to adequately prevent and respond to sexual violence against civilians. Furthermore, the resolution highlights the need to enhance the implementation of the policy of zero tolerance of sexual violence within the peace operations (S/RES/1820). As such, resolution no. 1820 was the first to address the sexual violence against women while expressing the injunction concerning peacekeeping personnel misconduct (Crawford and MacDonald, 2011: 84).

The resolutions 1888 and 1889, both adopted in 2009, build upon the previous ones. Apart from underlying the need to contain appropriate prevention and response to sexual violence in the mission's mandate, the resolution 1888 introduces the role of women's protection advisors (WPAs) within peacekeeping operations to enhance the protection of women, mainly from sexual and other gender-based violence (SGBV) (S/RES/1888). Additionally, resolution 1889 requests further women's empowerment and gender equality promotion in all UN missions' mandates, asking for appointing WPAs and gender advisors to support technical assistance with training and other strategies to improve the overall coordination (S/RES/1889).

Resolution 1960, adopted in 2010, continues to address the issues related to sexual violence and abuse in conflict. Apart from integrating the WPAs and gender advisors in the mission together, the resolution creates a *'naming and shaming'* approach concerning the suspects and perpetrators of sexual violence (S/RES/1960).

Resolution 2106, adopted in 2013, addresses the need to develop a more systematic mechanism to monitor sexual violence during conflict. The resolution further requests the deployment of the WPAs and stresses the role of gender advisors in conducting comprehensive gender programmes in missions. Additionally, the resolution once again re-calls the need for SGBV prevention (S/RES/2106). The Security Council adopted another resolution 2122 in 2013, which calls for further initiatives of women's inclusion within the WPS agenda and reviewing mechanisms for implementing the resolution 1325. The resolution also requests senior officials from the Department of Peace Operations (DPO) and other relevant senior officials to update the Security Council on the WPS agenda issues (S/RES/2122).

Resolution 2242, adopted in 2015, calls for technical gender expertise and gender analysis to be part of all stages of operations, including the development of mandates. The resolution also calls for greater budget for gender-awareness training and senior gender advisors' recruitment in multidimensional peacekeeping operations (S/RES/2242).

The recent resolutions, 2467 and 2493, both adopted in 2019, express a concern given the under-representation of women in peacekeeping (S/RES/2467; S/RES/2493). Resolution 2467 further requests the DPO to monitor the proportion of women personnel, stressing the need to include gender equality promotion. The resolution again reminds the need to appoint gender advisors and promote women's protection and participation in renewing UN mandates. Similarly, resolution 2493 further regulates the appointment of WPAs and gender advisors in the field (S/RES/2493). The latest resolution among the WPS agenda, resolution 2538, remembers the 20th anniversary of the landmark resolution 1325 and calls for further action to increase women's involvement in peacekeeping, including the initiative to double the number of female personnel in military and police contingents by 2020 compared to the numbers from 2015 (S/RES/2538).

2. 2. 1 Gender Mainstreaming in Peacekeeping

Given the WPS agenda's relatively broad content, it is necessary to specify the particular implications for peacekeeping missions. The strategy of gender mainstreaming is defined by the Department of Peace Operations (formerly DPKO – Department of Peacekeeping Operations) as '*a way of guaranteeing that the concerns, requirements, and opinions of women and men are included equally into every aspect of peacekeeping. This means that each component of the peacekeeping mission (uniformed and civilian, substantive and support) includes a gender perspective in all its functions and tasks from start-up to draw-down.*' (United Nations, 2014: 21-22).

Gender mainstreaming follows the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, demanding equal rights between genders, including access to public service. Ensuring their right to serve in male-dominated institutions requires a shift in organizational culture to establish a place for personnel of all genders (Ghittoni et al., 2018: 18-19). Broadly speaking, gender mainstreaming within peacekeeping refers to a desirable shift from the narrative of masculinised protectors and the feminised protected (Willet, 2010: 147).

Gender mainstreaming in peacekeeping includes several instrumentalist solutions to incorporate the gender perspective and, therefore, shift attention to overall gender awareness (Väyrynen, 2004: 138). Regarding the efforts in peacekeeping, the main targets are to increase the number of women deployed and provide gender-oriented training to all staff (Fapohunda, 2011: 163). The resolutions I have mentioned in the previous section provide the overall framework for gender mainstreaming strategy in peace operations. As was said, mainly in terms of gender awareness training and development of guidance for personnel to better respond to sexual and gender-based violence in the field. The DPKO/DPO and the Department of Field Support (DFS) have published several policy directives and guidelines for both military and police units within peace operations, which elaborates core requirements and principles for implementing the WPS agenda in all peace operations' components. The purpose of such guidelines and policy directives is to translate the resolution into practice and, therefore, deliver specific practical tools and resources at all levels (St-Pierre, 2011: 5). Thus, gender mainstreaming in peacekeeping can be understood as particular techniques and tools, such as gender training, presence of WPAs and gender advisors, as well as the overall need for greater women's participation within peacekeeping structures and the need to protect women from sexual and other gender-related violence (United Nations, 2018a). Therefore, mainstreaming gender is not only about women's rights and empowerment, but it also covers the analysis of challenges and inequalities and the need to reform them (Bertolazzi, 2010: 9).

The UN underlines that women have not been afforded their equal share in peacekeeping, although they have been the main targets of conflicts (Väyrynen, 2004: 137). These barriers result from the overall low proportion of women in national armed forces since the UN is not responsible for the personnel selection. Although they can demand a specific deployment experience, the responsibility to provide personnel rests on the troop and police-contributing contributing countries (Fapohunda, 2011: 165). But there are other obstacles, such as the lack of support networks, the ostracism within training, the lack of information about the deployment, or the presence of sexual and gender-based harassment, which the UN tries to address within gender mainstreaming efforts (Ghittoni et al., 2018).

Apart from addressing the barriers women face in peacekeeping operations, the UN has also stressed the overall argument for the effectiveness of such missions, emphasising the necessity to incorporate a gender perspective in order to achieve the operations' goal,

which is related to the shift in nature of peacekeeping missions after the Cold War (Karim and Beardsley, 2013: 465). Therefore, gender mainstreaming promotes a strategy that addresses the challenges of peace support operations within post-conflict situations, such as human rights protection and prevention of local population from sexual and other gender-based violence (Fapohunda, 2011: 165).

The strategy further argues that increasing participation of women would lead to overall greater operational effectiveness since female peacekeepers can reach women among locals better than their colleagues, and their presence within peacekeeping units can mitigate the sexual allegations committed by their male counterparts (Ghittoni et al., 2018: 15-16). I will discuss the arguments for incorporating a gender perspective and the rationales for increasing women's personnel in more depth within the following chapter.

2. 3 Theoretical Framework: Feminism in IR and Security Studies

Feminist scholars have brought attention to the women's role in international security and the relevance of incorporating gender perspective in conflict resolution. Thus, they have contributed to the discipline with a critical analysis of the traditional perception of security issues (Sjoberg, 2009: 4). While the feminist scholarship is far from united within the field of Security Studies and International Relations, the common ground for all of them is to make gender more visible and explain women's subordination (Peoples, 2010: 33-34). Therefore, gender and feminist scholars have initiated a critical analysis of the key elements; peace, war and the nation-state (Blanchard, 2003: 1289).

Feminist scholars use gender lenses as a tool to analyse gender-based assumptions and power relations by drawing attention to the role of women (and gender in general) in war and combat, demonstrating gender bias. This focus on (in)security of an individual illustrates the feminist argument that '*the personal is international and international is personal*' (Sjoberg, 2009: 4-5). Various approaches have been used to bring attention to these personal and international stories, each using different techniques dealing with the nature of world politics through a feminist perspective (Zalewski, 2010a: 29).

2. 4 Gendering Peacekeeping

Feminist scholars criticise the 'maiden and warrior' masculinist model in which men are portrayed as active heroes who defend passive and endangered women, resulting in women's objectification (Youngs, 2006: 8). Similarly, Elshtain introduces the concept of

'beautiful souls' and *'just warriors'*. Here, men are described as combatants who engage in violence to prevent a more hostile environment. In contrast, women are the beautiful souls of society; they are pacifists who offer compassion (Elshtain, 1982: 342-343). Both models illustrate combat's perception as a male environment because women are too precious for war (Pettman, 2005: 105).

Consequently, the military organisation structure corresponds with this binary classification. The female staff is often excluded from certain specialities and activities, while men dominate the personnel composition of military units (Carreiras, 2010: 472-473). That creates an essential obstacle in achieving gender equality within peacekeeping missions, apart from the warrior identity, as peacekeeping personnel is composed of police and military recruits from national armies of the participating countries (Karim and Beardsley, 2017: 30).

The construct of militarised masculinity, which excludes females from participation, is rooted in peacekeeping; men project the manly culture within the missions with their perceptions of norms and ideas (Puechguirbal, 2010: 163). This masculine culture creates gender power imbalances that restrict women's engagement in peacekeeping, thus preventing greater female participation (Karim and Beardsley, 2017: 3-4). On the other hand, Duncanson argues that some positive characteristics result from militarised masculinity, such as bravery and ambition, that may overlap with the *'traditional feminine'* traits like patience and empathy. Having said that, Duncanson develops an alternative *'peacekeeper masculinity'* that possesses and values both masculine and feminine skills; hence, combining these could provide an identity of soldier suitable for conflict management and resolution (Duncanson, 2009: 77).

Cynthia Enloe raises the question of whether peacekeeping within the UN evokes a less militaristic and less masculine environment than in national-state armies (Blanchard, 2003: 1304-1305), given the difference between traditional army tasks and peacekeeping. In conventional soldering, the personnel are encouraged to strive for a fight in which strength and dominance can be shown. On the other hand, peacekeepers meant to be calm and to seek conciliation. In other words, any acts of violence indicate a personal failure (De Groot, 2001: 34). That suggests peacekeeping may require more peaceful characteristics that women usually possess according to the binary classification (Pettman, 2005: 109). Women are perceived as valuable for peacekeeping purposes because they are women (De

Groot, 2001: 37). Female soldiers are meant to be more peaceful and gentler with better aggression control (Carreiras, 2010: 480). The proponents of gender integration into the military object against this simplification, arguing that women and men are the same; thus, there is no reason to exclude women from combat activities (De Groot, 2001: 37). As a result of this narrative, the traditional gender roles are also embedded in peacekeeping (Carreiras, 2010: 480). To sum it up, the unequal relationship between gender and power is the leading cause of women's exclusion in peacekeeping (Karim and Beardsley, 2017: 27).

2. 5 Feminist Approaches

Generally, feminist approaches are divided into four main clusters; liberal feminism, Marxist feminism, cultural feminism, and post-modern feminism (Maynard, 1995: 259-260). As mentioned previously, given the diversity of feminist thought, there are more than ten labels, including different streams within the discipline, all with various predictions and ideas on international politics (Tong and Botts, 2018: 1).

Regarding the links between gender relations, war and peace, Burguieres distinguishes three main feminist approaches to peace. The first predominant perspective is pacifist feminism, which perceives women as peaceful beings due to their gender. In other words, if men give them space, women can bring peace. Their narrative is strongly related to the traditional stereotypes of feminine and masculine values. The second stream is liberal feminism, which stresses the need for gender equality, including military, police, and other combat-related activities, as they reject women's nature as an ideology that oppresses them. The third approach is anti-militarist feminism that criticises stereotypes based on sex, such as women as the peaceful gender, and opposes the militarisation processes (Burguieres, 1990: 3-8; Pettman 2005: 77).

2. 6 Feminist Theories and Gender Mainstreaming

Although some post-modern feminist scholars argue gender mainstreaming lost its normative potential by disconnecting itself from the modern feminist ideas and that it has become a set of methods, rather than a strategy with a solid theoretical background (Hankivsky, 2005: 985), the rest of the feminist scholarship agree the concept of gender mainstreaming is based on the feminism and its research on gender inequality. It emphasises change by drawing attention to organisational structures and processes (Daly, 2005: 439-440).

Gender mainstreaming brings attention to the existing patriarchy in global politics. Therefore, there should be a permanent critical focus on male-dominated sectors, as these institutions have fixed structures requiring modernisation. As a result, '*gender mainstreaming is an institutional phenomenon inside as much as outside patriarchy'* (Youngs, 2008: 699). Feminist scholarship focuses on the effects of gender mainstreaming and its implications for changes in international institutions (True, 2010: 189) as gender mainstreaming considers gender as an important factor in policy outcomes on men and women, and it brings attention to gendered relations onto policy agenda (Youngs, 2008: 689).

There are different views on gender mainstreaming within feminist theories (True, 2010: 192). Although it represents the common ground of feminism that gender is a central concept of social dynamics across all levels (Youngs, 2008: 693), gender mainstreaming epitomises some of the dilemmas and tensions among feminist scholarship, both in practice and theory (Walby, 2005: 322). As such, the principle itself is influenced by various ideas from feminist theories; therefore, different feminist approaches can be projected within gender mainstreaming. True perceives gender mainstreaming as mix of liberal, cultural, and poststructuralist feminism. According to her, gender mainstreaming, similarly to liberal feminism, demands a greater representation of women and includes their ideas and viewpoints. Some of the scholars understand the incorporation of gender diversity as a post-modern approach. Additionally, cultural feminism calls for the need to incorporate gender differences in order to empower women (True, 2010: 192-193).

Beveridge and Nott identify two approaches within gender mainstreaming; participatory/democratic and expert/bureaucratic. The former uses the liberal feminism perspective to focus on legal action and specific methods and tools to pursue gender equality (Beveridge and Nott, 2002: 301-305). The bureaucratic/expert approach uses gender experts to drive the agenda and policies of mainstreaming regarding UN peacekeeping, including having gender advisors in mission or developing gender-based training (True, 2010: 193). Indeed, during the 1990s, feminists within the UN and other non-government women's group were influenced mainly by liberal feminist ideas, which resulted in lobbying for some level of recognition concerning the gender imbalance within conflict resolutions tools along with the war impact on the female population within the Security Council (Willett, 2010: 148). Liberal feminism advocates the importance of the

normative framework position of gender mainstreaming at the institutional level and supports the measures to include said strategy in all UN bodies, including peacekeeping missions (CFFP, 2019).

Liberal feminism, as was adopted by the UN, supports integrating women in all kinds of structures; political, social, as well as economic (CFFP, 2019), following the strong emphasis on measurement tools and techniques as well as the stress on the *'individual'* within gender mainstreaming corresponds with liberal feminism (Hankivsky, 2005: 982-986). Although liberal feminism steam from the first wave of feminist thought following the international situation after the second world war, this approach is still persistent within the UN structure. That is mainly because of its less challenging nature in terms of feminist approaches, which suits the UN efforts to reach a wide consensus (Arat, 2015: 680).

Beveridge and Nott's participatory/democratic approach uses the cultural feminism lens (True, 2010: 193). Generally, cultural feminism, or pacifist feminists in Burguieres' distinction (Burguieres, 1990: 3-8, Pettman: 2005: 77), stresses the difference between men and women and argues the current legal system excludes women's perspective and their different moral conception (Preston and Ahrens, 2001: 9). That being said, the participatory model criticises the strong focus on *'law's essentialism'* experts and bureaucrats have adopted. As such, the legal system cannot comprehend the cultural differences between women. Therefore, gender mainstreaming law reforms will not be profitable for all, just those who fit the law-defined characteristics (Beveridge and Nott, 2002: 306).

As mentioned before, gender mainstreaming as an agenda for change has been a target for criticism from feminist academia (Davids et al., 2014: 396). Although the post-modern feminists welcome the inclusion of gender diversity within peacekeeping and gender mainstreaming in general (True, 2010: 193), they demand the strategy to be more inclusive. More precisely, post-modern scholarship criticises the exclusion of 'men' as gender mainstreaming narratives favour women, and there is a certain lack of intersectionality (Zalewski, 2010b: 5-6). The post-modern feminist critique of gender mainstreaming is based on the anti-militarist feminist approach, which argues against the sex stereotypes between genders (Pettman 2005: 77). Therefore, post-modern feminism argues that gender mainstreaming uses the term 'gender' as 'women,' resulting in a fixed meaning of equality (True, 2010: 193). Gender mainstreaming can be understood as a

universal meaning or common sense without different interpretations (Davids et al., 2014: 399). This 'agreed language', as Cohn names it (Cohn, 2008: 188), results in constructing women as victims and, more importantly, narrowing female soldiers in peacekeeping only as peacemakers, resulting from gender stereotypes about men being the aggressive ones, while women are naturally peaceful (Cohn, 2008: 198).

According to post-modernists, gender mainstreaming, as such, has simplified the feminist concept of gender from any radical potential (Charlesworth, 2005: 18). They perceive gender mainstreaming as limiting because of gender binary discrimination (Hankivsky, 2005: 978). In other words, gender mainstreaming heteronormalizes the debate on gender among feminists by reducing it only to males and females. Therefore, post-modern feminist scholars argue that the strategy is rather mainstreaming *women* than gender (Davids et al., 400-401). Thus, post-modernists see gender mainstreaming as an outdated concept due to the missing understanding of the combination of different intersectionality forms, such as the interrelations between gender, sexuality and social class (Hankivsky, 2005: 978-979).

As discussed earlier, most of the objections raised by the post-modern feminists were not heard and gender mainstreaming, driven by the prospects of liberal approach, by integrating women into already existing male-dominated structures (Arat, 2015: 674-675). This study will work with liberal feminism as a theoretical concept. Given the research objectives based on gender mainstreaming, this work's purpose is not to contest the gender narrative approach adopted by the United Nations within peacekeeping structures, as it was criticised by other feminist scholars. Liberal feminism does not deny that peacekeeping is still a male-dominated institution (Sjoberg, 2009: 3). On the contrary, liberal feminism criticises women's subordination within existing structures, including UN peacekeeping, using gender mainstreaming strategy to bring more women (Stiehm, 2009: 22).

This work, therefore, accepts the current narrative of gender mainstreaming within the UN. Regarding the research objectives, I will be focusing on specific steps resulting from gender mainstreaming strategy for the UN peacekeeping missions' mandates.

2. 6. 1 Liberal Feminism and Gender Mainstreaming

As was previously mentioned, the United Nations has adopted gender mainstreaming following liberal feminist principles (Arat, 2015: 680; Willett, 2010: 148; True, 2010: 192; Barnes, 2006: 24; Hankivsky, 2005: 986; Karim and Beardsley, 2017: 55).

The critical standpoint of liberal feminism is to *'make women in international security more visible.'* This liberal approach is mainly based on the book *Bananas, Beaches, and Bases* by Cynthia Enloe (Peoples, 2014: 36). Liberal feminists, therefore, focus on addressing women's discrimination in all forms and identify the specific barriers that prevent equal gender participation (Sjoberg, 2009: 192). The liberal feminist analysis shows the equality within the involvement is not necessarily a result of sameness between genders, but it also includes existing differences among sexes. Therefore, equal participation should be understood in both *'possibility'* and *'choice'* (Youngs, 2008: 5-6). Thus, liberal feminism seeks to end the discrimination and exclusion of women in the male-dominated world by increasing their power and overall access to public institutions to reduce gender inequality (Pettman, 2005: 6-7).

The United Nations have adopted a similar approach. Resolution 1325, the first one defining gender mainstreaming, has addressed the liberal feminist ideas to challenge women's overall low representation within the UN structures, including he peacekeeping units (Pratt, 2014: 773). As was discussed earlier, taking the liberal feminist approach can be understood as a way how to reach a compromise during the negotiation process since other feminist approaches are much more radical in meeting their demands (Arat, 2015: 680). Gender mainstreaming, from a liberal feminist perspective, has become an important tool in empowering women and advocating their demands to take an active role as participants of debates on peace and war (Pratt, 2014: 773).

The impact of liberal feminism within gender mainstreaming framework demonstrates the strong emphasis on its analytical techniques and tools resulting from the clear gender category, as was criticised by post-modern feminists (Hankivsky, 2005: 986-987). Regarding the gender mainstreaming strategy, the UN seeks to present clear achievements and set the following benchmarks. This focus on equal opportunities and gender balance results in mostly data-driven logic of gender mainstreaming (Arat, 2015: 680). As a response to that, the UN has incorporated gender issues into all its bodies and engages

bureaucratic units to develop specific mechanisms and tools, for example, gender guidelines and gender-focused training to standardise this process (True, 2010: 193).

That corresponds with the expert/bureaucratic approach Beveridge and Nott (2002) introduced in which bureaucrats and experts play a crucial role in developing and advancing gender strategy by creating mainstreaming initiatives that should address a greater understanding of gender-related topics. Furthermore, the bureaucrats create policies based on mainstreaming tools carrying implications for the experts in the field (Beveridge and Nott, 2002: 301-302). Such a technocratic approach is based on the liberal feminist agenda of a broader integration of women (True, 2010: 193). Concerning peacekeeping, such techniques can be observed in gender-disaggregated data and gender manuals /guidelines created for the staff and the personnel (Hankivsky, 2005: 986).

2. 7 Conclusion on the Theoretical and Conceptual Background

I argue that gender mainstreaming is infused with liberal feminist thoughts on analytical tools. The strategy is driven by the argument of women's equal right to serve. The level of gender equality within UN peacekeeping should be a goal on its own, regardless of any other operational effectiveness reasoning (Ghittoni et al., 2018: 18-19). Accordingly, the UN seeks to respond to these barriers by developing the technocratic approach in which experts and bureaucrats play an essential role in developing specific gender strategies by mainstreaming initiatives that should support the overall gender perspective (Beveridge and Nott, 2002: 301-304). This technique is based on the liberal feminist agenda of women's integration (True, 2010: 193). Following this approach, practices such as presence of WPAs, gender training and gender advisors, are reflected within the Security Council's resolutions under the WPS agenda. However, other routines, such as monitoring gender-disaggregated data and implementing gender guidelines and manuals, were created by experts for the personnel deployed in missions (Hankivsky, 2005: 986).

As was previously mentioned, the aim of this work is not to adopt a critical radical feminist lens against gender mainstreaming but to analyse how is this strategy of gender mainstreaming reflected in the current UN peace support operations since the concept has been a part of missions' mandates since the 2000s (Karim and Beardsley, 2013: 466). Although the Security Council members approve mandates, other actors are involved within the process: the UN secretariat, regional and inter-governmental bodies, and other state actors (Kreft, 2017: 136). For that reason, the mandates are expected to make clear

commitments to the general principles of gender mainstreaming and balancing. Moreover, any detailed specification of gender within the mandate may provide criteria for measuring the operation's action on gender equality (United Nations, 2002: 73-74). Therefore, the language of the peacekeeping mandate is essential as it shapes the practices and policies. As such, the mandate provides the groundwork for measures to be taken on gender mainstreaming (Hudson, 2005: 799).

Based on the liberal feminism theory and gender mainstreaming strategy along with the eleven resolutions that have been adopted by the Security Council and Kreft's (2017) work on gender mainstreaming in UN mandates, the empirical part will examine gender mainstreaming content within four broader categories:

1. the goal of gender equality: Following the overall objective of liberal feminism and gender mainstreaming strategy, among others, resolutions 1325 and 1889 specifically refer to the importance of gender equality within peacekeeping. As such, mission mandates should reflect this pledge to gender equality, inter alia, by including a commitment to increase the number of women in peacekeeping missions (S/RES/1325; S/RES/1889; S/RES/2467; S/RES/2493; S/RES/2538).

2. women's agency and their participation in politics and other areas: Women's empowerment and participation in politics and other areas of civic life are one of the cornerstones of the resolution 1325 (S/RES/1325) key issue within subsequent resolutions within the WPS agenda. In particular, the mandates should ensure women's participation at all stages, women's initiatives while emphasizing their protection (S/RES/1325; S/RES/1889).

3. protection of women from (mainly sexual and other gender-based) violence: Based on the resolution 1820 and the subsequent resolutions within the WPS addressing the unequal impact conflict have on women as sexual and other gender-based violence is considered to be one of warfare's tools (S/RES/1820), the mandate is, therefore, expected to recognise this effect on women and thus identify the need to protect them in such environment (Kreft, 2017: 142; S/RES/1820). Following the resolution 1888, the peacekeeping mandates should also reflect prevention and response to SGBV along with assistance to victims and should also refer to women's protection advisors (WPAs) within the operation (S/RES/1888). Additionally, the

mandates should demonstrate reference to justice for victims and accountability for perpetrators of SGBV as stated within the resolution 1960 (S/RES/1960).

4. gender element: As mentioned, gender mainstreaming has adopted the so-called technocratic approach derived from the liberal feminist perspective. Therefore, it reflects the deployment of experts and the existence of relevant expertise in the field. Initially, resolution 1325 requests gender-responsive training and guidance integrated within peacekeeping missions, their mandates respectively (S/RES/1325). Subsequently, the WPS agenda has progressed within this regard; resolution 1889 introduces the deployment of gender advisors and resolution 2242 requests technical gender expertise and analysis in peacekeeping (S/RES/1889; S/RES/2242). As such, this component related to gender mainstreaming should be reflected within mission mandates (Kreft, 2017: 144).

As outlined, each of the categories contains specific indications for mandate content. Therefore, these factors will be applied in the empirical section to examine the reflection of gender mainstreaming strategy within missions.

3. The Changing Nature of Peacekeeping: The Need to Incorporate Gender Perspective

3. 1. Peacekeeping in the post-Cold War period

The early peacekeeping missions, deployed during the Cold War era, focused on maintaining the ceasefires or generally observing and stabilizing the situation to ensure secure environment for rival parties to negotiate. With the fall of the Iron Curtain, the nature of peacekeeping has changed. Since the 1990s, the United Nations significantly expanded the scope of peace operations (Puechguirbal, 2010: 161). The Agenda for Peace from 1992 reflected the shift from traditional security to broader and wider approaches based on liberal principles of collective action and human rights (Barnes, 2006: 4). The conventional 'overseeing' role has been replaced by more complex multidimensional tasks. The current peacekeeping operations include diverse activities, from restoring peace and disarmament to monitoring elections and human rights (Puechguirbal, 2010: 161). As such, the contemporary operations contain civilian and military activities. Given the strong emphasis on the humanitarian and other civilian components, the mandates reflected this shift by incorporating a broader public perspective, including gender elements (Olsson, 2000: 1). As such, the gender component is a part of a broader evolution of how peace operations are conducted (Karim and Beardsley, 2013: 466).

The number of peacekeeping operations and their complexity has been increasing; therefore, there is an instant need for qualified personnel to carry out such tasks. Considering that civilian focus should be as broad as possible, the UN has been developing an agenda for equal participation for women to highlight their needs in armed conflicts and post-conflict development and their overall contribution to peacekeeping (Odanović, 2010: 70-71). The transformation of peace operations, widening security sectors and acknowledging women's roles in war and post-war processes aim to create inclusive and long-lasting peace in the post-Cold War period (Barnes, 2006: 1). As was mentioned, the multidimensional operations are more complex; thus, they require a broad spectrum of personnel, traditional military staff, and police units and civilian experts. These transformations, the goal of gender equality, in particular, were reflected in missions' mandates, deployment and host country's security (Karim and Beardsley, 2017: 12-13).

3. 2. Integrating the WPS Agenda into Peacekeeping

The origins of the Women, Peace, and Security agenda go back to 1975 when the UN launched the so-called Decade for Women to advocate equal rights and opportunities along with the debate on the role of gender within development policies (Charlesworth, 2005: 2). Following the events in Rwanda and Bosnia, the NGO community and feminist activists emphasized the negative impacts of conflict on women, the threat of sexual violence, and the generally low number of women in peace negotiations throughout the 1990s (Karim and Beardsley, 2017: 14). The Fourth World Conference on Women held in Beijing responded to such proclamations within the Beijing Platform for Action; the conference's outcome set a framework emphasizing women's rights and empowerment, in which one chapter is focused on WPS issues later reflected in landmark resolution 1325 (Cohn, 2008: 187). The Platform for Action also popularized the term 'gender mainstreaming' as a strategy that highlights women's unequal position and the consequent need to promote mainstreaming gender perspective; therefore, such programmes will be more inclusive (Charlesworth, 2005: 3).

In 2000, both the Windhoek Declaration and the Namibia Plan for Action asked the DPKO to create measures to support gender equality within peacekeeping (Bertolazzi, 2010: 8). The Windhoek Declaration emphasized peacekeeping's evolving nature and underlined that the gender dimension had not been addressed. Accordingly, the Plan of Action stressed the need for equal participation for women in peacekeeping and other peace processes, proposing the following course of action: gender mainstreaming should be an integral part of the mission's mandate; personnel composition should consist of a higher number of women, including leadership positions and compulsory gender awareness training (S/2000/693). The Windhoek Declaration and the Namibia Plan of Action were the first documents to incorporate the WPS agenda into peacekeeping. Both were based on the *'Mainstreaming a Gender Perspective in Multidimensional Peace Operations'* DPKO study from the Lessons Learned Unit, following the missions in Namibia, El Salvador, Bosnia and South Africa (Karim and Beardsley, 2017: 14). The study suggested that the multidimensional operations involved women and that their presence in the field makes a difference, particularly given their access to the local population. Therefore, contemporary missions should focus on gender issues in order to improve the mission's effectiveness (DPKO, 2000). This study's primary conclusion was that missions in South Africa and

Namibia proved to be more successful because they had a higher percentage of women deployed (Rupesinghe et al., 2019: 207).

Resolution 1325, adopted by the Security Council in October 2000, reflected on the Namibia Plan of Action and Windhoek Declaration's previous instruments and called for greater involvement of women in peace processes, including peacekeeping (Bertolazzi, 2010: 8). Since then, the Security Council has adopted several resolutions within the WPS agenda, which are now an essential part of peacekeeping operations (Karim and Beardsley, 2017: 14-15). The issue of gender is addressed within key peacekeeping documents, although to a significantly lower extent than in specific DPKO/DPO gender directives and guidelines. The Panel on United Nations Peace Operations Report, informally known as the Brahimi report, from 2000 addressed the need for '*equal and fair gender distribution*' and called for '*particular sensitivity towards gender differences*' (A/55/305). The High-Level Independent Panel Report from 2015 noted the importance of increasing female personnel because of their '*vital role*' for peacekeeping and stressed the importance of integrating gender sensitivity perspectives and norms while highlighting the work of gender advisors (A/70/95).

The DPKO/DPO consistently integrate the resolutions within the WPS agenda and other related directives into peacekeeping. Apart from the initial '*Mainstreaming Gender Perspective in Multidimensional Peace Operations*' study (Karim and Beardsley, 2017: 14), the DPKO published '*Policy Directive on Gender Equality in Peacekeeping Operations*' and '*Gender Mainstreaming Policy Guidelines*' in 2006, stressing the importance to advance gender perspective in all missions, including senior management (Dharmapuri, 2013: 8). In 2008, the DPKO developed a manual '*Integrating Gender Perspective into the Work of United Nations Police in Peacekeeping Missions*' (St-Pierre, 2011: 5). Two years later, the DPKO also released the outline for military personnel named '*Guidelines for Integrating a Gender Perspective into the UN Military's Work in Peacekeeping Operations*' (Dharmapuri, 2013: 8). Reflecting on the UNSCR 1820, 1888 and 1889, the guideline includes preventing sexual violence and other gender-based violence within peacekeeping structures and providing systematic training for peacekeepers to address these and other gender issues (DPKO, 2010). Both documents sought to provide a practical translation of the WPS resolutions' normative framework and give information about specific operational requirements for deployment and personnel

training (Dharmapuri, 2013: 8-9). Subsequently, the DPKO/DPO released several other materials guiding the WPS agenda within peacekeeping. The *'Gender Forward Looking Strategy 2014-2018'* considers the expanding normative framework of the WPS, namely resolutions 1960, 2106 and 2122, and highlights the best practices policies regarding gender in peacekeeping (DPKO, 2014). Currently, particular gender strategies within peacekeeping are driven by the *'Gender Responsive United Nations Peacekeeping Operations'* policy from 2018 (DPKO, 2018a), and the 2014-2018 strategy was replaced by the '*Uniformed Gender Parity Strategy 2018-2028'* (DPKO, 2018b).

3. 3. Women's Participation in Peacekeeping

Although peacekeeping has been part of the UN security instruments for over 70 years, the under-representation of women did not raise concerns until the 1990s. Since then, the discourse on inclusive international peace and stability within the United Nations has emerged (Carreiras, 2015: 69-70). Throughout the UN Decade of Women, female personnel challenged the male domination within peacekeeping recruitment, which resulted in unequal access to deployment opportunities (Ghittoni et al., 2018: 5). Similarly, academic scholars and NGOs have been calling troop-contributing countries to deploy more women in peace operations (Simić, 2010: 188), and with the adoption of resolution 1325, the proportion of female staff in peacekeeping has increased (Karim and Beardsley, 2017: 17).

The overall participation of women peacekeepers has been the core of the WPS agenda since the very beginning. This strategy of gender balancing within peacekeeping focus on gender parity between male and female staff. As such, gender balancing is one of the features of gender mainstreaming, arguably the most visible one (Rupesinghe et al., 2019: 206). As mentioned earlier, the member states provide the personnel for UN missions. Given that peacekeepers are primarily soldiers, the male-dominated structure of national armed forces reflected the personnel composition before the WPS agenda occurred (Simić, 2010: 189). Both the Namibia Plan of Action in 2000 and the Windhoek Declaration addressed the difficult position of DPKO to deploy more female personnel, given the national army and police structures (Ghittoni et al., 2018: 5).

Consequently, the overall participation of women has expanded slowly over the years. The statistics gathered by the UN indicate that only twenty women have served in peacekeeping between 1957 and 1989, mainly as medical personnel. Although the number

of female peacekeepers between 1989 to 1992 increased to 255, it was still one per cent of all military personnel (United Nations, 1995). In 1993, more than half of the missions had a considerable civilian section, and female peacekeepers represented one-third of the personnel deployed (Rupesinghe et al., 2019: 208).

The United Nations started gender-disaggregate peacekeeping data for military personnel in 2006, 2009 for police, respectively. Although women's deployment is far from gender parity, the overall proportion of female peacekeepers has slowly risen (Karim and Beardsley, 2017: 17). The UN does not release gender-disaggregated data for civilian personnel, meaning that it is very difficult to track women's representation within that component. Such shortcoming hinders the possibility to follow the progress within gender deployment and shows somewhat limited commitment to monitor statistics within the WPS agenda. The only available information on gender composition is the infographic from 2018, mentioning that women constitute 28 per cent of civilian personnel (United Nations, 2018b). The graph below shows the number of women in peacekeeping from 2006 to 2020.

Source: United Nations (2020b), December Gender Statistics, 2006-2020.

Although peacekeeping consists of civilian, police and military components, the police and military forces dominate the missions (Simić, 2010: 192). The numbers of women in the military increase upwardly compared to police, although the overall percentage of female peacekeepers within the military contingents is significantly lower than in police units (United Nations, 2020a). In 2009, former Secretary-general Ban Ki-moon launched an initiative to increase the percentage of female peacekeepers to 20 per cent in police units

and 10 per cent within military contingents by 2020 (UN OCHA, 2020). As of December 2020, the statics are the following:
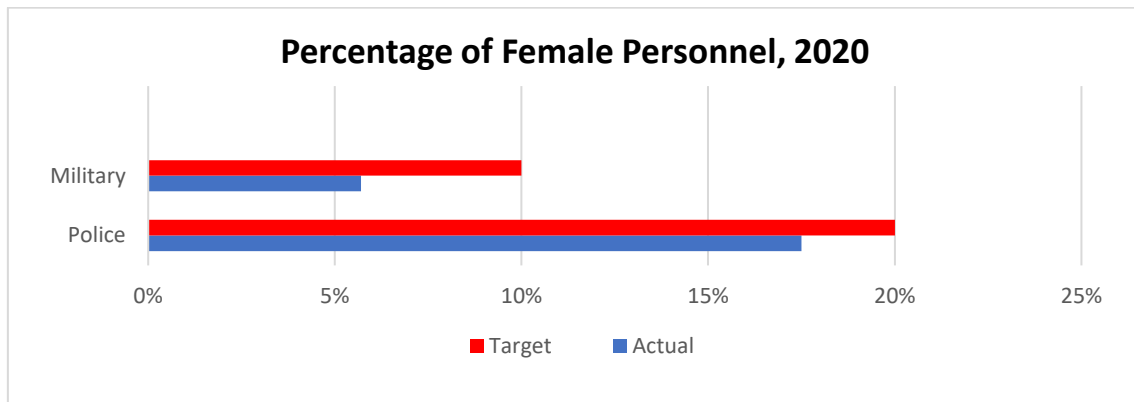
Percentage of Female Personnel, 2020

Currently, women make 5,7 per cent of the military and 17,5 per cent of police personnel. Despite the recent efforts, the current women's deployment did not meet the benchmarks from 2009 (United Nations, 2020a). As such, the proportion of female peacekeepers within military units is deficient. The police's statistics are higher, arguably because fewer women are in the armed forces than national police. Moreover, some countries have restrictions for females to join combat units (likely to be deployed), hampering the overall gender proportion (Ghittoni et al., 2018: 6). Hence, the low percentage of women personnel stems from the complex challenges outside of the United Nations; the composition of peacekeeping personnel reflects the gender gap within national militaries worldwide (Baldwin and Taylor, 2020: 3).

As mentioned earlier, the latest resolution 2538, adopted in 2020, calls for doubling the 2015 numbers for female personnel in both police units and military contingents (S/RES/2538). As of December 2015, a total of 4480 women were deployed in peacekeeping missions; 3069 in the military and 1411 in police (United Nations, 2015). In comparison, in December 2020, a total of 5795 female peacekeepers were deployed, from which 4176 were in military contingents and 1619 in police units (United Nations, 2020a).
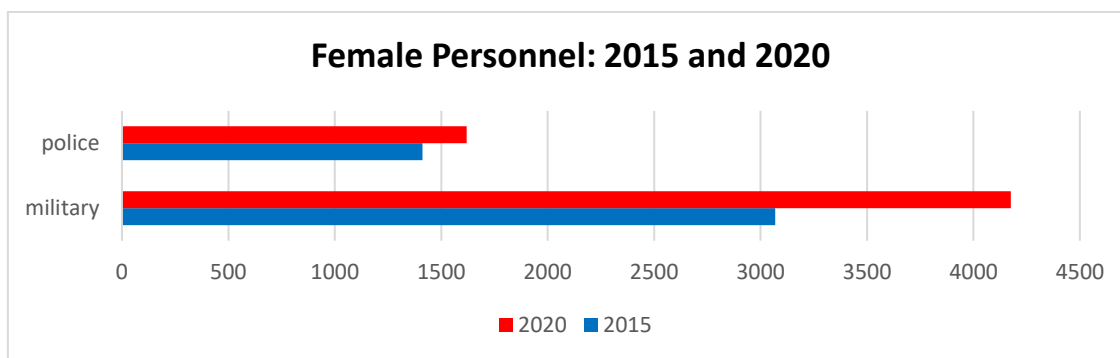
Female Personnel: 2015 and 2020

Although there is an increase in numbers, the progress in doubling the number of female personnel remains slow; although the growth in police units is only 14,7 per cent compared to the 36 per cent in military contingents, both figures are far from the outlined benchmark.

The aforementioned *'Uniformed Gender Parity Strategy 2018-2028'* noted that the number of women serving in the military has remained low since 2010. Therefore, the strategic goal is to reach the benchmark of 25 per cent of military observers and staff and 15 per cent of troops personnel to be women by 2028. Similarly, police units' targets are 20 per cent for women in FPUs (formed police units) and 30 per cent for mission staff and individual police officers by 2028 (DPKO, 2018b: 4-5). Although the benchmarks are set, the increase in numbers cannot be separated from other initiatives. Gender-balancing strategies are essential, but they must be accompanied by other efforts of gender mainstreaming, aiming to include a gender consideration in all parts of peacekeeping (Baldwin and Taylor, 2020: 5).

3. 4. Barriers to the Deployment in Peacekeeping

The higher number of women personnel means more effective and gender-focused missions; nevertheless, certain obstacles prevent female peacekeepers from achieving their maximum potential. As was mentioned earlier, the overall low proportion of women personnel within peacekeeping results from a generally small number of females in national security institutions (Karim, 2017: 827). This fact limits the number to be deployed into peacekeeping operations (Odanović, 2010: 75). At the same time, the low proportion of female personnel is a more complex issue. Besides the male domination within the police and army forces, women face additional barriers from deployment in peacekeeping (Ghittoni et al., 2018: 21).

The first set of barriers are linked to the prevailing norms and biases of gender inequality, meaning that women face not only the enemy but also the patriarchal standard surrounding them (Dharmapuri, 2013: 13), claiming that women require protection rather than being the protectors of security (Ghittoni et al., 2018: 24). These gendered protection norms cause women peacekeepers to be deployed to safer UN missions, and their movement outside of the base is limited when the risk of harm is exceptionally high (Karim, 2017: 828). Therefore, when there is 'no peace to keep', female personnel are often placed in an on-base position; they are considered in need of protection, which hampers their capacity to fulfil the mandate's objectives (Baldwin and Taylor, 2020: 8-9). Thus, female peacekeepers face unequal deployment opportunities because their role can be limited for the prevention and sexual and other gender-based violence response (Ghittoni et al., 2018: 38).

Secondly, female peacekeepers suffer from a lack of acceptance from their male counterparts. Such a view stems from the prejudice that women do not possess the necessary psychological and physical characteristics to carry out all peacekeeping military and police tasks (Odanović, 2010: 75). Therefore, women experience difficulties in breaking the old boy network and the consequent corruption within the deployment (Ghittoni et al., 2018: 23) as the recruitment process does not include a quota system for women personnel, but it is based on the operational factors regardless of sex (Odanović, 2010: 75). Interviews with female peacekeepers show that the lack of acceptance is particularly challenging when women are in command positions. If the UN mission occurs in a patriarchal environment, they may face disrespect from the male subordinates and the local population (Kurewba and Sikhulekile, 2018: 51). Apart from the difficulties female peacekeepers face within the UN peacekeeping structures, they also experience external gender division of labour. Women with children described they were labelled as 'bad mothers' because they defy the family duties. Similarly, single women encounter stigma as their male colleagues' wives see them as a potential threat. Such perceptions create a stressful working environment, leading to a higher exclusion of female peacekeepers (Baldwin and Taylor, 2020: 8).

Lastly, women personnel often face a practical obstacle that stems from male dominance within the security institutions. Despite the efforts resulting from the adoption of resolution 1325, women reported an absence of information concerning deployment in peacekeeping

(Ghittoni et al., 2018: 22) and lack of resources, noting that equipment and other protective gear are designed for 'standard' masculine bodies that do not fulfil their function for women. Another issue is the limited accommodation and washroom space (Baldwin and Taylor, 2020: 8). The bases' facilities are built without regard for multiple gender deployment, lacking separated bathrooms and dormitories.

Additionally, some UN bases still lack specialized medical care for women personnel, namely in the gynaecology and obstetrics department (Ghittoni et al., 2018: 32). Female peacekeepers also mentioned the marital challenges and the absence of family-oriented policies as one of the barriers. Several of the UN missions are non-family duty stations; therefore, personnel cannot bring their relatives with them. The deployment length is often for an extended period; therefore, family and personal relations tend to suffer (Kurewba and Sikhulekile, 2018: 51). Women peacekeepers also cited the lack of support networks for advancing mentoring and information sharing between personnel and national policymakers. Although some UN missions have adopted similar programmes, such information exchange is crucial for future gender mainstreaming strategies (Ghittoni et al., 2018: 43).

3. 5. Arguments for Increasing Women's Participation

This section identifies the arguments for enhancing the participation of women personnel in peacekeeping presented by the UN within the gender mainstreaming narrative. The rationales for increasing women participation in peacekeeping were specified in the aforementioned DPKO study on *'Mainstreaming a Gender Perspective'* (DPKO, 2000).

Gender mainstreaming aims to institutionalise gendered approaches into existing policies and legislation. Similarly, resolution 1325 highlights the need for growing number of women in peacekeeping, peacebuilding and peacemaking with more inclusive peace and security institution. As such, increasing numbers of female peacekeepers in UN missions is considered one of the pivotal drivers of gender mainstreaming (Jennings, 2011: 2-3). The founding motive for higher participation of women within peacekeeping is the overall goal of gender equality, both for the mission and the local population. Thus, the normative framework of the WPS agenda is focused on equal representation in UN operation structures and externally promotes the goal of gender equality within the security sector, elections, and post-conflict reconstruction efforts (Dharmapuri, 2013: 6).

As declared by the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, women are guaranteed equal access to public service, and such an increase in their participation will contribute to the overall gender equality in security institutions. Consequently, the emphasis on a higher number of female peacekeepers is one of the possibilities of supporting the WPS agenda's implementation (Ghittoni et al., 2018: 17-19). Nevertheless, the participation of women in peacekeeping is not only a concern within the gender equality debate but also one of the prerequisites for the full operational effect of peacekeeping (Odanović, 2010: 73). Therefore, policymakers argue that women give added value to the missions (Karim, 2017: 826) because they bring something that men do not, and for that reason, women contribute to more efficient peacekeeping. The argumentation focusing on female peacekeepers' added value and the consequent operational effectiveness goals demonstrates the previously mentioned technocratic approach within gender mainstreaming (Jennings, 2011: 4-5). That being said, the instrumental justification for a higher representation particularly highlights their positive and unique contribution to peacekeeping (Karim, 2017: 825). Such arguments are present also within the UN discourse concerning female peacekeepers. As the former Secretary-general Ban Ki-Moon declared, gender parity is important because it means greater efficiency and greater effectiveness (United Nations, 2010). Similarly, the study *'Mainstreaming a Gender Perspective in Multidimensional Peace Operations'* concluded that women make a positive difference in missions (DPKO, 2000).

Women's positive participation can be understood through active and passive representation. The latter refers to the pacifying presence of women staff, meaning that they reduce the hyper-masculine environment of peacekeeping (Karim and Beardsley, 2013: 472-473) because they are less confrontational and aggressive, although they had to go through the exact training requirements as male peacekeepers (Heinecken, 2015: 231). Therefore, the implication is that female peacekeepers are better in peacekeeping because they challenge the 'militarized masculinity' environment of peacekeeping, as their presence positively affects their male counterparts; they are more reflective and responsible (Karim and Beardsley, 2013: 473). Their less aggressive nature is linked to the UN force's acceptance in a host country, as the locals perceived them as more willing to listen and less threatening (Dharmapuri, 2013: 7). Therefore, the higher involvement of women increases the legitimacy of the peacekeeping mission since the mixed personnel is seen as more legitimate in the host country's eyes (Ghittoni et al., 2018: 16). Thus, female

peacekeepers contribute to the greater trust in the United Nations presence and enhance the dialogue between the locals and troops (Kurewba and Sikhulekile, 2018: 48).

Now moving to the rationales regarding women's active presence within peacekeeping, the arguments for increased participation, particularly their unique contribution, are linked to the PKOs' overall operational effectiveness (Karim and Beardsley, 2017: 45-46). Regarding this debate, four main categories of argumentation for increasing women's participation can be identified.

3. 5. 1 Practical Advantages

First, women personnel bring practical advantages (Jennings, 2011: 3) of the *'comparative operational advantage'* in for particularly delicate cases, like body checks and house searches, performing condors, screening of female combatants, and working in women's prisons (Dharmapuri, 2013: 7). Additionally, in some host countries, it is problematic for women to speak to a male soldier or policeman (Bridges and Horsfall, 2009: 122), therefore having mixed patrols present are crucial for establishing relations with locals (Rupesinghe et al., 2019: 213-214).

3. 5 .2 Reaching to Locals and Community-based Intelligence

Second, women enhance operational effectiveness as they are better at reaching the civilian population (Ghittoni et al., 2018: 15). Studies have shown that locals perceived female peacekeepers as more compassionate and respectful; therefore, the interaction between women personnel and locals is more informal (Heinecken, 2015: 232-233). Since female peacekeepers establish contacts with the host country more easily, their position for intelligence gathering within a community is significantly better than male staff (Odanović, 2010: 73). Bearing in mind that women can better communicate with local women (Karim and Beardsley, 2013: 471), they collect critical information, potentially identifying future conflict hotspots (Kurewba and Sikhulekile, 2018: 48). For that reason, patrols including female personnel can better understand the situation (Ghittoni et al., 2018: 15) and, consequently, the community-based intelligence is improved (Dharmapuri, 2013: 7). As a result, peacekeeping missions with more women deployed can enhance citizen's protection, particularly women and children, as female personnel offer essential information and understanding about their needs (Jennings, 2011: 3).

3. 5. 3 Mitigating Sexual Exploitation and Abuse

The third argument addresses the negative effects of peacekeeping operations, particularly the deterrence of sexual and other gender-based violence and further assistance to its victims (Ghittoni et al., 2018: 16). Throughout its long history, peacekeeping personnel has been accountable for sexual exploitation and abuse of the local women and children (Bridges and Horsfall, 2009: 122), and the UN narrative states that a higher number of female personnel can reduce the sexual violence crimes (Simić, 2010: 194). This statement can be understood within three different angels (Karim and Beardsley, 2016: 104). Firstly, women's presence encourages men among the staff to be disciplined, therefore, contributing to reducing the number of sexual allegations (Odanović, 2010: 73). The assumption is that the male-dominance encourages the macho approach in missions, resulting in sexual misconduct. Therefore, women can mitigate sexual violence because they challenge the combination of patriarchy and militarized masculinity (Karim and Beardsley, 2016: 104). For this reason, it is believed that female peacekeepers have a *'civilizing effect'* on their male counterparts (Jennings, 2011: 3) as men are careful to take part in abusive behaviour around their female colleagues because they are willing to report them, showing solidarity with other women (Karim and Beardsley, 2016: 104). Additionally, male peacekeepers are aware that their female colleagues may inform missions' structures and their partners at home about their behaviour (Heinecken, 2015: 236). Therefore, women personnel's presence contributes to a less-abusive environment (Kurewba and Sikhulekile, 2018: 48). A more balanced personnel composition can enhance the protection of women and children from sexual abuse and create the environment for successful operation (Bridges and Horsfall, 2009: 122).

The second strand of the argument is linked to the fact that there are no records of sexual misconduct committed by women within the UN missions (Dharmapuri, 2013: 7). Thus, male peacekeepers are the predominant perpetrators of sexual exploitations (Karim and Beardsley, 2016: 104); therefore, if the personnel composition has a higher number of women in it, the chance of sexual violence is lower (Jennings, 2011: 3).

Lastly, female peacekeepers possess the ability to address sexual violence better than their male counterparts (Heinecken, 2015: 235-236). As was mentioned earlier, the local population sees female staff members as more compassionate and caring, thus more empathetic towards the need of locals and especially women and girls within the

community (Odanović, 2010: 73). Consequently, women are important for the mission because there is a higher chance local women and girls will confide to female peacekeepers about their sexual assault experience (Simić, 2010: 195-196) as it is argued that the survivors rather talk to another woman (Jennings, 2011: 3) because they feel comfortable, in cultural and emotional aspects, with female officers (Simić, 2010: 189). As such, female staff is crucial for interviewing survivors of sexual exploitation (Dharmapuri, 2013: 7). The protection of civilians, particularly women and children, is strengthened when more women peacekeepers are deployed since their presence encourages locals to talk about the challenges they experience (Karim, 2017: 826).

3. 5. 4. Promoting Gender Equality

Lastly, moving beyond the scope of traditional contingent duties, female personnel actively represent women and girls through their work within the mission on an international level (Karim and Beardsley, 2013: 472). Therefore, increasing women's participation enhances the overall goal of gender-equal and more representative peacekeeping (Jennings, 2011: 4) that is also projected towards the host country (Dharmapuri, 2013: 7-8).

When women are deployed together with men, they challenge the deeply rooted patriarchal attitudes, like the stereotype of men as providers of security and passively consuming women in society. Thus, they have an empowering effect on local women to join the said security forces or engage themselves in peace committees (Heinecken, 2015: 238-239). By giving such examples to the host country, local women are encouraged to participate in post-conflict reconstruction and peacebuilding, which is crucial for incorporating a gendered perspective for the future society (Odanović, 2010: 74). The lessons learned from past operations confirm such statements. Women peacekeepers contributed to increasing female's voting participation in Burundi and Timor-Leste (Karim and Beardsley, 2013: 471) because they helped galvanize their needs and aspirations (Bridges and Horsfall, 2009: 122). Similarly, female staff supervised the recruitment of local women into national police units, resulting in an increased number of female officers, almost 20 per cent. By setting an example within the host country, women peacekeepers are vital vehicles of gender equality and gender mainstreaming strategy in particular (Kurewba and Sikhulekile, 2018: 48).

4. UN Peacekeeping Mandates and Gender Mainstreaming

As outlined earlier, this work will examine gender mainstreaming content in five current UN peacekeeping missions. At first, each mission will be given a brief introduction before moving to the actual content, implementation process respectively. To capture the shift within gender mainstreaming responsiveness in each mission, the establishing mandate will be analysed first, and then the following resolutions extending the PKOs. Given the number of mandates for each operation, gender mainstreaming content will be presented in a table for each of four evaluation categories resulting from the overall WPS agenda; gender equality; women's agency and participation; protection of women from SGBV, and gender element. Each category contains several subcategories, which are directly requested by the WPS resolutions to be included within peacekeeping mandates, as explained at the end of the theoretical chapter.

The analysis of the missions mandates' content will be followed by the review of the implementation process within each category. However, tracking the implementation of specific gender mainstreaming components within peacekeeping is difficult due to the lack of data provided by the UN Department of Peace Operations. Although the United Nations has recently launched a data strategy to, among other things, critically analyse all aspects of the institution's work. In peacekeeping, the systematic collection of sex-disaggregated data is expected to track gender interaction with the host population and enhance the overall operational capability (Nagel et al., 2021: 19), which should facilitate the implementation analysis in the near future. Thus, there are no systematic indicators available where the peacekeeping missions have a direct impact at this moment. Not only there is a lack of data concerning the implementation of the WPS agenda within the PKOs, but the availability of information regarding the operational processes varies across all five examined missions. As a result, it is difficult to conduct any systematic classification of the implementation. However, the analysis of the operational practices may show a possible interrelation between the mandate's content and the situation in the field.

That being said, the implementation will be analysed within the same four categories as the mandate's content. The gender equality category will be examined according to the percentage of female peacekeepers within each mission, as gender parity symbolizes the goal of gender equality in peacekeeping operations (Osland et al., 2020: 7).

For the remaining three categories, a compilation of data will be used. The Secretary-General reports on the situation within the area of deployment for each mission, including the descriptions of tasks related to mainstreaming women's participation and protection from the SGBV. Similarly, the Secretary-General also provides reports on conflict-related sexual violence (CRSV), including the number of reports of incidents each PKO has received since 2015. As such, the reports offer an insight into the operational activities in the field (Clayton et al., 2016: 29-30). Additionally, the UN Conduct Team on Field mission started to publish data on sexual exploitation and abuse by mission's personnel in 2015; therefore, the two indicators can demonstrate how successful the missions are in preventing SGBV. However, underreporting remains a major challenge. Lastly, the UN Office of Internal Oversight Services has conducted an internal audit report on gender mainstreaming and responsiveness on four of five examined missions in 2019, providing valuable information about the work of PKO on training, strategies and programmes and expertise regarding gender mainstreaming that are not available to the public. Unfortunately, the reports of the Secretary-General on the CRSV do not include UNISFA in its analysis, and the Internal Oversight Service has not conducted its report on UNISFA's performance. For that reason, assessing the implementation, there is limited compared to other missions within the analysis.

4. 1 Case study: MINUSMA

United Nations Multidimensional Integrated Stabilization Mission in Mali (MINUSMA) was established on the 25th of April, following the adoption of the resolution 2100 (Beramaschi, 2013). The mission was launched to stabilize the country after the military coup in 2012 and support the transition and other security-related tasks (United Nations, 2021a).

Mali has been facing several political, humanitarian, socio-economic and security challenges stemming from the armed conflicts during the last few decades. Such a long-term crisis results from weak state institutions and poor social unity, especially in the northern part of the country, where local communities feel overlooked by the central government (Vermeij, 2015: 1). After the fall of Gaddafi's regime in Libya, many Tuaregs, who previously served under Gaddafi, return went back home to Azawad, one of the northern regions of Mali, and the frustration with the said neglection became even more potent. Thus, the MNLA, the Movement for National Liberation of Azawad, has become a

leading group for Tuaregs during the 2012 rebellion (Lotze, 2015: 856-857). At the beginning of 2012, the MNLA and other armed groups launched several attacks against the government in the northern region. On the 22nd of March, a mutiny of government forces, frustrated by defeats from northern armed groups, led to a military coup. Consequently, the military junta commanded by Amadou Sanogo dissolved the governmental bodies. The coup weakened the already fragile state in the north, thus strengthening MNLA, which resulted in the declaration of an independent State of Azawad on the 6th of April (United Nations, 2021a).

These circumstances encouraged a response by the United Nations, the African Union, and the ECOWAS with the aim to establish African peace support missions, but the delay of such arrangement resulted in French military intervention in 2013 (Lotze, 2015: 857-858) supported by the deployment of the International Support Mission to Mali carried out by the ECOWAS. On the 1st of July, this mission was integrated within a more complex, UN-commanded mission – MINUSMA (Vermeij, 2015: 1).

4. 1. 1 Content of the Mandates

As mentioned earlier, the establishing resolution 2100 authorized MINUSMA mission, focusing mainly on stabilizing major population centres while supporting the restoration of state intuitions (S/RES/2100). Subsequently, the mandate has been renewed seven times to reflect the progress in Mali since its creation in 2013, namely by resolutions 2164, 2227, 2295, 2364, 2423, 280 and 2524. All of them are, therefore, part of the analysis.

4. 1. 1. 1 The Goal of Gender Equality

As already mentioned, regarding the overall commitment to gender equality, the mandates can be evaluated within two categories; the reference to gender equality and the commitment to increase the number of female peacekeepers within the mission.

mandate	gender equality	increasing women personnel
S/RES/2100	X	X
S/RES/2164	X	X
S/RES/2227	X	X
S/RES/2295	X	X
S/RES/2364	X	X
S/RES/2423	X	✓
S/RES/2480	X	✓
S/RES/2584	X	✓

Regarding the overall goal of gender equality within MINUSMA, the authorizing resolution and the following four mandate renewals offer no reference to the pledge for gender equality. Neither mention the low number of female personnel within the mission. All five of them only mention the up-to-date list of resolutions within the WPS agenda and *'call for taking them into account'* without particular reference to gender equality (S/RES/2100; S/RES/2164; S/RES/2227; S/RES/2295; S/RES/2364). Since 2018, with the authorization of resolution 2423 to be specific, the mandates signify certain progress. However, the pledge for gender equality is still missing, and all three subsequent mandates *'address 'the need to increase the number of women personnel in MINUSMA'* and *'to ensure their meaningful participation in all aspects of operation'* (S/RES/2423; S/RES/2480; S/RES/2584). Therefore, the authorising mandate did not include any references to gender equality or the low number of female peacekeepers. Such shortcomings have seen some development since 2018, as MINUSMA resolutions have started to include a commitment to increase the number of women deployed in the mission. However, a clear statement regarding the pledge to gender equality is yet to be included.

4. 1. 1. 1. 1 Implementation

As of December 2020, a total of 14,315 personnel was deployed under MINUSMA, from which 13,607 were men and 708 were women, 456 serving as military and 252 as police personnel. Female peacekeepers, therefore, represent 4,9 per cent of all MINUSMA personnel, more precisely 14 per cent in police and 3,6 per cent in the military (United Nations, 2020a). As such, the proportion of women peacekeepers in MINUSMA is not meeting the 2020 target of 10 per cent in military and 20 per cent in police units (UN OCHA, 2020).

MINUSMA: Gender Composition
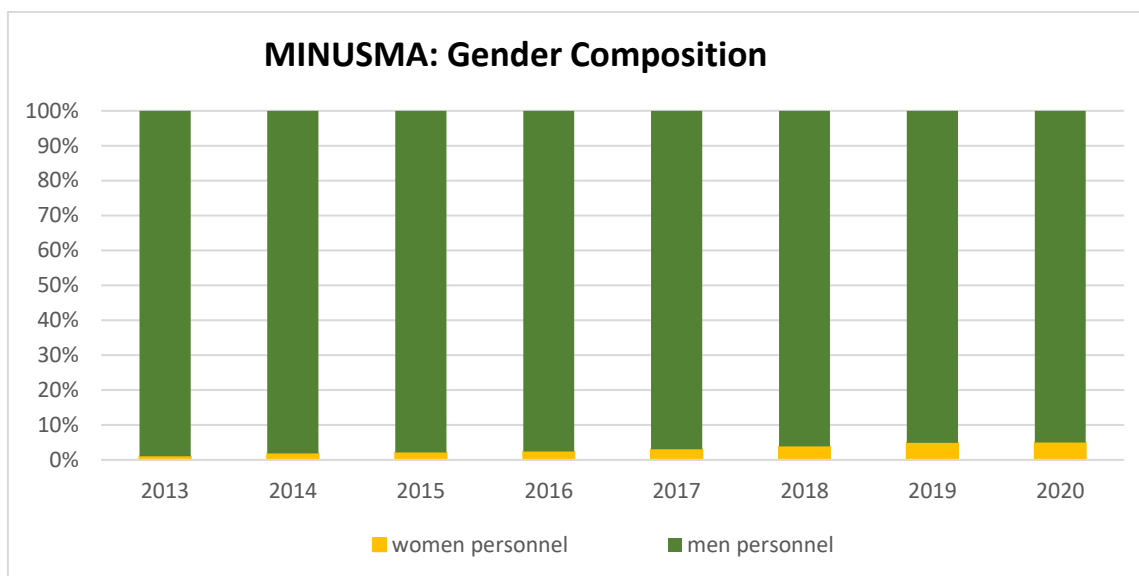
However, there a slow improvement over the years can be observed. As outlined above, MINUSMA's mandates have started to include increasing the number of female peacekeepers since 2018. Broadly speaking, there has been an increase of women's personnel in MINUSMA between 2018 and current numbers; however, the percentage increase of female peacekeepers between 2016 and 2017 was 37 per cent, whereas between 2018 and 2019, the difference was 20 per cent (United Nations, 2020c). Therefore, it can be argued that the progress has not explicitly been on account of the request within the mandate from 2018, but more long-term development within the peacekeeping personnel composition.

4. 1. 1. 2 Women's Agency and their Participation in Politics and Other Areas

Another element within gender mainstreaming strategy is the reference to women's agency, their participation in all areas of civic life, politics included. Therefore, as mentioned earlier, this category is demonstrated by four factors, as the table shows.

mandate	participation in politics	participation in other areas	women's initiatives/groups/organizations	empowerment link to security
S/RES/2100	✓	✓	✓	X
S/RES/2164	✓	✓	✓	X
S/RES/2227	✓	✓	✓	X
S/RES/2295	✓	✓	✓	X
S/RES/2364	✓	✓	✓	X
S/RES/2423	✓	✓	✓	X
S/RES/2480	✓	✓	✓	X
S/RES/2584	✓	✓	✓	✓

The table illustrates a fairly consistent response of MINUSMA's mandates to women's agency and participation in politics and other areas of civic life. As such, the authorizing resolution has outlined the commitment to women's participation in both politics and other aspects. This trend can be seen in all of the following mandates, along with the specific reference to women's organizations in each of them as well. The one sub-category which is not addressed is the link between women's involvement as active citizens and their protection, although this issue is now discussed in the current resolution, which '*address the risk of harm and ensuring necessary protection for women in these roles'* (S/RES/2100, S/RES/2164; S/RES/2227; S/RES/2295; S/RES/2364; S/RES/2423; S/RES/2480; S/RES/2584). Therefore, the authorising mandate outlined a consistent commitment to women's participation and agency, although the association of active involvement and needed protection was lacking until the current resolution was authorized. In addition, since the authorization of the resolution 2295 specifically, the mission mandates have been including a quota for women's participation: *'meeting at least the 30 per cent quota women in all political functions and offices as defined in Mali legislation'* (S/RES/2295; S/RES/2364; S/RES/2423; S/RES/2480; S/RES/2584).

4. 1. 1. 2. 1 Implementation

The political participation of women saw progress in Mali; whereas, in 2013, the proportion of females in national parliament was 9,52 per cent, in 2020, the percentage of women present has increased to 27,89 (IPU, 2021a), although the progress on women's participation in peace talks was less sufficient (S/2019/454) with the average of 5 per cent (CFR, 2021a), with one committee being an exception with 20 per cent (S/2020/946). However, the number of women at ministerial positions and within legislative is increasing; most institutions lag behind the 30 per cent quota (S/2020/476). MINUSMA carried several education programmes to enhance greater participation of women in peace processes, including the assistance in drafting the National Action Plan on WPS (OIOS, 2019a); sponsoring a nationwide campaign on women in politics (S/2015/735), organising 'Resolution 1325 Open Day' to provide a platform for women leaders to share their inputs (OIOS, 2019a) as well as workshops with female candidates (S/2015/1030). Additionally, MINUSMA promotes women's participation in other areas of civic life, hosting educational campaigns, providing technical support to vocational training, conducting human rights sensitization for women (S/2018/866) and promoting women-oriented media

(S/2019/983). The audit report of the Oversight Unit concluded that MINUSMA had made a positive input to encourage women's participation in Mali. However, additional activities should be made (OIOS, 2019a), although the current mandate addresses all women's agency and participation subjects.

4. 1. 1. 3 Protection of Women from Sexual and Other Gender-based Violence

Compared with other factors considered, the topic of women's protection from SGBV is, by far, the most dominant within gender mainstreaming content of all MINUSMA mandates.

mandate	protection from conflict	prevention of SGBV	women's protection advisor	accountability and justice
S/RES/2100	✓	✓	✓	X
S/RES/2164	✓	✓	✓	X
S/RES/2227	✓	✓	✓	X
S/RES/2295	✓	✓	✓	X
S/RES/2364	✓	✓	✓	X
S/RES/2423	✓	✓	✓	✓
S/RES/2480	✓	✓	✓	✓
S/RES/2584	✓	✓	✓	✓

As the table shows, there has not been much of a variety concerning the protection of women from SGVB and other types of violence. The authorizing acknowledges the need to protect women within conflict environment, stating the importance *'to mitigate risk to civilians, including, in particular, women'* as well as a specific reference to protection from sexual and gender-based violence, commenting that *'violations committed against women including all forms of sexual violence from conflict'* (S/RES/2100). All the following mandate renewals also include similar references. Accordingly, all MINUSMA resolutions address the prevention of SGBV concerning women. Importantly, all the mandates note the relevance of women protection advisors, linking their presence to the assistance for survivors of SGBV - *'address the needs of victims of sexual and gender-based violence'* (S/RES/2100, S/RES/2164; S/RES/2227; S/RES/2295; S/RES/2364; S/RES/2423; S/RES/2480; S/RES/2584). Thus, after the authorization of resolution 2423, MINUSMA's mandate fully mainstreamed all the aspects of protecting women from SGBV, since the resolutions also include the reference regarding justice for victims and survivors as well as accountability for perpetrators (S/RES/2432; S/RES/2480; S/RES/2584).

4. 1. 1. 3. 1 Implementation

To combat sexual and gender-based violence, women protection advisors are working under the women protection unit deployed within the mission's structures (Frisell and Lackenbauer, 2018: 34). Apart from underreporting of cases, the main problem is the lack of access to the judicial system and the failure of an investigation. While the issue of accountability was pointed out already in the report of the Secretary-General concerning the 2015 period (S/2016/316), the MINUSMA mandate itself included the reference in 2018 for the first time (S/RES/2423). However, the missions had taken steps to address the problem before. Although the percentage of cases brought to court went from 1 per cent to 14 (S/2017/249), more than 200 cases from the 2012-2016 period were not brought to court yet (S/2019/280). MINUSMA's team of experts on sexual violence and the rule of law assists local judicial authorities (S/2016/316) by helping to develop a legal environment covering sexual violence (S/2021/312) as well as hosting workshops with imams from the High Islamic Council to work on the declaration on prevention of sexual violence (S/2020/487). MINUSMA further supports the NGOs focusing on SGBV in Mali (S/2018/250), provides assistance to focal points regarding medical and psychosocial help to victims (S/2019/280) and promotes campaigns to raise HIV awareness. However, the legal services for victims remain very limited throughout the country (S/2021/312).

As outlined earlier, the following table compares the data for both the number of incidents registered by MINUSMA and the number of mission's personnel misconducts related to sexual exploitation and abuse. By all means, the problem lies at underreporting in both cases, which is also mentioned within the reports of the Secretary-General. On the other hand, the numbers may show how effective are the other MINUSMA steps to combat sexual violence.
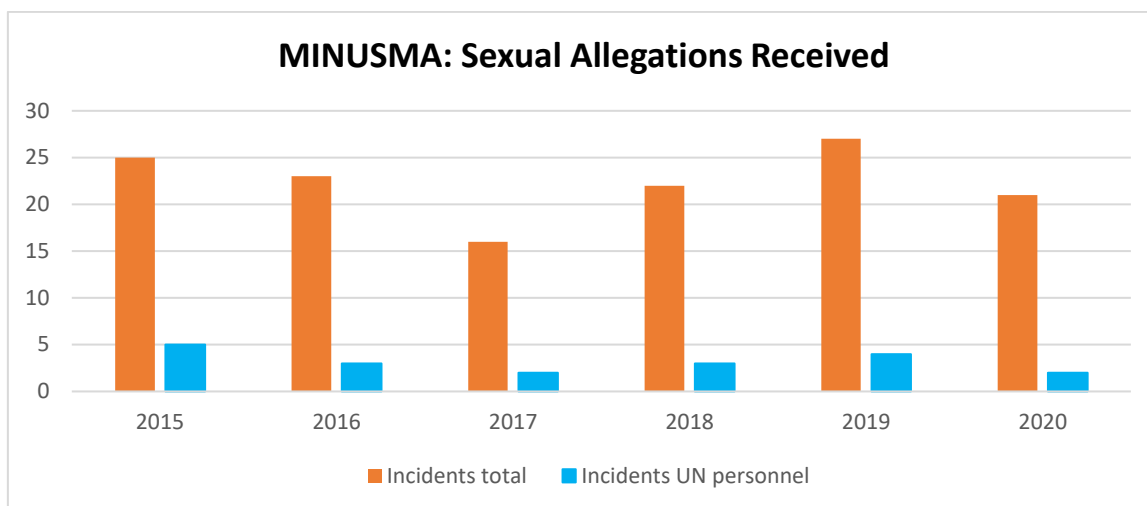
MINUSMA: Sexual Allegations Received

Source: Secretary-General reports on CRSV, 2015-2020; Conduct in UN Field Missions, 2015-2020

The data shows the number of reported CRSV cases are somehow stable; the number of allegations of MINUSMA personnel range between two to five cases. On average, MINUSMA's personnel misconducts represent 13,9 per cent of reported cases annually (Conduct in UN Field Missions, 2021).

To conclude, according to the mandate, the mission has taken steps to prevent local women from SGBV and conflict-related violence in general, with a number of activities organized by the WPA. Interestingly, the ongoing problem with the accountability for perpetrators and justice for survivors has been part of the Secretary-General reports since 2015; although, the first time the mandate acknowledges this subject was within resolution 2423 in 2018. Apart from that, the mandate is detailed regarding the prevention itself. However, the average proportion of MINUSMA's personnel misconducts is the highest among all the missions within this study, suggesting the implementation process lacks behind the mandate discourse.

4. 1. 1. 4 Gender Element

As mentioned earlier, gender mainstreaming strategy in peacekeeping can also be examined within respective reference to gender responsiveness, specifically to the presence of gender advisors, training, the inclusion of gender-reflective programmes and since 2015, gender analysis/expertise.

mandate	gender advisors	gender training	gender programmes	gender as cross-cutting issue	gender expertise/analysis
S/RES/2100	X	X	X	✓	not relevant
S/RES/2164	X	X	X	✓	not relevant
S/RES/2227	X	X	X	✓	not relevant
S/RES/2295	X	X	X	✓	X
S/RES/2364	X	X	X	✓	X
S/RES/2423	X	X	X	✓	X
S/RES/2480	X	X	X	✓	X
S/RES/2584	✓	X	X	✓	X

The reflection of the so-called gender element within MINUSMA mandates is quite low. Although the establishing mandate and all the following ones *'request to take fully into account gender considerations as a cross-cutting issue throughout its mandate'*, up until the last mandate renewal in 2021, there are no references to gender advisors, gender-oriented programmes and training or gender reflective analysis/expertise. However, the analysis itself has been part of the WPS agenda since 2015. Therefore, the only progress tracked between the establishment of MINUSMA and the current state of play is the reference to gender advisor within the latest resolution 2584. Any further reflection is still missing (S/RES/2100, S/RES/2164; S/RES/2227; S/RES/2295; S/RES/2364; S/RES/2423; S/RES/2480; S/RES/2584).

4. 1. 1. 4. 1 Implementation

Although the reference to gender advisors within its mandate is relatively recent, MINUSMA has its Gender Unit responsible for mainstreaming gender issues in all mission components for years (MINUSMA, 2021). Even though the mission has strengthened its Gender Advisors' capacity in 2016 (DIIS, 2016), the audit on gender mainstreaming conducted by OIOS in 2019 concluded that the small number of advisors impacted the low implementation of key tasks assigned. MINUSMA mandates have been including gender as a *'cross-cutting issue'* since the very beginning; however, the audit pointed out that only 30 per cent of MINUSMA' work plans indicated gender reflective and sensitive strategies, programmes and measures. Similarly, the evaluation highlighted the lack of proper gender expertise and sex-disaggregated analysis and data within the mission monitoring and reports. The slow implementation of these two components corresponds with the lack of references in the mandates (OIOS, 2019a). Although the gender-oriented training and gender awareness exercises occur (DPO, 2020: 25), the mission should identify and

monitor the personnel that needs to re-attend the training again, as only the new staff are getting the training (OIOS, 2019a). Thus, the weak points identified by the audit correspond with the references within the mandate or lack thereof.

4. 1. 2 Mandate Assessment

As discussed, there is a positive development concerning gender mainstreaming content. From the evaluation scheme outlined in the introduction, the MINUSMA authorizing mandate receives a score of 2: barely gender-mainstreamed resolution. Whereas the category of the goal of gender equality is entirely missing, the other three are considered to some extent. While the reference to gender as a *'cross-cutting issue'* is the only reference within gender element classification, the topics of women's agency and their protection from SGBV are significantly better reflected in MINUSMA authorizing mandate; both include three out of four references. There is progress between the establishing mandate and the current MINUSMA resolution that matches the scores of 3 – further gender-mainstreamed. All categories are, to some extent, considered within the current resolution; the topics of women's agency/participation and their protection from SGBV are now covered completely, there is an additional reference within gender element to the gender advisors, and the mission mandate now includes a request to increase the number of female peacekeepers.

MINUSMA mandates also demonstrate certain regularity; the phrasing of the references does not change over the years. Once the reference is included, it is likely to stay, showing a sort of mechanicality in drafting the resolution regarding gender mainstreaming language.

4. 2 Case study: MINUSCA

The Central African Republic (CAR) has encountered many cycles of coups and countercoups since their gain independence from France in the early 1960s. The ongoing instability and widespread violence lead to a fragile structure of political and economic institutions (de Resende Silva, 2019: 9). The long-term crisis amplifies the already existing ethnic tensions in the country, as in 2013, the insurgency Seleka alliance, consisting of mostly Muslim groups, carried out a series of hostilities against the state's government based in the capital resulting in a coup in March. In reaction to the extensive violence committed by Seleka fighters, the Christian group of 'anti-balaka' fighters launched

several counterattacks against the Seleka alliance. As such, the conflict generated a sort of religious antipathy among CAR citizens (Global Conflict Tracker, 2018).

As the violence continued, the situation in the country deteriorated as well. The conflict between the two groups, concerning both power structures and territory, leads to internal displacement all over the CAR and massive refugee influx to the neighbouring countries (de Resende Silva, 2019: 10). According to the UN, more than twenty-five per cent of the population has fled their home to escape the widespread violence (Africa Bulletin Research, 2014).

In response to the humanitarian emergency situation, the Security Council established the UN Multidimensional Integrated Stabilization Mission in the Central African Republic – MINUSCA in April 2014 (Global Conflict Tracker, 2018). MINUSCA has replaced the smaller African Union-led mission MISCA, which has been operating in the country since December 2013 along with the French military (African Bulletin Research, 2014). The authorizing resolution 2149 outlined that the mission's main objective is to provide a secure environment while supporting the peace and reconciliation dialogues to strengthen basic state functions and provide humanitarian assistance (United Nations, 2021b).

4. 2. 1 Content of the Mandates

As outlined above, the establishing mandate for MINUSCA was resolution 2149, adopted by the Security Council in April 2014. Since then, the mandate has been renewed in total six times, more precisely by the resolutions 2217, 2301, 2381, 2448, 2449 and most recently 2552. All of the seven resolutions in total are part of the evaluation.

4. 2. 1. 1 The Goal of Gender Equality

On the issue of gender equality, the commitment to increase the number of women in MINUSCA respectively, the mandates just recently show very moderate progress

mandate	gender equality	increasing women personnel
S/RES/2149	X	X
S/RES/2217	X	X
S/RES/2301	X	X
S/RES/2387	X	✓
S/RES/2448	X	✓
S/RES/2499	X	✓
S/RES/2552	X	✓

As the table illustrates, establishing resolution 2149 does not include any reference to such commitment (S/RES/2149). There has been a positive shift with resolution 2387 adopted in 2017. Since then, MINUSCA mandates request *'Member States to engage greater numbers of women in the military, police and civilian component of the mission with full respect for the principle of equitable geographical distribution'*. Meaning that the development is demonstrated on one track only; a clear commitment to gender equality is yet to be included (S/RES/2387; S/RES/2448; S/RES/2499; S/RES/2552).

4. 2. 1. 1. 1 Implementation

As of December 2020, a total of 13,522 personnel was deployed within MINUSCA structures; 12,662 of them were male and 860 female peacekeepers, of which 592 serving in the military and the remaining 268 in police contingents. As such, women personnel stand for 6,3 per cent of all MINUSCA personnel, more precisely 12,9 per cent in police and 5,2 per cent in the military (United Nations, 2020a). Thus, the current proportion of female peacekeepers is not meeting the 2020 benchmark of 10 per cent women in the military and 20 per cent in police units (UN OCHA, 2020).

MINUSCA: Gender Composition
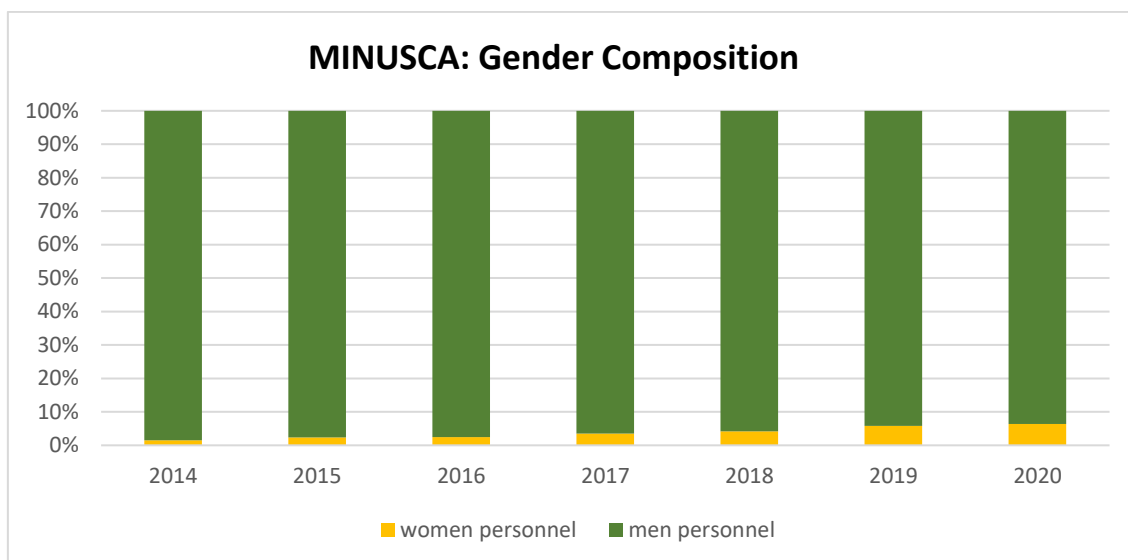
Source: United Nations (2020d), Gender Statistics, December 2014-2020

Nevertheless, since the beginning of the mission, the proportion of women peacekeepers has increased. Whereas in 2014, female staff represented 1,4 per cent of all MINUSCA personnel, the proportion in 2020 was 6,4 per cent. As mentioned above, the resolution that first addressed the need to increase women's deployment was adopted in 2017. There is, indeed, significant progress in the proportion of women after 2017. Whereas the growth between 2015 and 2016 was 2,4 per cent, between 2017 and 2018, it was 26.8 per cent (United Nations, 2020d). Therefore, the statistic suggests a certain interrelation between the mandate's statement on increasing the number of female peacekeepers and its implementation.

4. 2. 1. 2 Women's Agency and their Participation in Politics and Other Areas

As for the factor of women's agency, their participation in politics and other areas of life, the findings are following:

mandate	participation in politics	participation in other areas	women's initiatives/groups/organizations	empowerment link to security
S/RES/2149	✓	✓	X	X
S/RES/2217	✓	✓	X	X
S/RES/2301	✓	✓	X	X
S/RES/2387	✓	✓	X	X
S/RES/2448	✓	✓	X	X
S/RES/2499	✓	✓	X	X
S/RES/2552	✓	✓	X	X

As the table demonstrates, the reflection of women's agency, their involvement and representation in politics and other areas of civic life has remained unchanged since the authorizing mandate; MINUSCA's establishing resolutions and all the subsequent mandate renewals include specific statements regarding women's engagement in political life, as well as their representation in other areas. There are multiple references to ensure *'full and effective participation of women in all spheres at all levels'*. Despite the fact that both the establishing resolution and all the following mandates consider women's agency and their participation in considerable detail, they do not include references to women's organizations or initiatives, nor do they stress the link between active citizenship and essential protection (S/RES/2149; S/RES/2217; S/RES/2301; S/RES/2387; S/RES/2448; S/RES/2499; S/RES/2552).

4. 2. 1. 2. 1 Implementation

As for women's political participation itself, the National Assembly consisted of 12,5 per cent of women after 2011, and despite the efforts, the elections in February 2016 did not see positive development with currently 8,6 per cent (IPU, 2021b). Furthermore, women represent 21 per cent of negotiators within the peace talks (CFR, 2021b) and the proportion of women in the agreement's mechanism monitoring committees is currently around 20 per cent on both national and the local level (S/2020/946). MINUSCA conducted several meetings and workshops on the participation of women in politics that led to the inclusion of women into negotiation processes (OIOS, 2019b) and trained 60 female leaders on peace culture and mediation processes (DPO, 2020: 71). Despite the fact that three women had announced their intention to run for presidential elections and the number of registered citizens to vote reached 46,5 per cent of women (S/2020/994), women's participation in the formal dialogue processes has been inadequate, despite MINUSCA's initiative to boost their engagement (S/2018/611). In relation to other areas of women's participation, MINUSCA conducted community violence reduction initiatives, women's rights awareness training sessions (S/2016/824), vocational and agro-pastoral training focused on women. The mission also focused on strategic communications, creating information events involving women's organizations (S/2017/94). Although there are still limitations regarding women's participation in the CAR (OIOS, 2019b), MINUSCA outreach programmes promoting women's engagement correspond with the reference made in the mandate.

4. 2. 1. 3 Protection of Women from Sexual and Other Gender-based Violence

The subject of protection of women from sexual and other gender-based violence is well reflected within all MINUSCA mandates, as the table illustrates.

mandate	protection from conflict	prevention of SGBV	women's protection advisor	accountability and justice
S/RES/2149	✓	✓	✓	✓
S/RES/2217	✓	✓	✓	✓
S/RES/2301	✓	✓	✓	✓
S/RES/2387	✓	✓	✓	✓
S/RES/2448	✓	✓	✓	✓
S/RES/2499	✓	✓	✓	✓
S/RES/2552	✓	✓	✓	✓

Having said that, the establishing mandate defines the firm commitment to women's protection from violence, namely from SGBV; all the future resolutions within MINUSCA are following that. That is a rarity among the other missions included in analysis within this topic. All mandates acknowledge that *'women and girls continue to be violently targeted and victims of SGBV'* while stressing the need *'to provide specific protection for women and children affected by armed conflict'*. The resolutions also call for the prevention of SGBV as well as accountability for perpetrators and justice for victims while emphasizing the role of women's protection advisors. Thus, the authorizing resolution outlined the strong gender mainstreaming content, and it has been followed in all subsequent mandates (S/RES/2149; S/RES/2217; S/RES/2301; S/RES/2387; S/RES/2448; S/RES/2499; S/RES/2552).

4. 2. 1. 3. 1 Implementation

According to its mandate, MINUSCA has deployed women protection advisors within its structures to respond to the issue of sexual and gender-based violence (DPKO, 2015). In CAR, the problem is, again, underreporting as, for example, in 2015, MINUSCA documented 79 cases of CVSR, whereas other humanitarian services together received 29,801 cases due to stigmatization and poor communication. To respond to a high level of sexual violence in CAR, MINUSCA assists the Join Rapid Respond Unit to prevent CVSR, namely with training and technical support (S/2016/361). MINUSCA also

established training centres for local security forces to train them to respond to CRSV (S/2020/487). Another preventive measure includes sensitization sessions with local community authorities and ex-combatants on the issue of sexual violence (S/2018/250), assistance to a special prosecutor to develop investigation strategy for sexual violence cases, and providing technical support to database monitoring cases (S/2019/280).

The underreporting, as mentioned earlier, are a problem for all peacekeeping missions and other services based in conflict zones in general. The following table shows the number of cases reported to MINUSCA and the misconducts committed by mission's personnel.
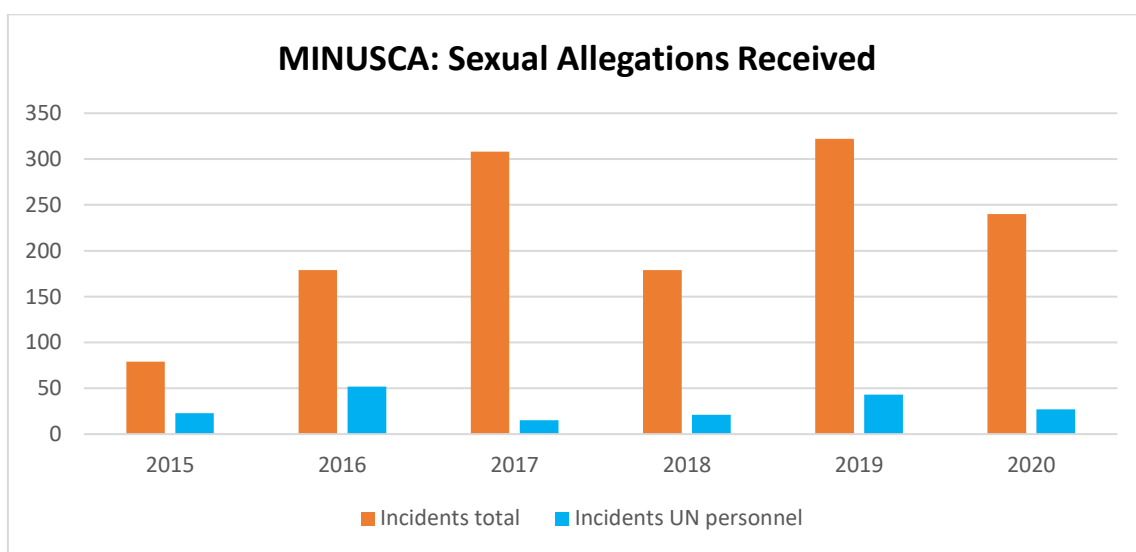
MINUSCA: Sexual Allegations Received

Source: Secretary-General reports on CRSV, 2015-2020; Conduct in UN Field Missions, 2015-2020

The data shows that the number of reported conflict-related sexual violence incidents have a rather upward trend. The number of allegations of MINUSCA personnel range between 15 to 52. On average, MINUSCA's personnel misconducts represent 13,8 per cent of reported cases each year (Conduct in UN Field Missions, 2021).

The widespread CRSV mentioned within the reports of the Secretary-General in the CAR matches with the strong discourse on protection of women from SGBV and the implementation process; training and other initiatives conducted with regards to the high level of sexual violence in the country, prevention strategies included.

4. 2. 1. 4 Gender Element

As the following table demonstrates, the gender considerations are reflected in MINUSCA mandates with mixed results.

mandate	gender advisors	gender training	gender programmes	gender as cross-cutting issue	gender analysis/expertise
S/RES/2149	✓	x	x	✓	not relevant
S/RES/2217	✓	x	x	✓	not relevant
S/RES/2301	✓	x	✓	✓	x
S/RES/2387	✓	x	✓	✓	x
S/RES/2448	✓	x	✓	✓	x
S/RES/2499	✓	x	✓	✓	x
S/RES/2552	✓	x	✓	✓	x

Whereas addressing gender as a *'cross-cutting issue'* along with reference to the work of gender advisors are factors that have been present since the establishment of MINUSCA, the only other element that has been considered later is the inclusion of gender-reflective programmes with the authorization of resolution 2301 *'gender-sensitive'* and *'gender-effective'* programmes. On the other hand, the mandates do not reflect other components of gender mainstreaming in peacekeeping; in particular, there is no mention of gender-oriented training and gender expertise/analysis as defined by the women, peace, and security agenda (S/RES/2149; S/RES/2217; S/RES/2301; S/RES/2387; S/RES/2448; S/RES/2499; S/RES/2552).

4. 2. 1. 4. 1 Implementation

MINUSCA's also has its Gender Unit consisting of gender advisors (MINUSCA, 2021), and the structure developed here allows them to attend senior management meetings, resulting in more gender-reflective decisions overall. Although the work of the Gender Unit is indeed *'cross-cutting'*, several gender reflective programmes and gender-sensitive strategies need to be updated according to the latest DPO measures. Therefore, MINUSCA needs to enhance the overall gender reflective strategy in all mission components (OIOS, 2019b). Those components are, accordingly, well covered within MINUSCA mandates. On the other hand, gender awareness training and gender analysis and expertise are elements that the mandates do not consider. However, both training (MINUSCA, 2021) and expertise (UNREC, 2020) are taking place. Nevertheless, the audit report pointed out several shortcomings; only 35 per cent of MINUSCA staff have attended gender-oriented training, a recommendation to monitor the mandatory attendance is included within the report. Furthermore, regarding gender analysis and expertise, only the DDR programmes

included gender expertise and sex-disaggregated data analysis so far (OIOS, 2019b). Despite the limitations stated within the report, the implementation process goes beyond the mandate's content, including gender training and expertise in its fieldwork.

4. 2. 2 Mandate Assessment

MINUSCA mandates also demonstrate progress with regards to gender mainstreaming content. The establishing mandate receives a score of 2, barely gender-mainstreamed, as one category, the goal of gender equality, is left out from the authorizing resolution. All remaining parts are, to some extent, considered within the establishing mandate; whereas the topic of protection from SGBV is fully covered, the issue of women's agency/participation and gender element contains two references out of four. The positive shift in current resolution is demonstrated within two categories – the goal of gender equality and gender element, as the content reflecting protection from SGBV and women's agency/participation, remains the same, meaning that the current MINUSCA mandate receives a score of 3, that is further gender-mainstreamed. The current resolution includes a request to increase the number of women personnel and adds the reference to gender-reflective programmes within the last category to already existing mentions of gender advisors and gender as a *'cross-cutting issue'*.

MINUSCA mandates also display a certain level of regularity, as once the reference is made, the following resolution will include it too. The regularity can also be observed within the phrasing of gender mainstreaming content since there are no alternations concerning the language used.

4. 3 Case study: MONUSCO

Similar to the other countries within the region, Congo is also experiencing long-term instability since gaining its independence in 1960 (Spijkers, 2015: 88). As for the last three decades, the continuing violence in the DRC is linked to the Rwandan genocide. In 1994, many of the Rwandan Hutus left to Kivu in the East of the DRC, and such influx of Hutus has created a drift between Tutsis and other groups living in the Kivu regions. The overall situation deteriorated rapidly as the government could not control many armed groups, and the first Congolese broke out. Due to the mentioned ethnic diversity and the extensive natural resource in the DRC, nine African states eventually have participated in the conflict (Clark, 2011: 365-366).

MONUSCO, an acronym from its French name, in its English term - the UN Organization Stabilization Mission in the Democratic Republic of the Congo, was established by resolution 1925 in May 2010 (United Nations, 2021c). MONUSCO directly follows up on the previous MONUC mission, which was authorized in response to the deadly Congolese wars in the late 1990s, early 2000s, respectively. Both of the wars are known to be one of the most destructive conflicts since the second world war, commonly addressed as the Great African War. Initially, the UN deployed the MONUC mission to the region in 1999 to observe the ceasefire and disengagement of the many parties within the conflict, including many neighbouring states. MONUC's strength eventually tripled its number of personnel and consequently grew in the scope of its task over the years (Barrera, 2015: 3).

In 2010, with the adoption of the resolution 1925, MONUC was re-named to MONUSCO in order to address the new phase that the country has reached, primarily focusing on the stabilization and reinforcement of political progress within the country (United Nations, 2021c). Despite the progress achieved in the DRC since the deployment of the MONUC in the late 1990s, some of the regions, specifically in the Eastern part of the country, still face significant challenges resulting from the continuing attacks of national armed groups against civilians. Such widespread violence caused a long-term humanitarian crisis and caused the internal displacement of more than 2 million people (Barrera, 2015: 4).

4. 3. 1 Content of the Mandates

As mentioned above, the establishing mandate for MONUSCO was passed with the resolution 1925 in May 2010. This mandate not only has changed the mission's name but also has added more tasks within the stabilization phase. Since then, the mandate has been renewed eleven times, namely by the resolutions S/RES/1991, S/RES/2053, S/RES/2098, S/RES/2147, S/RES/2211, S/RES/2277, S/RES/2348, S/RES/2409, S/RES/2463, S/RES/2502 and finally S/RES/2556.

4. 3. 1. 1 The Goal of Gender Equality

Concerning the subjects of the commitment to increase women personnel and pledge to gender equality, MONUSCO mandates are quite deficient.

mandate	gender equality	increasing women personnel
S/RES/1925	X	X
S/RES/1991	X	X
S/RES/2053	X	X
S/RES/2098	X	X
S/RES/2147	X	X
S/RES/2211	X	X
S/RES/2277	X	X
S/RES/2348	X	X
S/RES/2409	X	✓
S/RES/2463	X	X
S/RES/2502	X	✓
S/RES/2556	X	✓

As the table illustrates, there are no commitments to the overall pledge to gender equality within the mission so far. The establishing mandate is very short on gender mainstreaming strategy in general. The following resolutions contain at least a list of up-to-date WPS resolutions, which is very vague at best. At the same time, there is no such record within the establishing mandate. Therefore, it does not provide a solid direction for the following ones. Resolution 2409 is the first one that addresses the need *'to increase the percentage of women military and police in deployments to MONUSCO'*. Interestingly, this commitment was left out in the following resolution 2463 but again added within the 2502 mandate, showing the inconsistency of gender equality strategy in MONUSCO (S/RES/1925; S/RES/1991; S/RES/2053; S/RES/2098; S/RES/2147; S/RES/2211; S/RES/2277; S/RES/2348; S/RES/2409; S/RES/2463; S/RES/2502; S/RES/2556).

4. 3. 1. 1. 1 Implementation

At the end of December 2020, a total of 14,161 peacekeepers were deployed under MONUSCO: 13,204 men and 957 women, of which 656 were deployed within the military and 301 within police contingents. More precisely, female peacekeepers represent 5,1 per cent in the military and 21,5 per cent of personnel in police (United Nations, 2020a). Therefore, MONUSCO achieves the target of 20 per cent of women in police, although the benchmark for military contingents is still far (UN OCHA, 2020).

MONUSCO: Gender Composition
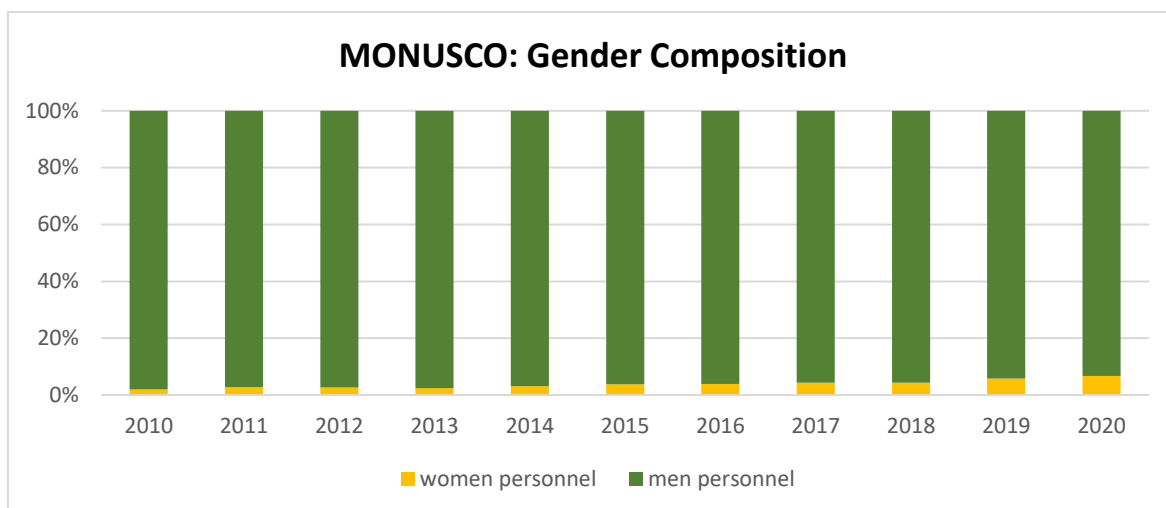
Source: United Nations (2020e), Gender Statistics, December 2010-2020

As stated earlier, the early mandates did not include any request to increase the number of women serving in MONUSCO; this changed with the adoption of resolution 2409 in 2018, demanding more women to be deployed within the mission structures. Whereas the growth between 2016 and 2017 in the number of female peacekeepers was 2,3 per cent, the increase between 2018 and 2019 was 17,2 per cent (United Nations, 2020e). That being said, major progress can be observed within the number of women deployed after the resolution requesting to increase the proportion of female peacekeepers has been adopted.

4. 3. 1. 2 Women's Agency and their Participation in Politics and Other Areas

As in the previous section, the result for reflection gender mainstreaming in relation to women's agency and participation in MONUSCO mandates is mixed.

mandate	participation in politics	participation in other areas	women's initiatives/groups/organizations	empowerment link to security
S/RES/1925	X	X	X	X
S/RES/1991	✓	✓	X	X
S/RES/2053	✓	✓	✓	X
S/RES/2098	X	X	X	X
S/RES/2147	✓	✓	✓	X
S/RES/2211	✓	✓	✓	X
S/RES/2277	✓	✓	X	X
S/RES/2348	✓	✓	X	X
S/RES/2409	✓	✓	X	X
S/RES/2463	✓	✓	X	X
S/RES/2502	✓	✓	X	✓
S/RES/2556	✓	✓	X	✓

As the table shows, the establishing mandate does not contain any reference to women's agency or their participation. This shortcoming was partially considered from the resolution 1991; since then, MONUSCO mandates refer to women's participation in politics and other areas. On the other hand, there is again a certain level of inconsistency, as the resolution 2098 again do not consider this subject at all. Equally, a similar occurrence can be observed within the reference to women's initiatives, groups, or organizations; the reference to them is included within three mandates only across the time period. On the other hand, the last two MONUSCO mandates have shown progress with incorporating the connection between *'women's meaningful participation and safety'*. They also include specific reference to achieve 30 per cent constitutional quota for women (S/RES/1925; S/RES/1991; S/RES/2053; S/RES/2098; S/RES/2147; S/RES/2211; S/RES/2277; S/RES/2348; S/RES/2409; S/RES/2463; S/RES/2502; S/RES/2556).

4. 3. 1. 2. 1 Implementation

As of 2020, women's proportion in National Assembly is 12 per cent and 21 per cent in Senate, compared to 8,9 and 4,6 per cent respectively from the previous legislature (IPU, 2021c). There are no women governors, nor there are female judges at the Constitutional Court. Women also make only 11 per cent cabinet ministers, 7 per cent of political party leaders and 12 per cent of registered candidates (MONUSCO, 2019). The last available data from peace processes refers to 20 per cent of women mediators were present (CFR, 2021c). To promote women's participation, MONUSCO provided training to civil and media organizations to boost the information on women's candidates and to mitigate electoral violence (DPO, 2020: 63), held workshops on the protection of women leaders, provided support to political parties in placing more female candidates and advocated for the registration process to increase women electorate. Despite achieving 80 per cent of the outlined targets regarding women's participation in civil life (OIOS, 2019c), the proportion in institutions failing behind the quota of 30 per cent mentioned within MONUSCO current mandate (MONUSCO, 2019). Additionally, the mission provided awareness-raising exercises and activities regarding the COVID-19 socioeconomic impact for female communities (S/2020/919) and organised discussions with female students on gender protection (OIOS, 2019c), enhancing the progress in women's community involvement

(S/2020/946). The implementation process, therefore, matches the references included within mission mandates, despite certain inconsistencies.

4. 3. 1. 3 Protection of Women from Sexual and Other Gender-based Violence

The subject of women's protection from sexual and other gender-based violence is the leading theme in all MONUSCO mandates in relation to gender mainstreaming strategy.

mandate	protection from conflict	prevention of SGBV	women's protection advisor	accountability and justice
S/RES/1925	✓	✓	✓	X
S/RES/1991	✓	✓	X	✓
S/RES/2053	✓	✓	X	✓
S/RES/2098	✓	✓	✓	✓
S/RES/2147	✓	✓	✓	✓
S/RES/2211	✓	✓	✓	✓
S/RES/2277	✓	✓	X	✓
S/RES/2348	✓	✓	✓	✓
S/RES/2409	✓	✓	✓	✓
S/RES/2463	✓	✓	✓	✓
S/RES/2502	✓	✓	✓	✓
S/RES/2556	✓	✓	✓	✓

As the table shows, women's protection from conflict and their protection from SGBV is reflected in all MONUSCO mandates, from the establishing resolutions until the current one. The needed protection of women resulting from conflict environment, specifically from sexual and other gender-based violence, is the only gender mainstreaming strategy element present already in the establishing mandate. However, the reference to accountability for perpetrators and justice to survivors was added later. Nevertheless, the indicated inconsistency is present within this category too; as the reference to the work of women's protections advisors was mentioned within the establishing mandate, several renewal resolutions did not include it. However, the issue of protection from SGBV is a central topic regarding gender mainstreaming strategy in all MONUSCO mandates, and the inconsistency is not as frequent as in other components (S/RES/1925; S/RES/1991; S/RES/2053; S/RES/2098; S/RES/2147; S/RES/2211; S/RES/2277; S/RES/2348; S/RES/2409; S/RES/2463; S/RES/2502; S/RES/2556).

4. 3. 1. 3. 1 Implementation

As the previous missions within the analysis, MONUSCO also has women protection advisors deployed to address the issue of sexual and gender-based violence, as stated within its mandate (DPKO, 2015). MONUSCO receives the most reported cases of CRSV annually from all examined operations in this work, and the country still suffers from underreporting of cases due to stigmatization and intimidation by the authorities. Accordingly, this part is also covered systematically within MONUSCO mandates, in contrast to others, more inconsistent parts of gender mainstreaming. To address the lack of accountability, MONUSCO established four prosecution support cells to boost the local judicial capacity (S/2012/33), created seven legal clinics for victims to be able to record a legal complaint (S/2015/203) and assisted with mobile court hearings (S/2016/316). MONUSCO also coordinated training for local security institutions on sexual violence, assisted with creating an action plan against SGBV (S/2019/280), and launched the Shabunda action plan to prevent the most dangerous groups from engaging again in CRSV (S/2020/487). The mission also managed to separate forty girls from armed groups who were continuously sexually assaulted (S/2017/249) and established the helpline for victims of conflict-related sexual violence. Despite the initiatives, many cases are still pending to be processed (S/2021/312).

The following table illustrates the number of cases MONUSCO received and the number of misconducts by its personnel. As stated, the presented numbers also suffer from a lack of reporting.
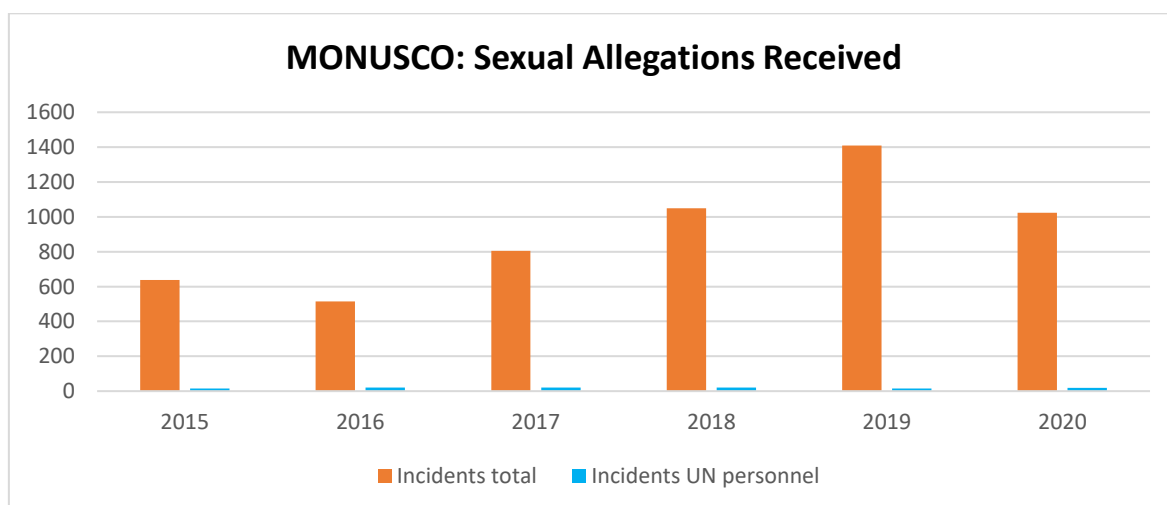
Source: Secretary-General reports on CRSV, 2015-2020; Conduct in UN Field Missions, 2015-2020

The table shows that the number of overall CRSV cases recorded has risen in the past five years. The number of sexual misconducts of MONUSCO personnel ranges between 15 to 21. On average, MONUSCO's allegations stand for 12,3 per cent (Conduct in UN Field Missions, 2021).

The very high level of conflict-related sexual violence in the DRC indicated in the reports of the Secretary-General and other DPO materials match with the strong mandate content on this particular subject. In contrast, other gender mainstreaming topics are covered inconsistently; the protection of women from SGBV is well reflected in MONUSCO mandates, so is the implementation process.

4. 3. 1. 4 Gender Element

As the following table demonstrates, the gender considerations are reflected in MONUSCO mandates with mixed results.

mandate	gender advisors	gender training	gender programmes	gender as cross-cutting issue	gender expertise/analysis
S/RES/1925	X	X	X	X	not relevant
S/RES/1991	X	X	X	X	not relevant
S/RES/2053	X	X	X	X	not relevant
S/RES/2098	X	X	X	X	not relevant
S/RES/2147	✓	X	✓	✓	not relevant
S/RES/2211	✓	✓	X	✓	not relevant
S/RES/2277	✓	✓	X	✓	X
S/RES/2348	✓	✓	X	✓	X
S/RES/2409	✓	✓	X	✓	✓
S/RES/2463	✓	✓	X	✓	✓
S/RES/2502	✓	✓	X	✓	✓
S/RES/2556	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓

In general terms, the reflection of gender mainstreaming strategy in MONUSCO mandates is inconsistent. It is equally valid for the reference to gender element. The establishing mandate and the subsequent three renewals do not reflect any of the gender responsiveness categories as outlined in the table. Since 2014, with the adoption resolution 2147, MONUSCO mandates has been more reflective, including references to the presence of gender advisor, gender strategies and programmes and treating *'gender as a cross-cutting issue'*. Since then, the reflection of gender elements has increased within MONUSO mandates, and the current resolution considers all gender element classifications

(S/RES/1925; S/RES/1991; S/RES/2053; S/RES/2098; S/RES/2147; S/RES/2211; S/RES/2277; S/RES/2348; S/RES/2409; S/RES/2463; S/RES/2502; S/RES/2556).

4. 3. 1. 4. 1 Implementation

MONUSCO's Gender Affairs Unit consists of 11 staff (MONUSCO, 2021); the audit report, however, concluded that such capacity is not enough to adequately mainstream gender aspects to all entities of mission, and therefore recommend boosting the capacity and preventing the frequent rotation of advisors within the military component. Another suggestion concerning gender awareness training. Although the effectiveness of such gender-oriented exercise is now considered to be more effective (OIOS, 2019c) than in 2013 (UN Women, 2013), the attendance is still insufficient, with only 31 per cent of civilian staff being trained accordingly. The report also commented that MONUSCO had adopted gender perspectives and strategies in its planning; however, there are activities and functions within the mission's structures where gender strategy is not reflected. Such deficit can also be observed within gender expertise; a few entities under MONUSCO are without adequate expertise on gender and do not provide sex-disaggregated data, hindering the monitoring process. Nevertheless, the audit report concludes that the mission adopted *'gender as a cross-cutting issue'* by adopting gender within its structures and supporting local activities (OIOS, 2019c).

4. 3. 2 Mandate Assessment

The shift in gender mainstreaming content within MONUSCO's mandate represents the most significant change of all PKOs included in this analysis. The establishing resolution receives a score of 1, which is not gender-mainstreamed mandate. MONUSCO matches with this score as the only reference within its authorizing mandate is protecting women from SGBV. However, other categories are not considered at all. On the other hand, the current MONUSCO resolution receives a score of 3, which is a further gender-mainstreamed mandate since the category of gender element and protection from SGBV are entirely coved, and the remaining two are reflected at least in half of the components.

Although the phrasing and use of language remain stable, as in other cases, MONUSCO mandates do not display the same integrity as other missions included within this analysis. Whereas in other PKO mandates, the following resolutions will include it once the

reference is made. MONUSCO demonstrates a certain level of inconsistency; there is at least one component in each of four categories where the reference was left out.

4. 4 Case study: UNMISS

The United Nations Mission in South Sudan (UNMISS) was established in July 2011, following its independence on the 9th of July 2011 after its separation from Sudan. This mission directly follows the previous UN mission in Sudan (UNMIS), which was set up to assist in facilitating the peace process between the northern and southern regions of Sudan (Zambakari et al., 2018: 95). The new mission, authorized with the adoption of UNSC resolution 1996, priority was to support the new state in its consolidation, creating conditions for development and supporting the democratic government (Stamnes, 2015). The referendum on southern self-determination, defined by the Comprehensive Peace Agreement (CPA), then transformed the previous mission into the current one. Although the CPA considered the relations between the two countries, focusing on the border issues, it did not address the internal ethnic polarization within South Sudan that broke out a few months later (Da Costa and Karlsrud, 2012: 57).

The prolonged conflict between Northern and Southern Sudan caused death to more than two million people, leaving the region with poor infrastructure and many active militias rebel groups. Apart from that, the new country suffers from ethnic tensions, patronage system and significant underdevelopment in rural areas, making the country heavily dependent on external aid (Day et al., 2019: 32-33). Such instability resulted in civil war after the opposition and government forces, driven by different tribe affiliations, clashed over the country's power-sharing structures (Zambakari et al., 2018: 115-116). In response to the widespread violence which erupted in South Sudan at the end of 2013, the UNMISS mandate has shifted significantly. The establishing mandate relied on the government and other political authorities to support the mission's objective concerning the protection of civilians, but the political crisis in December 2013 resulted in widespread civilian killings and consequently overloaded UNMISS-operated compounds (Stamnes, 2015). Thus, the former focus on political stabilization and state-building was replaced with the priority on protection of civilians, human rights monitoring and facilitating humanitarian assistance in May 2014 (Day et al., 2019: 32).

More recently, in 2018, both parties signed the Revitalized Peace Agreement, and the political violence has decreased. However, the mission's priorities are still focused on the

protection of civilians, creating the appropriate conditions for humanitarian assistance, and monitoring human rights violations; the current mandate is further oriented towards support for the Agreement, including vision on future conflict prevention (United Nations, 2021d).

4. 4. 1 Content of the Mandates

As mentioned before, the resolution 1996, adopted in July 2011 by the Security Council, authorized the UNMISS mission. As of 2021, the mandate has been renewed in total ten times since its establishment, more precisely resolutions 2057, 2109, 2187, 2223, 2252, 2327, 2406, 2459, 2514 and finally 2567. All eleven resolutions are, therefore, part of the analysis.

4. 4. 1. 1 The Goal of Gender Equality

The following table illustrates the UNMISS commitment to gender equality to increase the number of women in personnel deployed respectively.

mandate	gender equality	increasing women personnel
S/RES/1996	X	✓
S/RES/2057	X	✓
S/RES/2109	X	✓
S/RES/2187	X	✓
S/RES/2223	X	✓
S/RES/2252	✓	✓
S/RES/2327	X	✓
S/RES/2406	X	✓
S/RES/2459	X	✓
S/RES/2514	X	✓
S/RES/2567	X	✓

As the table shows, there has been a solid long-term commitment to increase the number of females in UNMISS since the beginning, which is a rarity across all five operations included within the evaluation, since most of them started to include the reference later. Although the reference to women personnel within the first resolutions is more general, *'recognizing the need to broaden and deepen the pool of women'*, the more current mandates are very definite, requesting troops and police-contributing countries to deploy more women, but also *'to implement relevant provisions on reducing barriers to and*

increasing women's participation at all levels and in all positions in peacekeeping'. On the other hand, except for resolution 2252, UNMISS has yet to include a clear commitment to the goal of gender equality (S/RES/1996; S/RES/2057; S/RES/2109; S/RES/2187; S/RES/2223; S/RES/2252; S/RES/2327; S/RES/2406; S/RES/2459; S/RES/2514; S/RES/2567).

4. 4. 1. 1. 1 Implementation

As of December 2020, a total of 16,522 personnel was deployed within UNMISS structures, from which 15272 were men and 1250 women. In particular, 800 female peacekeepers in the military and 450 in the police. As such, women stand for 5,3 per cent in all UMISS military staff and 27 per cent in police (United Nations, 2020a). Therefore, similarly to MONUSCO, UNMISS exceeds the target of 20 per cent of women in police by 2020. On the other hand, the proportion of females in the military remains low, not achieving the benchmark of 10 per cent by 2020 (UN OCHA, 2020).
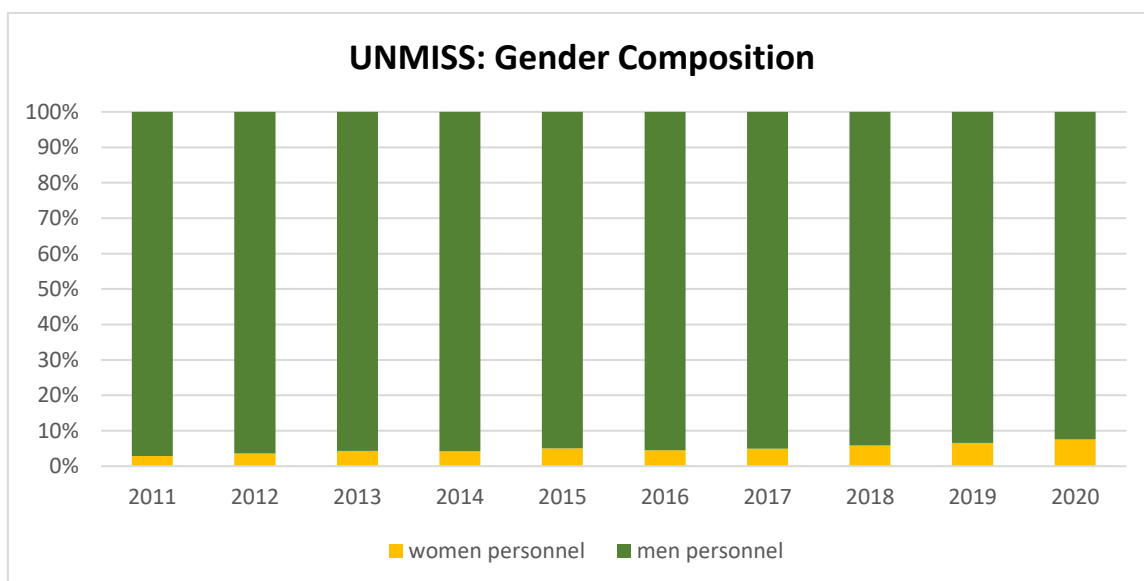
Source: United Nations (2020f), Gender Statistics, December 2011-2020

Unlike other missions within this analysis, UNMISS' mandates have been including the request to deploy a greater number of female personnel since the very beginning. Accordingly, the average increase of women personnel is higher – 27,2 per cent per year, despite the fact that in the period between 2015 and 2016, the number of authorized personnel in UNMISS was reduced (United Nations, 2020f). Therefore, it can be argued that the reference in the mission's mandates is accordingly implemented within UNMISS gender composition itself.

4. 4. 1. 2 Women's Agency and their Participation in Politics and Other Areas

The table below shows the references to women's agency and their participation in all areas of civic life, politics included.

mandate	participation in politics	participation in other areas	women's initiatives/groups/organizations	empowerment link to security
S/RES/1996	✓	✓	✓	✓
S/RES/2057	✓	✓	✓	✓
S/RES/2109	✓	✓	✓	✓
S/RES/2187	✓	✓	✓	✓
S/RES/2223	✓	✓	✓	✓
S/RES/2252	✓	✓	✓	✓
S/RES/2327	✓	✓	✓	✓
S/RES/2406	✓	✓	✓	✓
S/RES/2459	✓	✓	✓	✓
S/RES/2514	✓	✓	✓	✓
S/RES/2567	✓	✓	✓	✓

As the table demonstrates, UNMISS reflection of women's participation and agency is fully gender mainstreamed since the establishing mandate has been adopted. That is, again, a rarity among the other missions included within the analysis. Particularly strong is the commitment to provide a secure environment regarding women's active citizenship, stating the need to *'counter negative societal attitudes about women's capacity to participate equally'* and *'facilitation in support of the mission's protection strategy, especially in regard to women, including to facilitate long-term State-building activity'*. All resolutions also include a reference to either *'women's groups'*, '*women's civil society organizations* or *'female peacebuilders'* specifically. Additionally, with the authorization of resolution 2459, UNMISS mandates even include a minimum 35 per cent quota for women's representation within the Revitalised Agreement (S/RES/1996; S/RES/2057; S/RES/2109; S/RES/2187; S/RES/2223; S/RES/2252; S/RES/2327; S/RES/2406; S/RES/2459; S/RES/2514; S/RES/2567).

4. 4. 1. 2 Implementation

The first elections in the country's history should have taken place in 2015 and 2018, respectively, but they were repeatedly postponed to 2022-2023 (Tchie, 2021). Therefore, the proportion of women has stayed the same since 2011: 28,5 per cent in the National

Assembly and 12 per cent in the Council of States (IPU, 2020d). However, there is a growth in the number of females within peace talks, from 30 to 33 per cent within the 2015-2018 period (CFR, 2021d). Although the UNMISS Gender Unit has conducted public outreach projects on women's participation in politics and peace talks, workshops on community mediation under women's organizations, and advocated for increasing the number of female participants in all political processes (OIOS, 2019d), the quota of 35 per cent is being respected in only two of the 2019 Agreement committees (S/2020/946). There is a lack of political will to advocate the quota (S/2020/1180). To promote women's agency in other areas, the mission supported radio campaigns and community dialogues on women's engagement (CMI, 2018), assisted with national dialogues on the economy and social cohesion with women's leaders (S/2020/1180) and organised focused group debates with women on resettlement (DPO, 2020: 80). UNMISS further supported landholding policy oriented towards women (S/2019/722) and most recently conducted awareness exercises on exposure to a covid pandemic for women (S/2020/890). The strong engagement with women and female organizations was confirmed by the audit report of UN Internal Oversight Services (OIOS, 2019d), matching the strong discourse on women's agency and representation throughout the mission's mandate.

4. 4. 1. 3 Protection of Women from Sexual and Other Gender-based Violence

Similarly to other missions within this analysis, the topic of women's protection from conflict, particularly SGBV, is well-reflected.

mandate	protection from conflict	prevention of SGBV	women's protection advisor	accountability and justice
S/RES/1996	✓	✓	✓	X
S/RES/2057	✓	✓	✓	X
S/RES/2109	✓	✓	✓	✓
S/RES/2187	✓	✓	✓	✓
S/RES/2223	✓	✓	✓	✓
S/RES/2252	✓	✓	✓	✓
S/RES/2327	✓	✓	✓	✓
S/RES/2406	✓	✓	✓	✓
S/RES/2459	✓	✓	✓	✓
S/RES/2514	✓	✓	✓	✓
S/RES/2567	✓	✓	✓	✓

The subject of women's protection from mainly sexual and gender-based violence is well-reflected within UNMISS mandates. However, the establishing resolution and the first mandate's renewal do not reference the accountability for perpetrators, justice to victims and survivors, respectively. However, the more recent mandates are very comprehensive with the protection from SGBV and its prevention, working even with the *'threat analysis and early warning systems through engaging in an ethical manner with survivors and victims'* (S/RES/1996; S/RES/2057; S/RES/2109; S/RES/2187; S/RES/2223; S/RES/2252; S/RES/2327; S/RES/2406; S/RES/2459; S/RES/2514; S/RES/2567). Therefore, similar to other PKOs included in the analysis, UNMISS has a strong discourse on protecting women from sexual and other gender-based violence within its mandates.

4. 4. 1. 3. 1 Implementation

Consistent with the strong discourse on protecting women from SGBV within UNMISS mandates, the implementation also shows some results. To combat sexual and gender-based violence, UNMISS has deployed women protection advisors within the mission structures (DPKO, 2015). However, like in the previous cases, the persistent problem is the underreporting of CRSV cases due to stigmatization and lack of accountability for perpetrators, especially for senior offices within local security institutions (S/2019/280). The mission has taken steps to mitigate CRSV by patrolling high-risk areas and facilitating the supply of fuel and firewood to women (S/2015/203), strengthening the early-warning systems, creating weapons-free areas around displacement camps and putting police officers at checkpoints which reduced the number of assaults (S/2017/249). UNMISS also conducted several trainings for local security forces on preventing and addressing sexual violence (S/2018) as well as command responsibility and relevant legal plans (S/2020/487). As for the legal measures, the mission's WPAs provided a legislative review of the definition of rape within the country's legislation and offered advice on revisions (S/2014/181). UNMISS further assisted and supported the implementation plan and communiqué on the rule of law and CRSV (S/2016/316). The mission also monitors the tribunal proceedings and support local authorities in convening mobile courts. A specialized tribunal for SGBV related crimes has not been established yet (S/2020/487); hence accountability represents a significant problem (S/2021/312).

The data below shows the number of cases reported to UNMISS and the number of mission's personnel misconducts of SGBV.

UNMISS: Sexual Allegations Received
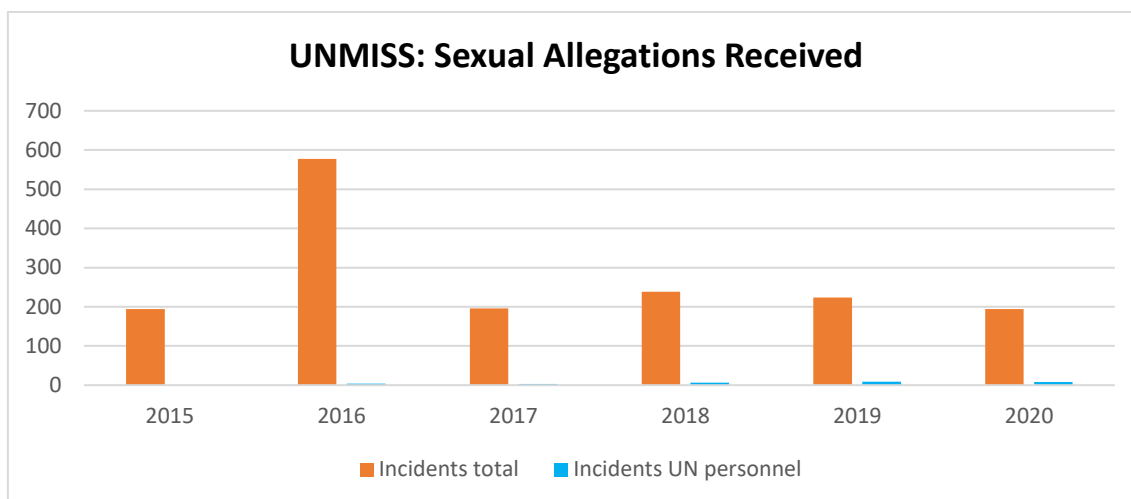
Source: Secretary-General reports on CRSV, 2015-2020; Conduct in UN Field Missions, 2015-2020

As the table illustrates, the number of received cases is, except for 2016, stable. The allegations of UNMISS' peacekeepers range between zero to 9 cases, with 2015 being the only year during which UNMISS did not register any cases against its personnel. On average, mission's personnel misconducts represent 11 per cent of documented cases annually (Conduct in UN Field Missions, 2021).

Similarly to MINUSMA and MONUSCO, conflict-related sexual violence is very high in South Sudan, as stated in Secretary-General's reports and other mission's documents. Thus, the mandate's reference to the protection of women from SGBV is equally detailed, and the implementation process suggests a strong engagement with locals on this issue. Furthermore, UNMISS also shows the lowest percentage of sexual allegations committed by its personnel, excluding UNISFA, where the data are not fully available. On average, the personnel are responsible for 11 per cent of all reported cases.

4. 4. 1. 4 Gender Element

The table below shows the commitment to the so-called gender elements within the UNMISS mandates between 2011 and 2021.

mandate	gender advisors	gender training	gender programmes	gender as cross-cutting issue	gender expertise/analysis
S/RES/1996	X	✓	X	X	✓
S/RES/2057	X	✓	X	X	✓
S/RES/2109	X	✓	X	X	✓
S/RES/2187	X	✓	X	X	✓
S/RES/2223	✓	✓	X	✓	✓
S/RES/2252	X	✓	X	✓	✓
S/RES/2327	X	✓	X	✓	✓
S/RES/2406	X	✓	X	✓	✓
S/RES/2459	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
S/RES/2514	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
S/RES/2567	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓

Despite the fact that the establishing mandate was particularly strong in relation to other missions included within the study, the reflection of gender elements is considerably weaker in comparison to other gender mainstreaming practices in the UNMISS mandates, at least within the first four resolutions. Particularly interesting is the reflection of specific sub-categories. On one hand, the reference to gender expertise and analysis has been part of the mission mandate since the beginning, in 2011, although the WPS resolutions requesting that was adopted in 2015. On the other hand, the rest of them were already in place before the establishing mandate was adopted, yet the reference to them was added much later. That being said, for the past three years, UNMISS mandates have included all the gender elements (S/RES/1996; S/RES/2057; S/RES/2109; S/RES/2187; S/RES/2223; S/RES/2252; S/RES/2327; S/RES/2406; S/RES/2459; S/RES/2514; S/RES/2567).

4. 4. 1. 4. 1 Implementation

UNMISS' Gender Unit consists of 18 people led by the senior gender advisor (UNMISS, 2021). The audit report welcomed the number of activities organised by the Unit, especially the measures taken by gender advisors within police units, whereas additional work needs to be done in the military component. The report further commented that the Gender Unit should monitor the attendance to gender awareness training, as only 5 per cent of civilian personnel conducted such exercise (OIOS, 2019d). As mentioned, the number of gender-oriented programmes for local communities is satisfactory (S/2020/1180); however, UNMISS' work plans are not based on gender-reflective strategies and programmes (OIOS, 2019d). Although the mission recently took the initiative in creating

the Gender Dashboard to ensure more methodical monitoring of gender issues (DPO, 2020: 51), the lack of specific gender strategy also contributed to the inadequate gender analysis and expertise; only a few of the mission's work plans included sex-disaggregated data and provided targets to monitor WPS related achievements. Thus, to strengthen *'gender as cross-cutting issue'*, UNMISS should focus on mission-specific gender strategy (OIOS, 2019d) to match the tasks outlined in its mandate.

4. 4. 2 Mandate Assessment

The establishing and current resolutions of the UN mission in South Sudan represent the most robust mandates within this study regarding gender mainstreaming content. The authorizing mandate receives a score of 3, which is further gender-mainstreamed, and the current UNMISS resolution gets a score of 4, meaning it is fully gender-mainstreamed. Whereas the establishing resolutions fully covered the categories of women's participation/agency and their protection from SGBV, the reflection of gender component and goal of gender equality was less detailed. Currently, the only reference keeping UNMISS to have one hundred per cent fully gender-mainstreamed mandate is the absence of a pledge to gender equality.

The mission's mandates also diverge from the otherwise very similar language and phrasing used in other PKOs resolutions; whereas the other missions' mandates are more concise, the language in UNMISS mandates are more expansive. For illustration, the current resolutions for MINUSMA, MINUSCA and MONUSCO contain around 30 references to gender and women, whereas the current mandate for UNMISS includes 48 mentions. UNISFA's current resolution represents the other side with only 14 references. However, there is also a level of inconsistency in UNMISS mandates; the mentions of gender equality and gender advisors were left out and later brought back.

4. 5 Case study: UNISFA

The peacekeeping mission UNISFA, standing for United Nations Interim Security Force for Abyei, was established on the 27th of June 2011, with the adoption of the resolution 1990 to the disputed area of Abyei, claimed by both Sudan and South Sudan (Ramsbotham, 2012: 127).

The conflict over the Abyei represents a long-lasting conflict between the northern and southern parts of Sudan, driven by ethnic and cultural differences between both regions

and to control the extensive oil reserves within the area. Abyei has been traditionally settled by the Ngok Dinka tribe, ethnically close to the Dinka people of South Sudan. However, the nomadic Arab Misseriya tribe occasionally traverse around the area, searching for stocks and water. The aforementioned Comprehensive Agreement, which concluded the Second Sudanese civil war and further incorporated the right of self-determination, which resulted in South Sudan's independence, ruled the issue of Abyei out, stating it needs to be considered separately (Osterrieder et al., 2014: 819-820).

The two conflicting parties could not achieve any agreement, which resulted in deadly clashes on both sides and forced more than 100 000 people to leave their homes (United Nations, 2021e). In response, the Security Council authorized the UNISFA mission to provide a demilitarization zone and assist with re-deployment of the remaining military groups and delivering humanitarian aid (Ramsbotham, 2012: 127-128).

After both parties reached an agreement to joint political and security mechanism with a safe demilitarized border zone (SDBZ) in 2011, the UNISFA's mandate was extended to force protection on the mechanism and further capacity support to assist with the border mechanism control (Osterrieder et al., 2014: 821). As the border area of Abyei is still considered to be a threat to regional stability and security, the Security Council repeatedly extended UNISFA's mandate and increased the number of troops to stay engaged (United Nations, 2021e).

4. 5. 1 Content of the Mandates

Unlike the other missions within the analysis, UNISFA's mandates usually extended the deployment only for a few months, assuming that the dispute over the Abyei area will be solved swiftly. Therefore, the amount of mandate renewals is significantly higher than within the other parts of the examination. More precisely, the establishing mandate number 1990 from 2011 was subsequently extended 19 times. The resolutions 2032, 2047, 2075, 2104, 2126, 2156, 2179, 2205, 2230, 2251, 2287, 2318, 2352, 2386, 2416, 2445, 2469, 2497 and finally 2550 are, therefore, part of the following evaluation.

4. 5. 1. 1 The Goal of Gender Equality

The following table shows UNISFA's commitment to gender equality its mandate, along with the pledge to increase the number of female peacekeepers.

mandate	gender equality	increasing women personnel
S/RES/1990	X	X
S/RES/2032	X	X
S/RES/2047	X	X
S/RES/2075	X	X
S/RES/2104	X	X
S/RES/2126	X	X
S/RES/2156	X	X
S/RES/2179	X	X
S/RES/2205	✓	X
S/RES/2230	✓	X
S/RES/2251	✓	X
S/RES/2287	✓	X
S/RES/2318	✓	X
S/RES/2352	✓	X
S/RES/2386	✓	X
S/RES/2416	X	✓
S/RES/2445	X	✓
S/RES/2469	X	✓
S/RES/2497	X	✓
S/RES/2550	X	✓

As the table illustrates, the establishing mandate and the period shortly after that contain no reference to the low number of women personnel or any pledge to gender equality in general. In fact, the first four resolutions do not demonstrate any specific gender mainstreaming considerations; the only vague reference made is *'reaffirming previous resolutions on women, peace, and security'*. That being said, since resolution 2205 was adopted, UNISFA has included the pledge to *'promotion of gender equality'*. Interestingly, since the reference to *'increase the number of women in military and police contingents'* has been made within the mandate 2416, on the other hand, the commitment to gender equality vanished with that resolutions, in other words, one pledge has replaced the other (S/RES/2032; S/RES/2047; S/RES/2075; S/RES/2104; S/RES/2126; S/RES/2156; S/RES/2179; S/RES/2205; S/RES/2230; S/RES/2251; S/RES/2287; S/RES/2318; S/RES/2352; S/RES/2386; S/RES/2416; S/RES/2445; S/RES/2469; S/RES/2497; S/RES/2550).

4. 5. 1. 1. 1 Implementation

As of December 2020, a total of 3428 personnel was deployed under UNISFA; 3008 were men, 420 were women, of which 413 were deployed within the military, and 7 were in police contingents. As such, female peacekeepers currently stand for 12 per cent in the military and 29 per cent in the police (United Nations, 2020a). Thus, UNISFA, as the only mission within this analysis, meets both targets; 10 per cent for military and 20 per cent for police by 2020 (UN OCHA, 2020).

UNISFA: Gender Composition
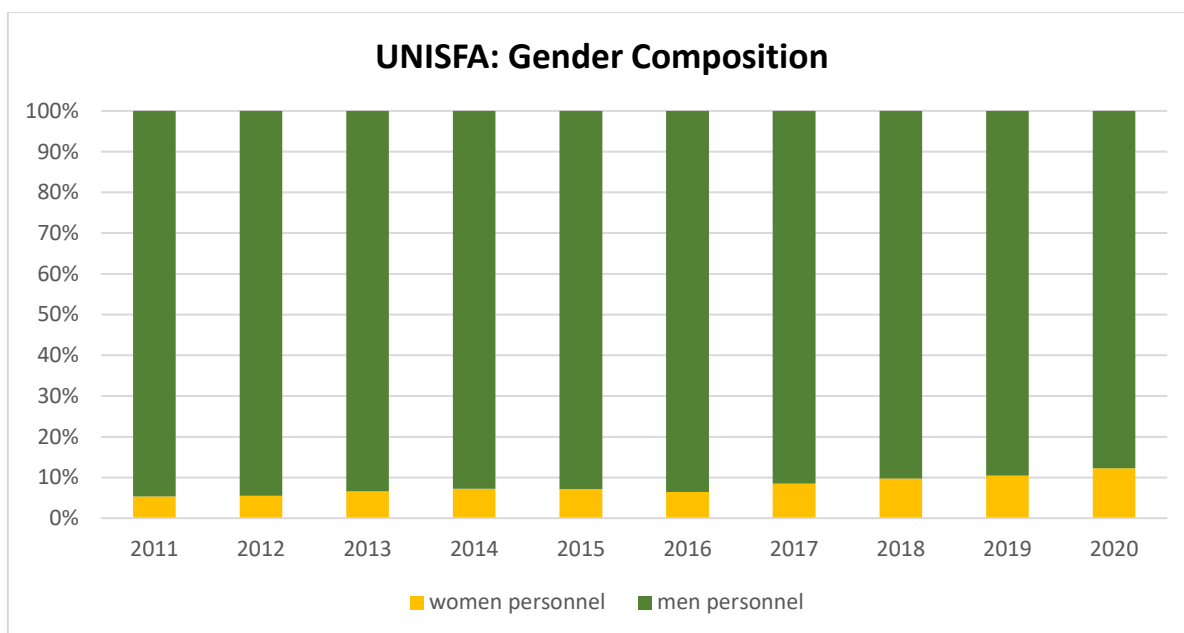
Source: United Nations (2020f), Gender Statistics, December 2011-2020

As examined earlier, UNISFA did not include any request to boost the number of women personnel within the mission structures until the adoption of resolution 2416 from 2018. That being said, the proportion of women personnel has been increasing since the beginning of the mission, as was the case in other operations within the analysis, without a direct reference in the early mandates. On the other hand, the overall proportion has been higher within UNISFA, without the specific reference within the resolutions. However, the growth after the reference has been included, that is, since 2018, is more significant than in the period before (United Nations, 2020f). Therefore, the implementation of gender equality itself shows better results than its commitment within UNISFA mandates.

4. 5. 1. 2 Women's Agency and their Participation in Politics and Other Areas

As for the factor of women's agency, their participation in politics and other areas of life, the findings are following:

mandate	participation in politics	participation in other areas	women's initiatives/groups/organizations	empowerment link to security
S/RES/1990	X	X	X	X
S/RES/2032	X	X	X	X
S/RES/2047	X	X	X	X
S/RES/2075	X	X	X	X
S/RES/2104	✓	X	X	X
S/RES/2126	✓	X	X	X
S/RES/2156	✓	X	X	X
S/RES/2179	✓	X	X	X
S/RES/2205	✓	✓	X	X
S/RES/2230	✓	✓	X	X
S/RES/2251	✓	✓	X	X
S/RES/2287	✓	✓	X	X
S/RES/2318	✓	✓	X	X
S/RES/2352	✓	✓	X	X
S/RES/2386	✓	✓	X	X
S/RES/2416	✓	✓	X	X
S/RES/2445	✓	✓	X	X
S/RES/2469	✓	✓	X	X
S/RES/2497	✓	✓	X	X
S/RES/2550	✓	✓	X	X

As the findings illustrate, the reflection of women's agency and participation within UNISFA is insufficient. As already stated, the establishing mandate and the three following extensions do not contain any references to gender mainstreaming. With the adoption of resolution 2104, UNISFA included reference to women's engagement in politics, and later, within resolution 2205, the mission incorporates the *'commitment to women's empowerment, participation, and human rights in all levels'*. Having said that, gender mainstreaming is rather narrowly focused on participation, while the links to security and work of women's organizations and groups are not reflected at all (S/RES/2032; S/RES/2047; S/RES/2075; S/RES/2104; S/RES/2126; S/RES/2156; S/RES/2179; S/RES/2205; S/RES/2230; S/RES/2251; S/RES/2287; S/RES/2318; S/RES/2352; S/RES/2386; S/RES/2416; S/RES/2445; S/RES/2469; S/RES/2497; S/RES/2550).

4. 5. 1. 3. 1 Implementation

As mentioned earlier, tracking UNISFA's implementation regarding women's participation is not as straightforward as with other missions within the analysis, as UNISFA is deployed in disputed territory. Despite the efforts, women in Abyei are not included in the decision-making process (S/2020/308), although there is progress coming from local authorities by appointing a gender advisor in Abyei (S/2021/383). UNISFA organised several workshops for women leaders on political participation (S/2019/319) and created an intercommunal dialogue among ethnic groups on the role of women in peacebuilding activities (S/2018/923). The mission also organised separate consultations for both Misseriya and Ngok Dinka communities on the women's engagement and agency in community decision-making dialogues (S/2021/383). Additionally, UNISFA conducted other activities to promote women's participation in other areas of civil life; promoting women's health organization in their covid-19 response work (S/2020/1019), organizing a tournament for female athletes (S/2018/923) and distribution of tools to enhance the competitiveness of women in rural areas (S/2021/383). However, the references to women's participation and agency are more recent within the reports, similarly to the reference within UNIFSFA's mandates.

4. 5. 1. 3 Protection of Women from Sexual and Other Gender-based Violence

Although the subject of women's protection from violence, namely from SGBV, is usually the most reflected topic within gender mainstreaming components, UNISFA shows rather cursory results.

mandate	protection from conflict	prevention of SGBV	women's protection advisor	accountability and justice
S/RES/1990	X	X	X	X
S/RES/2032	X	X	X	X
S/RES/2047	X	X	X	X
S/RES/2075	X	X	X	X
S/RES/2104	X	✓	X	X
S/RES/2126	X	✓	X	X
S/RES/2156	X	✓	X	X
S/RES/2179	X	✓	X	X
S/RES/2205	X	✓	X	X
S/RES/2230	X	✓	X	X
S/RES/2251	X	✓	X	X
S/RES/2287	X	✓	X	X
S/RES/2318	X	✓	X	X
S/RES/2352	X	✓	✓	X
S/RES/2386	X	✓	✓	X
S/RES/2416	X	✓	✓	X
S/RES/2445	X	✓	✓	X
S/RES/2469	X	✓	✓	✓
S/RES/2497	X	✓	X	✓
S/RES/2550	X	✓	X	✓

As discussed earlier, the establishing mandate and the three following extensions are not gender mainstreamed by any means. Since then, UNISFA constantly refers to the prevention of sexual and other gender-based violence regarding women; other elements are considered later, within more recent mandates, as *'bringing perpetrators of SGBV abuses or violations to justice'*. The first mentions concerning the women protection advisor are not about their work itself but requesting UNISFA to *'urge the mission to deploy the women protection advisor'*; however, their references vanished from the recent mandates. While the other, that means the women's protection resulting from conflict is not reflected up until today (S/RES/2032; S/RES/2047; S/RES/2075; S/RES/2104; S/RES/2126; S/RES/2156; S/RES/2179; S/RES/2205; S/RES/2230; S/RES/2251; S/RES/2287; S/RES/2318; S/RES/2352; S/RES/2386; S/RES/2416; S/RES/2445; S/RES/2469; S/RES/2497; S/RES/2550).

4. 5. 1. 3. 1 Implementation

UNISFA finalised the recruitment of women protection advisor within mission in autumn 2017 (S/2017/870) after the mandates made repeated references to *'urges the mission to make a rapid progress on deploying WPA'* (S/RES/2352; S/RES/2386; S/RES/2416). However, the deployment itself took place in 2018 (S/2019/319). As the Secretary-General reports mentions, the weak protection measures in Abyei result in a high risk of violence

against women, particularly sexual abuse (S/2017/649). To combat SGBV, UNISFA has conducted several awareness exercises and campaigns on SGBV (S/2018/923), created a hotline helpdesk for victims within local administration (S/2020/1019) and provided training to local security institutions and female leaders on awareness of sexual violence (S/2015/700).

However, events and campaigns related to the prevention of sexual and gender-based violence are mentioned in the report of the Secretary-General more recently, specifically since 2015. In the earlier period, between 2011-2014, the reports state only that the level of SGBV offences in the area of Abyei is high (S/2013/198) without making specific references to the mission's activities on that issue. Therefore, it can be assumed that the implementation within that period matches the lack of gender mainstreaming on that issue within its mandates. That being said, UNISFA is not covered within the annual reports of the Secretary-General on conflict-related sexual violence; thus, there are no data on the number of reported cases. The reports of the Secretary-General on the situation in Abyei had started to include the number of reported cases of CRSV in 2020 when the figure for CRSV crimes was 16 (S/2020/308; S/2020/1019). However, the statistics for UNISFA's personnel misconducts regarding SGBV are following; whereas there was one allegation in 2015 and 2020, three in 2016, the period between 2017-2019 shows no reports of misconducts of the mission's personnel (Conduct in UN Field Missions, 2021). That is the lowest score of all operations within this study; on the other hand, UNISFA's total personnel strength is considerably lower than the rest, partially explaining the results.

That being said, the implementation process covers the outline reflected within the UNISFA mandate, even to a higher degree than the resolutions require, to be exact, as the mission's personnel have been conducting activities concerning the protection of women, which is an issue that has not been addressed yet within its mandate.

4. 5. 1. 4 Gender Element
The table below shows the very low reflection of gender considerations in UNISFA's mandates.

mandate	gender advisors	gender training	gender programmes	gender as cross-cutting issue	gender analysis/expertise
S/RES/1990	X	X	X	X	not relevant
S/RES/2032	X	X	X	X	not relevant
S/RES/2047	X	X	X	X	not relevant
S/RES/2075	X	X	X	X	not relevant
S/RES/2104	X	X	X	X	not relevant
S/RES/2126	X	X	X	X	not relevant
S/RES/2156	X	X	X	X	not relevant
S/RES/2179	X	X	X	X	not relevant
S/RES/2205	X	X	X	X	not relevant
S/RES/2230	X	X	X	X	not relevant
S/RES/2251	X	X	X	X	X
S/RES/2287	X	X	X	X	X
S/RES/2318	X	X	X	X	X
S/RES/2352	X	X	X	X	X
S/RES/2386	X	X	X	X	X
S/RES/2416	X	X	X	X	X
S/RES/2445	X	X	X	X	X
S/RES/2469	X	X	X	✓	X
S/RES/2497	X	X	X	✓	✓
S/RES/2550	X	X	X	✓	✓

As the findings demonstrate, UNISFA's mandates are, in fact, silent concerning gender considerations. There is minimal progress towards a greater reflection of gender components, and the only development has been demonstrated within the last three years, that is, since the adoption of resolution 2469. Whereas other parts of UNISFA's mandates also display rather reserved development, gender elements reflection is currently reduced to *'taking into account gender considerations as crosscutting issue throughout its mandate'* and *'adequate expertise'* (S/RES/2032; S/RES/2047; S/RES/2075; S/RES/2104; S/RES/2126; S/RES/2156; S/RES/2179; S/RES/2205; S/RES/2230; S/RES/2251; S/RES/2287; S/RES/2318; S/RES/2352; S/RES/2386; S/RES/2416; S/RES/2445; S/RES/2469; S/RES/2497; S/RES/2550)

4. 5. 1. 4. 1 Implementation

As mentioned earlier, the UN Office of Internal Oversight Services has not conducted an audit report on gender mainstreaming within UNISFA structures yet; hence the assessment of gender element's implementation is broadly based on the reports of the Secretary-General on the situation in the area. Despite the fact that there is no reference to gender advisor and gender reflective trainings within UNISFA mandates, the mission has its gender advisor under Gender Advisory Team (S/2018/293) and conducts gender-oriented

training and briefings on gender equality for its personnel (S/2015/439). However, some female peacekeepers expressed that the gender awareness training was not detailed enough (Gebremichael and Kewir, 2019: 65-66). Since there is no audit report on the reflection of gender in mission's strategies and such strategic and operational plans are not available for the public, the assessment of gender reflective programmes is significantly reduced. However, there are reflections of resolution 1325 in a few available documents on UNISFA's website (UNISFA, 2020). A similar situation is within the gender analysis and expertise; however, the reports of the Secretary-General have started to include the sex-disaggregated data on the work of UNISFA around 2017 (S/2017/293), meaning that the actual gender expertise and analysis were being performed without the reference in mission mandate. Overall, the lack of data complicates the evaluation of considering gender as a *'cross-cutting issue'* within UNISFA structures. On the other hand, the mission manifest that there are indeed gender reflective events being held and gender advisors being present, despite the lack of acknowledgement within the mandates.

4. 5. 2 Mandate Assessment

UNISFA establishing mandate receives, along with MONUSCO's one, the lowest score possible – 1, meaning the authorizing resolutions was not gender-mainstreamed. None of the four categories within the analysis were considered in UNISFA establishing mandate. However, there is positive progress as the current UNISFA mandate matches with the score of 3 - further gender-mainstreamed as all four categories are at least partially covered within the current UNISFA mandate.

As mentioned above, UNISFA up-to-date mandate lags behind the other PKOs in this study, with a total of 14 references compared to 48 in UNMISS, 32 in MINUSMA, 31 in MONUSCO and 28 in MINUSCA. There is also a certain level of inconsistency, as the references to gender equality, increasing the number of female peacekeepers and WPA's were included, only to be left out later.

5. Conclusion

The main research objective of this study was to analyse how the current UN peacekeeping missions mandates and their implementation reflect gender mainstreaming strategy. The analysis has shown that gender mainstreaming is reflected in all current PKOs mandates; however, the level of reflection varies across the five missions included in the evaluation. The various degrees of gender mainstreaming strategy consideration is particularly demonstrated within establishing mandates, as UNISFA's and MONUSCO's mandates are considered as not gender-mainstreamed, MINUSCA's and MINUSMA's authorizing resolutions as barely gender-mainstreamed, while UNMISS's establishing mandate is the only one being considered as further gender-mainstreamed. On the other hand, the current resolutions display a lower level of variety; the existing UNMISS resolution is the only fully gender-mainstreamed mandate included in this study, and all remaining PKOs current mandates fall into further gender-mainstreamed classification. That being said, three missions, MINUSMA, MINUSCA and UNMISS, have advanced within one category, whereas MONUSCO and UNISFA have shifted within two categories between the establishing and current mandates. UNISFA's and MONUSCO's authorizing resolutions were within the not gender-mainstreamed category and moved to the further gender-mainstreamed category. Therefore, it can be assumed that PKOs with a lower reflection of gender mainstreaming at the establishing period are likely to subject more evident progress within the current resolution.

The present findings reveal a certain mechanicality in drafting gender mainstreaming language; across all the mandates, the references follow the same phrasing and expressions, as discussed in the empirical chapter. Therefore, the resolutions are rather standardized and indistinguishable instead of manifesting an individualistic wording. Furthermore, the uniformity can be observed within the structure of the references themselves. Chapter four shows that once the reference is included within the PKO mandate, it is likely to stay in the following mandates; however, some inconsistencies occur. MONUSCO is an exception, as its resolutions display the highest inconsistency rate of all examined PKOs, since the references to gender mainstreaming repeatedly vanished and then appeared again. Using four distinct categories, the evaluation further illustrates that the topics of women's agency and their participation and the protection of women from sexual and other gender-based violence are covered in greater depth than the

reflection within the two remaining categories. The data shows a trend of increasing the number of references within gender element and gender equality classifications in the later period, compared to the other two where the reflection is more balanced over the years.

Regarding the implementation, it can be concluded that there is a two-track gap between mission's mandates and their operational practice, meaning that a strong commitment within the mandates does not necessary implies robust implementation. On the other hand, a lack of reference within the resolution does not amount to no implementation at all. More specifically, the review of the operational practices of gender mainstreaming reveals that the implementation of gender mainstreaming practices is inadequate despite the reference being made. That is specifically for two categories; gender element, where the OIOS reports addressed several limitations, including UNMISS and MONUSCO, which have this classification covered at all levels, and women's agency and participation where MINUSMA, MONUSCO, and UNMISS have strong references to women's participation, including specific quota, however, the quota is not respected in any of those countries. On the other hand, the analysis reveals that the absence of reference within the mandate itself does not necessarily exclude such components from operational practice; that is the case particularly for UNISFA but also for other operations. However, the data shows that although a certain element is implemented, when such component lacks reference within the mandate, it is frequently a weak point within the operational practices. Such evidence is particularly demonstrated in the gender element category for MINUSMA, MINUSCA, and UNISFA. Furthermore, missing reference can also correspond with a lack of progress within the implementation process, as the reference to accountability for perpetrators/justice for victims of SGBV is the least covered component of the particular category; however, the subjects of accountability and underreporting are the most pressing issues across all PKOs included in this study.

The protection of women from SGBV is the leading theme of all mandates, except for UNISFA establishing resolutions where there is no reflection of gender mainstreaming. The analysis further confirms Kreft's findings that host countries with a higher level of sexual violence will likely receive more gendered mandate; the study adds that missions with a higher number of reported cases of sexual allegations. MONUSCO, MINUSCA and UNMISS, have a more detailed reflection within the category of protection of women from SGBV. In the case of MONUSCO, it is the only category included in its authorizing

mandate. However, there is no evidence that would suggest that better reflection of protection women from SGBV would lower the number of sexual allegations committed by PKO personnel, as the lowest number of staff misconducts is reported within UNISFA, which has the least gender mainstreamed mandate regarding protection from SGBV. However, the gathered evidence supports the rationale discussed within the third chapter, that a higher proportion of female peacekeepers within missions have a civilising effect on their male colleagues, as the missions with the lowest number of reported allegations, UNISFA and UNMISS, have a greater proportion of women deployed within their military and police structures. Nevertheless, UNISFA has considerably lower personnel strength which may explain the significantly low number of cases. Besides that, the proportion of sexual misconduct of peacekeepers is relatively even for the remaining four missions, from 11 to 13,9 per cent of all reported allegations, regardless of the reflection of such topic within their mandates.

To summarize the answer to the main research question, gender mainstreaming strategy is reflected in all UN missions included in this study. All missions' mandates have demonstrated some progress level, as four out of five current resolutions fall into the category of further gender-mainstreamed mandates, implying that there is room for improvement, especially within the categories of gender element and goal of gender equality. The review of the implementation process of gender mainstreaming reveals a certain gap between the mandate's content and its operational practice in all five examined missions, showing that the lack of reference does not exclude the component to be included within the field work. However, the analysis has also shown that strong commitment within the missions' mandates over the years does not necessarily imply comprehensive implementation.

The second research question of this study was to examine the proportion of women's personnel in the current UN peacekeeping missions. As discussed in the third chapter, the overall proportion of women in UN peacekeeping forces had grown since 2006, 2009 respectively, when the United Nations started tracking the sex-disaggregated data. The percentage of female peacekeepers within the military increased upwardly compared to police units. Nevertheless, the overall proportion of women personnel is significantly higher in police units than in military contingents due to the generally larger share of women in national police than in armed forces, since the composition of PKO personnel is

directed by police and troops contributing countries. Broadly speaking, the current gender composition of all UN peacekeeping forces deployed represents 5,7 per cent in military and 17,5 per cent in police units, meaning that the target of 10 per cent in military and 20 per cent in the police was not met. However, three out of five missions included within this study met the target of 20 per cent of women in the police component; UNISFA (29 per cent), UNMISS (27 per cent), and MONUSCO (21,5 per cent). UNISFA is also the only mission that met the benchmark of 10 per cent in military contingents too (12 per cent). Assessing the goal of the gender equality category, there is only a little evidence that a higher number of references requesting to increase the women personnel means a more significant proportion of women peacekeepers. Although UNMISS's and UNISFA's mandates include a higher number of requests, MONUSCO's resolutions, on the other hand, contain fewer references than the other two missions, MINUSMA and MINUSCA, although the proportion of women personnel in MONUSCO is significantly higher than in MINUSCA and MINUSMA.

The review of the implementation process within the gender equality category also reveals that in the case of MINUSCA and MONUSCO, the number of women peacekeepers deployed has increased accordingly after the request to increase the number of female staff had been included within its mandate. The analysis further implies that the references to deploy more women have increased, particularly after the WPS resolution 2122 was authorized in 2013, highlighting the underrepresentation of women in PKO. Although the low proportion of female peacekeepers is one of the major points of the benchmark resolution 1325, all missions included in the study, except for UNMISS, started to include the reference after this particular resolution was adopted. That suggests a resolution within the WPS agenda that emphasizes one subject may enhance the reflection of gender mainstreaming in PKO mandates.

As discussed in the literature review, a research study conducted in 2020 by Tidblad-Lundholm indicates that female peacekeepers are unlikely to be deployed in the initial phase of the operation due to the high level of operational uncertainty. Tidblad-Lundholm's findings correspond with the statistics of the missions included in the analysis; the more recent missions (MINUSCA and MINUSMA) have smaller percentage of women deployed than PKOs established earlier (MONUSCO, UNMISS and UNISFA). More importantly, it can be argued that the PKOs mandates themselves tend to follow the

approach of boosting women's participation at a later stage, as all mission's mandates, excluding UNMISS, cover the request to increase the number of female peacekeepers fairly recently. This argument may also explain why UNISFA met both targets; as the mission with the second oldest establishing mandate, after MONUSCO, the above-mentioned operational uncertainty may slowly become less relevant, resulting in a gradual increase of female peacekeepers deployed. Therefore, the findings presented indicate that the proportion of women's personnel in UN peacekeeping is low. However, three out of five current UN missions have met the target of 20 per cent for police units, and one mission has reached both benchmarks for police and 10 per cent for military contingents. Having said that, the progress is slow, especially within military troops and the current UN missions are far from achieving gender parity, as requested by the WPS agenda.

The presented thesis has provided deeper insight into how gender mainstreaming strategy, defined by the WPS agenda, is reflected within the current UN missions mandates and their operational practice. The work offers more detailed considerations on the overall evolution from the establishing period until the recent state of play. Although the studies on female peacekeepers' experiences from the field are growing exponentially, there is little research on the mandate's content itself. Therefore, this thesis contributes to the existing research of Kreft and Hudson, offering a deeper evaluation of PKOs resolutions and a partial review of the implementation. Additionally, the findings of this study also present practical implications as to which references to add to PKOs mandate in order to improve the discourse on gender mainstreaming within the UN structures itself.

As already noted, the analysis is limited within the evaluation of the implementation process as the data are not fully available at this moment. However, the Department of Peace Operations has recently announced a more systematic approach to data gathering, including the WPS agenda indicators. Considering that the figures should be available to the public, such data collection would enhance the missing studies on the implementation of gender mainstreaming in practice. Thus, further research on the operational practice, along with the first-hand experiences of female peacekeepers from the field and the content analysis presented, may provide several implications for policymakers on drafting the future resolutions within the women, peace, and security agenda.

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List of Abbreviations

CAR	Central African Republic
CRSV	Conflict Related Sexual Violence
DFS	Department of Field Support
DPKO	Department of Peacekeeping Operations
DPO	Department of Peace Operations
ECOWAS	Economic Community of West African States
FPU	Formed Police Units
MINUSCA	United Nations Multidimensional Integrated Stabilization Mission in the Central African Republic
MINUSMA	United Nations Multidimensional Integrated Stabilization Mission in Mali
MNLA	National Movement for the Liberation of Azawad
MONUSCO	United Nations Organization Stabilization Mission in the Democratic Republic of Congo
NGO	Non-governmental Organization
PKO	Peacekeeping Operation
SDBZ	Safe Demilitarized Border Zone
SGBV	Sexual and Gender-based Violence
UN	United Nations
UNISFA	United Nations Interim Security Force for Abyei
UNMIL	United Nations Mission in Liberia
UNMISET	United Nations Mission of Support to East Timor
UNMISS	United Nations Mission in South Sudan
UNMIT	United Nations Integrated Mission in East Timor
WPA	Women Protection Advisor
WPS	Women, Peace and Security

List of Appendices