

**Role of Women in UN Peacekeeping Operations: A Case Study of  
Pakistan's Female Peacekeepers in MONUSCO**



By

**Ayesha Khan**

**Registration No: 00000320738**

Supervised By

**Dr. Tughral Yamin**

**Department of Peace and Conflict Studies**

**Centre for International Peace and Stability (CIPS)**

**National University of Sciences and Technology (NUST)**

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**AYESHA KHAN**

**Registration Number: 000320738**

A thesis submitted in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the  
degree of MS Peace and Conflict Studies

Supervisor

**Dr. Tughral Yamin**

**Department of Peace and Conflict Studies**

**Centre for International Peace and Stability (CIPS)**

**National University of Sciences and Technology (NUST)**

**Islamabad**

**(2021)**

## **Thesis Acceptance Certificate**

It is certified that the contents and form of the MS thesis titled “Role of Women in UN Peacekeeping Operations: A Case Study of Pakistan’s Female Peacekeepers in MONUSCO” written by Ms. Ayesha Khan (Registration No. 00000320738) of Centre for International Peace and Stability has been vetted by the undersigned, found complete in all respects as per NUST status/regulations, is free of plagiarism, errors and mistakes and is accepted as partial fulfillment for the award of MS/MPhil Degree. It is further certified that the necessary amendments as pointed out by the GEC members of the scholars have also been incorporated in the said thesis and have been found satisfactory for the requirement of the degree.

Supervisor: \_\_\_\_\_

Dr. Tughral Yamin

CIPS, NUST

Head of Department: \_\_\_\_\_

Dr. Muhammad Makki

CIPS, NUST

Associate Dean: \_\_\_\_\_

Dr. Tughral Yamin

CIPS, NUST

Dated: \_\_\_\_\_

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Signature of Supervisor

Dr. Tughral Yamin

Centre for International Peace and Stability (CIPS)

National University of Sciences and Technology (NUST)

Islamabad, Pakistan

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## **Abstract**

United Nations peacekeeping is the ultimate global initiative to ensure international peace and security. The peacekeeping missions have been working for decades to ensure stability and reconstruction in the conflict-affected regions. These peacekeeping missions were dominated by male authority and representation until the last decade of the 20<sup>th</sup> Century. The study explores the United Nations Security Council Resolution 1325 adopted in October 2000, which became the basis of gender mainstreaming into peacekeeping operations. UNSCR 1325 (2000) is the first authorized document that identifies the link between gender and peace. The Resolution addressed the role of the women by setting the mandate for the involvement of female peacekeepers in the organization's mission.

Furthermore, it demands its member states to act in accordance with the resolution to reach the ultimate goal of gender equality. The study further investigates the role women have played in the peacekeeping missions to facilitate victims of sexual violence and explicitly focuses on the United Nations Organization Stabilization Mission in the Democratic Republic of Congo (MONUSCO). The research looks into the first-ever Female Engagement Team (FET) from Pakistan deployed under MONUSCO and analyses their contributions to the Congolese community, especially women and girls. The Pakistani women peacekeepers are pursuing several tasks under the mission, influencing society positively, and are being praised by the international community. The women-to-women interactions are proven effective for the rehabilitation and reconstruction efforts in the Congo. Lastly, the study identifies the obstacles and struggles faced by the Pakistani women in Congo and within their country due to gender inequality across society and institutions. This study has adopted exploratory research situated within the qualitative research tradition. The study uses both primary, open-ended questions and secondary data.

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<b>Table of Abbreviations</b>	
UN	United Nations
UNSC	United Nations Security Council
UNSCR	United Nations Security Council Resolution
WPS	Women, Peace and Security
UNPK	United Nations Peacekeeping
MONUC	United Nations Mission in the Democratic Republic of Congo
MONUSCO	United Nations Organization Stabilization Mission in the Democratic Republic of Congo
DRC	Democratic Republic of Congo
FET	Female Engagement Team
SDGs	Sustainable Development Goals
PKOs	Peacekeeping Operations
UNTSO	United Nations Truce Supervision Operation
UNMOGIP	United Nations Military Observer Group in India and Pakistan
CHS	Commission on Human Security
UNDP	United Nations Development Program

## Chapter One: Introduction

### 1.1. Background

UNSC Resolution 1325 (2000) is the first authorized document regarding women, peace, and security (WPS). Resolution 1325 expresses the necessity for gender mainstreaming within UNPKOs and insists parties respect women's rights during the conflict. The United Nations Resolution 1325 (2000) identifies the link between peace and gender equality, the role of women in maintaining global peace and security, and their full involvement in multi-dimensional peacekeeping missions at all levels of decision-making, peace processes, conflict resolution, and peacebuilding

The scope of security has evolved from the Cold War-dominated state-centric approach to where human safety is prioritized. A change in peacekeeping mandate from a state-centric approach to one where a vulnerable population has become focused increased contact with the local community. This brought to light women's rights violations, vulnerability to sexual exploitation, and abuse involving the local population. Following the aftermath of violence against women, UNPKD has taken concrete steps to integrate a gender perspective in UNPK (United Nations, 2003). An agenda of a gender perspective in peacekeeping prioritized the fact that active participation of women in peacekeeping missions increases the effectiveness of the mission as their positive influence and conciliatory attitude brings constructive solutions that reenact the war-torn societies.

During an armed conflict, Women are more vulnerable to fall victim to physical and sexual violence than men. Birgitte Sorensen identifies the position of women in post-conflict settings as war-affected persons, social agents of change, and beneficiaries of assistance (Sørensen, 1998). With the rise of intra-state conflicts in the post-cold war era, the deliberate targeting of women was notable. According to the 'Machel Study,' a United Nations assessment on the impact of armed conflict on children, in an armed conflict, combatants employ rape as a tactic of war to destroy the morale of the enemy, scare the populace, and humiliate the opponent (Machel, 1996). According to Human Rights Watch, during the Rwanda genocide (1994), sexual violence against women was not used as a tool to kill women, but it was carried out to eradicate enemies.

Nevertheless, the popular perspective of the military being domain of men needs to change. It is not surprising that in the midst of chaos and destruction, women are also a driving

force for peace. Indeed, the existing literature depicts the stereotypical image of women as passive victims. In fact, in times of conflict, women also play a crucial role in preserving peace and order. In a male-dominated society, where women are seen as victims of war, their participation in the peace process must not be ignored.

Following UNSCR 1925 (2010), the United Nations Organization Stabilization Mission in the Democratic Republic of the Congo (MONUSCO) took over the United Nations Mission in the Democratic Republic of Congo (MONUC) established in 1999 to restore peace as the Second Congo War was threatening the stability of the region. Initially established as a small-scale monitoring and observing mission by UN Chapter VI, the operation was eventually transformed into a more robust Chapter VII mission. Among all other tasks, the protection of civilians stays the mission's topmost priority. Protection of civilians in a country with a population of about 150 million and 40 armed groups roaming over the territory the size of Western Europe is not possible without establishing rapport with the local population (United Nations,2021).

Despite UN peacekeeping forces, the conflict has caused one of the worst humanitarian crises since WW2. The deadliest conflict in the heart of Africa has killed more than 7 million people. It is estimated that 4.5 million people are internally displaced, whereas 800,000 DRC refugees are in other countries. Men are vulnerable too in such conflicts, but women's condition in DRC has emerged as an important concern for the international community. Since the beginning of the conflict, women are being raped and sexually exploited. In the 21st century, Congolese women live in a country where a rat is worth more than a woman (Esther, 2016). The situation is so worst that Margot Wallström, UN Representative for Sexual Violence in Conflict, described the DRC as “the rape capital of the world’ (United Nations, 2010). Rape is used as a weapon of war to humiliate the opponent group, and there were incidents where female genital mutilation was used to reduce the population of rival groups. Several UNSC resolutions addressing MONUC and MONUSCO ask for the inclusion of a gender perspective in mission mandates to safeguard women and girls from gender-specific violence.

There is a vast literature on women's role in peacekeeping operations; however, the role of Pakistan’s female peacekeepers and their contributions in achieving the UN’s objective of maintaining international peace and stability remains unexplored. In this vein, this research attempts to explain Pakistan’s first Female Engagement Team (FET) role in the United Nations Organization Stabilization Mission in the Democratic Republic of Congo (MONUSCO).

Pakistani Female Engagement Team to MONUSCO is the first-ever Pakistani FET awarded UN medals on their extraordinary endeavors. An enhanced role of female Pakistani peacekeepers in MONUSCO highlights the importance of feminist gendered perspective to the UN peacekeeping operations. Pakistan is a part of the United Nations and is working for the promotion of Sustainable Development Goals. The 5th goal of SDGs is related explicitly to Gender Equality. To earn a reputable position in international Pakistan had to send its team. The participation of Pakistani female peacekeepers in MONUSCO has played a significant role in developing Pakistan's soft power image. The role of women as promoters of global peace and their contributions to humanitarian purposes under MONUSCO has improved Pakistan's relations with the rest of the world. It has helped spread the country's positive ideology of equal opportunity and has helped change the world's impression of a conservative Pakistan.

The research analyzes the evolution of gender mainstreaming in United Nations Peacekeeping operations. Research analyses UNSCR 1325 in detail and plant itself squarely in Pakistan's perspective. Overall, there is a common consensus that women play an essential role in conflict resolution. With their unique contribution's women enhance the operational effectiveness of the mission. Pakistan is one of the leading troops contributing countries. Pakistan's first engagement with the UN started in 1949. However, females make a small percent of Pakistan's peacekeeping mission. In 1960, Pakistan's sent its first-ever contingent to UN mission, and there was no female participation. According to the United Nations Gender Imbalance Data (2021), each member state must contribute 18 percent of its female population to peacekeeping missions. Pakistan is one of the countries with 0.1 or more women serving in UN peacekeeping deployments. One might conclude that Pakistan's gender mainstreaming process for peacekeeping operations is slower than that of other states that contribute fewer peacekeeping forces but have a higher female representation.

The research aims to examine the role of Pakistan's First Female Engagement team to MONUSCO. It identifies the obstacles and challenges the country's women face to become part of the peacekeeping missions. Radical feminism will be used as the theoretical framework. The radical feminist approach favors the inclusion of women in the military, where their differential traits should be valued. According to Radical feminists, women are different. They treat conflict mediation differently to men and hold feminine qualities which are valuable to peacekeeping.

## **1.1. Research Questions**

The following research questions will be answered through this dissertation.

1. To what extent inclusion of a gendered lens has occurred in UNPKOs?
2. To what degree Pakistani female peacekeepers contributed to the UN mission in the Democratic Republic of Congo?
3. How did the experiment of sending the female peacekeepers to Congo paid off?
4. What are the substantial obstacles and challenges impeding the recruitment of women in Pakistan's UNPK forces?

## **1.2. Research Objectives**

1. This research analyzes the extent to which gendered lens has been incorporated into UNPKOs.
2. It investigates the degree to which Pakistani FET has contributed to the MONUSCO.
3. It explores the success of sending Pakistani FET to the DRC mission.
4. The research also examines the substantial obstacles and challenges that influence the recruitment of females in Pakistan's UN peacekeeping forces.

## **1.3. Research Methodology**

Considering the nature and scope of this study, the research approach employed is exploratory better to understand the inclusion of women in UN peacekeeping forces. As this research investigates the backdrop in which Pakistan has implemented gender mainstreaming in its PKOs and the current female integration in Pakistan's peacekeeping forces, such a methodological approach is of great significance. Overall, the methodological emphasis enables an in-depth understanding of gender mainstreaming within UN peacekeeping. The analysis of women's participation in the security sector and feminist literature on gender and the role of women in the military has aided in answering the research questions. Furthermore, a qualitative mixed-method approach is adopted to address conceptually based research questions to address the objectives. Since this research involves the experience of Pakistan's female peacekeepers serving in the Female Engagement team in MONUSCO, a qualitative method was preferable.

The research uses primary and secondary data resources. The secondary analysis of existing data including books, research articles, research papers, and the United Nation's

publicly available data. UN official reports on gender mainstreaming, and other public data on the topic are reviewed. Secondary data analysis allows the researchers to review existing literature and discourse from different perspectives than those who collected the data initially. For primary data collection, semi-structured interviews were conducted, facilitating the discussions. To analyze Pakistan's Female Engagement Team (FET) in the Democratic Republic of Congo, 12-in-depth semi-structured interviews have been conducted from female peacekeepers. The respondents were selected through snowball sampling. The confidential aspect was considered as respondents preferred their identities not to be disclosed. The primary data collected through interviews from female peacekeepers about their experiences during their deployment provided rich discussions.

Moreover, academics and researchers were consulted, which greatly assisted the researcher. The questions were asked in an open-ended manner, which was essential to encourage meaningful responses. With respondents' consent, a digital recorder was utilized to guarantee the reliability of the data, and transcripts were created to provide a comprehensive and accurate record of the recordings. Proper measures for research were observed in the conduct of this investigation.

There were no such hurdles in conducting this research. However, the lack of prior research on Pakistan's peacekeeping forces or the role of Pakistan's female peacekeepers in UN peacekeeping operations has hindered establishing ground arguments. Moreover, the prevailing COVID-19 conditions have raised issues in reaching respondents for the collection of primary data. Most interviews were conducted through telephone calls and other online meeting portals such as Microsoft Teams and Zoom.

#### **1.4. Reviewing the Existing Literature**

Over the last seven decades, the United Nations has worked to maintain international peace and security. Since its inception in 1945, the United Nations has sought to protect future generations from the scourge of war and alleviate security concerns to achieve long-lasting peace. The emergence of Liberal Institutionalism as the main competitor to the Realistic school of thought in IR has emphasized collective security and integrated communities. From Immanuel Kant's Perpetual Peace to American President Woodrow Wilson's Fourteen Points, the international community has aimed to bind states with domestic and international institutes (Heiss, 2021). In their book, 'Power and Interdependence,' Robert Keohane and Joseph Nye

argue that the cold war security threat has slackened, and interdependence has emerged as a natural necessity that affects contemporary world politics (Keohane & Nye, 2012). With the changing nature of world politics, old patterns of nation-states are fading away, making the world more interconnected in economics, communications, and human aspirations. Institutionalism does not reject the realist assumption of anarchy but instead motivates states to create non-anarchic situations by focusing on the idea of complex interdependence.

Liberal Institutionalism emphasizes on the role of international institutions in enhancing the cooperation between states. In anarchic nature of international system, institutions play an important role in creating an integrated society where states with common goals and interest cooperate together to promote their economic growth and resolve their issues. Modern liberal institutionalist's primary purpose is to mitigate conflicts by making cooperation between states more institutionalized and regularized. As an alternative to realist assumptions, liberal institutionalism focusses on making international institutions to maximize absolute gains by initiating and sustaining cooperation between states. Alliance of like-minded states and creation of security community minimizes the threat of war and conflict. Lack of trust is a major constrain behind reaching a cooperative solution. The uncertainty and mistrust between states emphasizes states to maximize their power and adopt a more offensive policy. Institutions serves as a cooperative framework to reduce uncertainty and doubt between nations. Where realist school of thought believes states to be main actors in international system who struggles for power and doubts actions of other states, institutionalism believes that institutions can addresses the issue of mistrust and inclined states towards cooperation.

International organizations such as United Nations works effectively to manage joint problems by encouraging cooperation and interactions between states. From rapid response to natural disasters to massive food supplies for emergencies, United Nations plays an imperative role in promoting peace and stability in the international system. Though not mentioned explicitly in the UN Charter, United Nations peacekeeping has evolved as one of the main tools to achieve peace in volatile post-conflict settings. It's been more than seven decades now, yet there is no internationally agreed definition of peacekeeping. There has substantial literature on strengths, weaknesses, and experiences of particular peace operations. However, there is minimal literature that exactly defines peacekeeping. We, therefore, adopt the United Nations (UN) definition of peacekeeping, which defines peacekeeping as, "Action undertaken to preserve peace, however fragile, where fighting has been halted and to assist in implementing



agreements achieved by the peacemakers” (United Nations, 2008). Broadly United Nations peacekeeping operations could be defined as UN authorized collective field operation with the consent of conflicting parties to the conflict, at the expense of UN member states with the principle task to prevent hostilities between states to create conditions for lasting peace.

The success of the United Nations Truce Supervision Operation (UNTSO) in implementing the Arab-Israel armistice agreement in 1948 and deployment of a similar mission to Kashmir (UN Military Observer Group in India and Pakistan) a few months later appeared as the golden era of peacekeeping. The deployment of ‘Blue Helmets’ successfully ended the Anglo-French-Israel war with Egypt in 1956. During these years (1956 to 1988), the UN-mandated peace operations are extensively known as traditional or first-generation peacekeeping. PKO operations deployed during the Cold War were predominantly observation and monitoring operations limited to ceasefires and resolving conflicts by peaceful means under Chapter 6 of the UN charter (Our History Peacekeeping, 2021). The first-generation missions heavily relied on established principles of UN peacekeeping, i.e., consent from conflicting parties, impartiality, and use of force only in case of self-defense. Albeit, peacekeeping operations that worked during the cold war were seen as an effective tool for conflict resolution. Still, with the end of the bipolar world, these principles seemed inappropriate for a post-cold war setting.

With the existing mechanism, United Nations failed to prevent the brutal civil wars of the 1990s. Adam LeBor, in his book ‘Complicity with Evil: The United Nations in the age of Modern Genocide’ has exposed failures of the United Nations in Balkan’s, Rwanda, and Sudan. Failure of the UN in the age of Genocide exposed the flaws of the second-generation peacekeeping mechanism as it was too weak to prevent the horrific genocide in Bosnia, Rwanda, and Sudan (LeBor, 2006). He provides overview of inner working of UN and organizational structure of UN focusing on Security Council, General Assembly and Secretariat. He blames UN’s strict adherence to impartiality, bureaucratic policies and structural problems within the organization in confronting the genocide. The disappointments of second-generation peacekeeping highlighted the need for a more effective and muscular model for conflict resolution in 21st-century conflicts. In addition to doctrinal inadequacies, UN peacekeeping was chiefly criticized for existing gender inequalities and reinforced gender stereotypes.

Since the end of the cold war, the rise in intra-state conflicts and an increased role of non-state actors have led to an evolution in UN peacekeeping operations. Following the success of the 1995 Fourth World Conference in Beijing, the United Nations adopted Resolution 1325(2000) on women, peace, and security in 2000 (World Conferences on Women, 2021). It was not the first time when the international community acknowledged gender issues. Before Beijing Conference, efforts were made in the 1970s and '80s to focus on the impact of armed conflicts on women and address the gender mainstreaming issues in the international system. The United Nations Resolution 1325 (2000) identifies the link between peace and gender equality, the role of women in maintaining global peace and security, and their full involvement in multi-dimensional peacekeeping missions at all levels of decision-making in peace processes, conflict resolution, and peacebuilding.

The multi-dimensional approach prioritizes the issues that cause human insecurity rather than the state at its center. Changing peacekeeping mandate from a state-centric approach to one where the vulnerable population has become focused increased contact with the local community. The impact of armed conflict on the citizen of the host country, especially women and children, sexual exploitation of local women by organized criminal groups, and even by male personnel associated with peacekeeping forces highlighted the need to incorporate a gender perspective into UN peacekeeping missions. An agenda of the gender perspective in peacekeeping prioritized the fact that active participation of women in peacekeeping missions increases the effectiveness of the mission as their positive influence and conciliatory attitude brings constructive solutions that reenact the war-torn societies.

One may ask why gender mainstreaming is significant to PKOs. According to existing literature militarized environment of war which is highly masculine, is one of the reasons that fosters violence by troops. However, Joshua S. Goldstein argues in his book, *War and Gender: How Gender Shapes the War System and Vice Versa*, that killing in war doesn't come from gender. Culturally constructed gender identities enable war (Goldstein, 2009). Nevertheless, no one can change the reality that women and girls are affected differently from men. This realization further encouraged women's role in the participatory peace process. Anne, in her book, explores the remarkable role of Liberian women in the Liberian peace process. The participation of Liberian women is exceptional in two ways; firstly, despite facing discrimination at different levels, Liberian women were crucial in ending civil strife in the country. The analyses of participation of women demonstrations that these women took an

active part not just at grassroots activities but also at the political and economic level. Women remained a critical part of negotiations and peace talks on a sub-regional level. Secondly, the participation of Liberian women in the peace process is exemplary because, despite their pacifist nature, women are usually neglected during peace talks (Theobald, 2014).

Within the peacekeeping realm, gender advisors, gender focal points, and gender units have been established with an ultimate goal of gender equality. In a war-torn society, women's unique contributions can bring constructive and inclusive solutions. Gender mainstreaming is not just about gender balance but realizing the unique contributions women make in PKOs. Nevertheless, the importance of recruiting females in peacekeeping missions is stressed by both policies and research. The situation has gradually begun to change. Jana Kaurse, in her research work, proves that women's participation in peace talks and gender equality at higher levels can have a positive impact on the durability of peace. Their statistical analysis shows that women's direct participation in negotiations effectively contributes to sustainable peace (Krause, Krause & Bränfors, n.d.)

Statistics gathered from existing literature on women's participation in peacekeeping show that peacekeeping missions from 1957 to 1980 had the lowest number of female peacekeepers. From 1957 to 1989, only 20 out of 20,000 peacekeeper soldiers were women. Nonetheless, there was a rise in the number of peacekeepers in missions established after 1990 (A Case for Gender Mainstreaming in Peacekeeping Missions, 2021). According to previous research, Ethiopia contributes the most significant number of uniformed female blue berets. Countries like Rwanda, Bangladesh, Nepal, and Ghana contribute relatively high female personnel (Rasheed, 2020).

According to January 2009, Pakistan is one of the most significant troops contributing countries, and it is also one of the few countries that has met the aim of maintaining a contingent force composed of 15 percent female troops. In 1999, Pakistan's peacekeeping forces to DRC did not include a single woman. On 18th June 2019, Pakistan deployed its first Female Engagement Team (FET) in the MONUSCO. Positioned in one of the most lethal conflict in contemporary times, MONUSCO initially deployed as MONUC is UN's most expensive and biggest peacekeeping mission. Over the years, MONUC has evolved towards more proactive chapter VII operation with keeping the civilian protection as its topmost priority. The mission mandate has developed into a mix multi-dimensional operation including peacekeeping, peace building and peace enforcement. MONUSCO mandate mainly focused on DDR process,

neutralizing the armed group, Security Sector reforms and protecting the civilians from imminent threats.

15 courageous Pakistani female peacekeepers who are deployed in such a complex environment are providing several services in DRC under its mission to stabilize and maintain peace in the country. Psychologists, stress counselors, vocational training officers, gender advisors, doctors, nurses, operations officers, information officers, and logistics officers frequently interacts and trains the community. UN General Secretary, Antonio Guterres in his visit to Pakistan in 2019, also acknowledged the contribution of Pakistan's peacekeeping forces to the United Nation's efforts in the maintenance of international peace and stability (Niaz, 2021).

Currently, 32 Pakistani army female peacekeepers are serving in the Democratic Republic of the Congo, altering the gender balance of humanitarian operations. Female officers at the primary and captain levels have conducted several successful projects, including vocational training, medical outreach, regular assistance sessions for traumatized pupils, local women and instructors, and psychological workshops for Congolese police personnel.

## **1.5. Thesis Outline**

The present Introduction chapter includes background information. It describes the research challenges, objectives, and research questions. Furthermore, it sheds light on the research methodology employed for this thesis. Lastly, it presents the review of existing research regarding women and peacekeeping.

Chapter 2 incorporates theoretical discussions and gives an overview of feminist theories. The conventional approaches to conflict resolution are dominated by Westphalia, realist, male-dominated thinking that typically excludes women. The traditional approach to war and peace is often criticized for being 'Gender blind.' As conventional approaches lack gendered focus, this study will use a radical feminist approach. Radical feminism will be used as the theoretical framework. The radical feminist approach advocates the participation of women in the military, where their different traits of women should be valued. According to Radical feminists, women are different; they deal with violent conflict as peacekeepers differently from men and hold a feminine nurturing aspect that adds value to peacekeeping operations.

Chapter 3, Gender mainstreaming and UN peacekeeping explore secondary data resources (books and articles) to discuss the adoption and implementation of Resolution 1325 (2000). This chapter discusses the fundamental motivating factors that inspire the UN and other advocates to urge women's recruitment in PKO. It explores the relationship between gender and armed conflicts and how with the changing nature of conflicts women's roles are shifting away from being solely victims.

Chapter 4, Discussion and Analysis, consist of a thorough examination of the data gathered to answer the research question. This was derived from an analysis of relevant literature as data was collected through interviews.

Chapter 5 delivers a study's general conclusion. This is accomplished by outlining the study's primary aspects following the research objectives. Furthermore, recommendations for future research are provided.

## **Chapter Two: Theoretical Framework**

This study takes an interdisciplinary approach, employing feminist theories as a lens to examine how female peacekeepers influence peacekeeping processes. As emphasized by United Nations Security Council Resolution 1325 (2000), gender mainstreaming within UNPKOs is significant to the success of the missions. Therefore, the feminist theoretical perspectives are discussed in this chapter as a framework for comprehending and analyzing the role of UNSCR 1325 in mainstreaming of female peacekeepers in Pakistan, especially after the success of the first-ever Pakistani FET who served in the Stabilization Mission in the DRC.

### **2.1. The Evolution of ‘Human Security’ in the post- cold war era**

In response to emerging security threats in the post-cold war era, the new paradigm of security, first time cited in 1994 by the United Nations Development Program, broadened the scope of international security. According to Human Development Report 1994, Mahbub-ul-Haq’s idea of ‘Human Security’ is a comprehensive response to old and newly emerging threats to the international community (UNDP, 1994). Broadly human security is an integrated approach that places the human element of security at the center of analysis, departing from the realistic view of state centrism. The new perspective on security not just diverted from the traditional security approach, state-centrism; instead, it was a multi-sectoral comprehensive understanding of emerging threats. This new perspective on security focuses on human development and human rights and is referred as Human Security. In particular, the concept of human security is a junction of peace, security, and development. The Commission on Human Security defines it as the interdependence of human insecurities and response to these insecurities (CHS, 2003).

As the cold war ended, Clausewitzian description of war seemed no longer well-delimited. The changing nature of conflicts altered the international security conflicts. Mary Kaldor identifies the conflicts emerging in the post-cold war era as ‘New Wars.’ The new war thesis defines contemporary warfare as the conflict between multiple states and non-state actors. Deviating from the Clausewitzian definition of war where states were the main actors, using military power for their goals (Kaldor, 2013). According to New war scholars, contemporary conflicts profoundly differs from conventional wars. The post-cold war period

marked the beginning of intra-state conflicts that diminished the distinction between civilians and combatants. The Somalia, Rwanda, and Balkan wars were not fought for power or security. Instead, they were motivated by ethnic, religious, and tribal elements (Gasper, 2005). The rise in civil strife and the increased role of non-state actors pose a significant threat to international peace and stability. The technological transformation has not just made warfare brutal and chaotic but has raised concerns about human security. The post-cold war optimism ended with the Yugoslavian war. The genocide of Srebrenica (1995), the Rwandan genocide (1994) and its spillovers in the African continent, the great coalition against Iraq in the Iraq-Kuwait war, and the rise of international terrorism, extremism indeed prioritized the need for new security agenda.

The new security paradigm aimed to protect people, mainly civilians, from the horrors of contemporary conflicts. Mary Kaldor identifies new wars as globalized wars, mainly motivated by greed and economic motives. (Kaldor, 2013). Millions of people died in the Balkan war, in the heart of Europe shows that even the north is not safe from these threats (Dannreuther, 2007). These new globalized wars that contributed to most contemporary intractable conflicts raised unmanageable and unresolvable security threats beyond traditional concepts of security. The following section will discuss the critique of feminist theorists on the new security agenda that how under the term human, the new security perspective fails to differentiate between men and women.

## **2.2. Human Security Agenda through the lens of Critical Feminism**

The post-cold war security perspective shifted the focus from a traditional realistic state-centric perspective to one where individual security is prioritized. However, the major Human Security drawback is the absence of a gender lens in a new security perspective. The missing gender dimension of security doesn't guarantee women's security, as many feminists critique the present international system for being patriarchic. As Tricia Ruiz argues that international relations remain main example of Patriarchy where key players are still males, excluding the women from discipline (Ruiz, 2005). Where the traditional security agenda was focused on state security and sovereignty, feminist scholars believe the new security perspective lacks to recognize the sufferings of women during conflicts (Chenoy,2005). Feminists argue that women suffer differently from men. They believe security topic must understand that the security of women is different from men. Globalization and increased interdependence adversely affect women. This would be a complete misapprehension that

emerging global trends affect men and women likewise (Hudson, 2002). Not only in wars, but women also face discrimination and oppression in all fields of life. The exclusion of women from policy making, decision making, security, and the military adds more to their miseries. The gendered nature of security has failed to contextualize women's insecurities.

Just as realism has its flaws; liberal principles of interconnectedness have their drawbacks. As globalization-security nexus is studied in a historical vacuum, its adverse effects on women are overlooked. In the post-cold war era, where liberal institutionalism emerged as one of the dominating IR theory alternatives to Realism and its principles of state power and security, the socio-economic inequalities driving from liberal principles have contributed to more complex issues. Modern chronic threats from violent conflicts to infectious diseases, economic crises, pandemics, poverty, food crises, climate change, and terrorism pose threat to the human community (UNDP, 1994). However, Anuradha M. Chenoy questions in her research whether this people-centered approach concerns women's security. According to her, women don't just face discrimination at war; instead, it starts in the family and remains part of society (Chenoy, 2005).

In the war-torn twentieth century and conflicts following the cold war, especially those in Asia and Africa, women remained subject to violence. After the 1990's as intra-state conflicts increased over the years, there was a rise in atrocities against women and young girls. Samuel Totten, a genocide scholar, examines that during the Rwandan genocide, many women were gang-raped and sexually assaulted by Hutu assaulters. Assaults against women during the genocide are not a new trend. Instead, it is something that happened in the past. Whether it's the Armenian genocide or those that happened in the 20th century, women suffer almost every conflict (Totten, 2012). Men are vulnerable too in such conflicts, but the condition of women in the Democratic Republic of Congo has emerged as an essential concern for the international community. Since the beginning of the conflict, women are being raped and sexually exploited. In the 21st century, Congolese women live in a country where a rat is worth more than a woman (Esther, 2016). The situation is so worst that Margot Wallström, UN Representative for Sexual Violence in Conflict, described the DRC as "the rape capital of the world" (United Nations, 2010). Rape is used as a weapon of war to humiliate the opponent group, and there were incidents where female genital mutilation was used to reduce the population of rival groups. The sad part is that rebel groups are involved in such crimes, and civilians and peacekeeping soldiers are found guilty of sexual violence against women. Many



children born after Rwandan Genocide were referred as rape babies, whose mothers were ashamed of their existence (Totten, 2012).

Considering that women suffer differently in wars and conflicts, the security agenda recognizes women's insecurities and vulnerabilities in war-torn areas. According to feminist theorists, the human security paradigm doesn't recognize women's insecurities and the fact that wars have adverse effects on them. To protect women from war crimes and atrocities, the role of women in the security sector must be enhanced. The inclusion of women in security and defense can bring positive result. The subsequent section will discuss various Feminist theories that support women's role in different fields, especially defense and security, as they can enhance the operational effectiveness of missions.

### **2.3. Feminist Theoretical Perspectives**

There exist several feminist schools of thought with little consensus among them. There are various feminist theories with different categorizations and divisions. The variation even exists along ethnic, religious, racial, and national grounds. There is white feminism, black feminism, British feminism, American feminism, and French feminism (Jaggar, 1983). Nevertheless, all feminist theorist believes that gender matters. Marxist feminism draws its central idea from Karl Marx's Marxism. The proponents of Marxism believe that capitalism causes the exploitation of proletariats, and capitalism cannot improve the living conditions working class. Feminist-Marxists also criticize the system of capitalist patriarchy for oppressing and economically exploiting women. Michele Barrette's work, *Women Oppression Today: The Marxist/feminist encounter* lays the ground for understanding how feminism and Marxism coexist (Barrette, 2014). Marxist feminism intersects between class oppression and gender oppression. Marxist Feminists don't see men as the oppressor of women rather they believe the problem exists in the capitalist system and seeks to alter social structure (Herbert, 1994). They see this system as a result of class division within the developments of capitalism. The system mainly exploits women by not paying for the chores they have been traditionally assigned and ultimately profiting the capitalist class (Thompson, 2015).

By contrast, Liberal Feminism deriving from liberal political theory, is one of the dominant feminist theories. Liberal feminists believe that discrimination and oppression against women are mainly created due to lowering opportunities for women (Bimer & Alemeneh, 2018). Often recognized as 'reformist feminism,' they seek to bring social change

through reforming social structures rather by a revolution or radical change. They believe both men and women irrespective of their gender must get equal civil rights in a central assumption. According to them, women must get equal rights and opportunities as men. They must have access to social resources such as education and employment for women (Bimer & Alemeneh, 2018). Within the framework of liberal democracy, female subordination must end. They should have freedom of speech, liberty, and equal opportunities as men. By focusing on the existing social structure as the main oppressor against women, liberal feminism does not identify male supremacy and patriarchy as causes of gender issues (Hasa, 2019). This is the reason why Non-feminists understand liberal feminism. Where Marxist-Feminism is more against capitalist patriarchy and Liberal Feminism supports bringing legal and political reforms, Radical Feminism believes in the radical reconstruction of society to end male supremacy and patriarchy.

Radical Feminism seeks to abolish patriarchy and the male domination system while highlighting men's ferocity and coercion against women. The theory rests on the assumption that women are vulnerable and exposed to men's violence in private and public life (Jensen, 2021). In Jelena Vukoičić view, theory course that all kinds of inequalities and oppressions against women are the direct consequences of patriarchy. The inequality of sexes is the foundation of all other inequalities (Vukoičić, 2017).

As different Feminist schools of thoughts have different assumptions about women's oppression and discrimination, the main question here is how different feminist schools of thought see feminism and militarism. It might seem surprising, but there are feminists who are against women's role in the military. Upon close inspection, I found existing literature and research that is contrary to women's role in the military. Some radicals oppose women's participation in the military concerning their physical weakness and pacifist nature. Moreover, some radicals believe that women with unique qualities can play an effective role in conflict mediation, thus enhancing mission effectiveness. The following section will discuss the theoretical framework of radical feminism that supports women's participation in peacekeeping missions.

## **2.4. Radical Feminism**

Over the years, feminist ideology has evolved significantly in time and space. The First wave of feminism arose mainly in response to the industrial revolution and emerging liberal

principles in the western world. However, during the 20th century, the first wave of feminism inspired feminism in Western and Eastern countries focusing on access and equal opportunities. This period primarily focused on women suffrage, as denial of their right to vote denies their full citizenship. The suffragists and women's rights activists participated in public persuasions and public activities. Breaking the stereotypes, women engaged in all the activities to enfranchise women. The first wave feminist was a mainly liberal feminist who believed that dismantling a discriminatory social system would end women's oppression and subordination. To them, oppression against women has its roots in exclusionary social norms.

In contrast, the second wave of feminism emerging in the post-war era is linked to radical voices. Unlike the first wave, which concentrated on women's legal rights, the second wave of feminism addressed race, class, politics, family, and sexuality issues. However, out of second-wave feminism, two streams came out; Liberal feminism and Radical Feminism.

Betty Friedan, an American human-potential psychologist, and liberal feminist initiated the second wave of feminism in America with her seminal book, *The Feminine Mystique*. Friedan's work sparked the new wave of feminism, inspiring women to liberate themselves from societal norms. She noted that women's unhappiness is rooted in the social perception that women achieve fulfillment solely via housekeeping, marriage, sexual inactivity, and child-rearing (Friedan, 2010). The Liberal Feminist approach, prompted by Friedan's book, mainly was a resurrection of first-wave feminist demands. In contrast, Radical Feminism, mainly identified as second-wave feminism, switched the focus from discrimination to oppression. Women are not only discriminated against but also repressed. Women's subordination is justified by cultural norms and conventional attitudes. Internal constraints (cultural norms and conventional mindsets), according to radical feminists, women's problems cannot be addressed by modifying legislation but rather demand a radical transformation in the social structure. They believed that neither liberalism nor socialism could comprehend women's issues. The fundamental source of women's oppression, according to radical feminists, is patriarchy. Under this patriarchic system, the unique traits and their contributions are ignored.

Chronologically in the 1960s, within the second wave of feminism, Radical Feminism emerged as an ideology and movement. The increasing radical voices focused on patriarchal roots of women's oppression and discrimination. Instead of adjusting to the system, these feminists had a militant approach to dismantling the patriarchal system. The event of Miss America Pageants in 1968 and 1969 marked the beginning of the second wave of feminism.

The protesters shed light on the assumption that a woman's looks are more significant than what she does, thinks, or even whether she thinks at all. Radical feminism grew out of the Women Liberation Movements of the 1960s and 1970s in the United States (Kroløkke & Sørensen, 2006). Indeed, Radical Feminism could not be understood apart from these movements that critiqued gender inequity in all aspects of women's lives. The end of WW2 and technological evolution raised new opportunities for women. However, the cultural norms exposed the inequalities experienced by women. In her book *Sexual Politics*, Kate Millett, an early radical feminist, emphasized on women's entitlement to their own bodies and sexuality of their "own"—sexuality separate from the duties of marriage and motherhood (Millett et al., 2016). “The dictionary says radical means root, stemming from the Latin term meaning root,” stated Kathie Sarachild, a radical feminist who was a member of New York Radical Women. That is what we meant when we said we were radicals. We were eager to get to the bottom of societal issues (Nachescu, 2009).

The United Nations peacekeeping operations have been operating to ensure international peace and security since 1948. Initially positioned as unarmed operations to monitor ceasefires, with the shifting nature of conflicts, the peacekeeping operations have been advanced into armed deployments directed to ensure sustainable peace by stabilizing the institutions and infrastructure. The first-generation peacekeeping missions mainly observed and monitored missions following the core principles of consents of parties, impartiality, and non-use of force shifted to more complex multi-dimensional missions. As the security concerns in the post-cold war era became more complicated, UN peacekeeping also took some significant reforms. Throughout the decades, peacekeeping operations continued to evolve and have become more complex today. They have experienced a transition from acting merely as a tool to observe ceasefire to reestablishing the rule of law in the affected country. Just as the context of conflict was changing, its impact on civilians was also changed.

In emerging intra-state conflicts, civilians became more vulnerable as they were disproportionately affected by chaotic war situations. The majority of civilian casualties were women. The war system had a heart-wrenching effect on women during and after the conflict. Women are mainly vulnerable in conflict situations and war, but at the same time, they are kept out of the realm of security. Considering the vulnerabilities of women during the war, the UN initiative on Women, Peace, and Security developed a framework on women's inclusion in UN peacekeeping missions. UNSC Resolution 1325 (2000) is the first authorized document

regarding women, peace, and security (WPS). Resolution 1325 expresses the necessity for gender mainstreaming within UNPKOs and insists parties respect women's rights during the conflict. The United Nations Resolution 1325 (2000) identifies the link between peace and gender equality, the role of women in maintaining global peace and security, and their full involvement in multi-dimensional peacekeeping missions at all levels of decision-making in peace processes, conflict resolution, and peace building (United Nations).

Though feminists are placed under one umbrella regarding gender equality, they have contending views about the feminism-military nexus. The Anti-militarist Feminists reject women's participation in the military as they believe women's participation in the military can neither bring progress nor guarantee gender equality. Women's military service just authorizes an institution that is diametrically opposed to feminism's ideals. (Duncanson & Woodward, 2015). For many years' feminists' scholars have supported anti-militarism efforts claiming women to be a pacifist in nature. Sara Ruddick (1980) and Judith Stiehm (1983) see feminism and militarism as incompatible to each other.

However, by using theoretical insights of Radical Feminism, this research supports the inclusion of women in UN peacekeeping. We use the Radical Feminist approach that different traits of women should be valued, and they should be involved in peacekeeping because they have unique qualities that make them the best candidates for the task. Women's contributions to peacekeeping are considered as having a more considerable influence on security since they contribute to long-term stability, as a more gender-balanced state is more peaceful. Radical feminism emphasizes on the distinction between men and women. Feminists consider gender as a construct based on role perceptions, with differences between men and women being physiologically or culturally based. The optimists argue that women's engagement in the military is beneficial because they believe that having more women in the military will diminish the "traditional privileging of masculinity" and so result in "a less militarized military. "The fundamental issue that radicals see is that patriarchal cultures degrade feminine traits (in comparison to masculine attributes) rather than appreciating or supporting them. Radical argue that women's unique qualities, pacifist nature, communication skills, and nurturing capabilities must be recognized. Herbet believes that the increased role of women in the military is because women's rights are more significant to people than their views on national defense. However, the inclusion of women in peacekeeping must to not be done just to seek gender balance rather, women's role and their unique contributions to the mission must be appreciated. The

stereotypical image of women being victims needs to change as they can play an active part in combat roles like men.

## **Chapter Three: Gender Mainstreaming and UN Peacekeeping**

Gender has always been a complex issue in an armed conflict. Gender and armed conflict (inter or intrastate) are directly linked with each other. The broad subject of ‘Gender and armed Conflict’ involves many issues from gender-based violence to dominant military involvement of men to women’s participation in peacekeeping operations. In any armed conflict and peacekeeping, historically, men were given priority and authority. They are usually the combatants, and women are mostly subjected to violence, mainly in sexual forms. However, presently, women are regarded as domineering participants in armed conflict and decision-making. They are considered vital for the reconstruction of societies and for the establishment of peace (Djokanovic, 2014). To explain the relationship between gender and armed conflict, one must identify the actual definition of ‘gender.’ Gender is usually mistaken as women, which is inaccurate. Gender can be male or female. It is affected by several political, economic, and social factors. According to the WHO (2011), gender is “the socially constructed roles ascribed to women and men, instead of biological and physical characteristics.” Although gender involves both men and women, women have always remained the primary focus of the gender. This is because women have always discriminated against men while considering an armed conflict. With the changing dynamics of the conflict, women's role is shifting from being merely the victims. Women are now crucial to decision-making, reconstruction, and peacekeeping efforts.

### **3.1. Gender-Based Violence**

Gender-Based Violence means the directing at an individual or a group because of their gender. In an armed conflict, gender-based violence, especially against women, is common. The violence can be against men and women, yet the females are more subjected to physical and psychological violence, depriving them of their health, dignity, and confidence. Following the end of the Cold War, with a decrease in the number of armed conflicts, the nature of conflicts has also changed. With the increasing intensity of the conflicts, there is the involvement of new actors in the warfare. The conflicts are not limited to male participation, yet the women's involvement is evident.

Along with the participation of women, the violence against women, primarily sexual violence, has increased. Women suffer during the conflict more than men. Like men, they are being targeted, injured, killed, tortured, and displaced. However, women are subjected to gender-based violence, mainly sexual abuse. The women are forced to work as caretakers,

prostitutes, slaves, and fighters during the conflict. Women are the primary targets. In an already unstable society, conflict makes the circumstances worse for women. There is an increase in everyday domestic violence during and post-conflict periods (UNIFEM, 2002).

Furthermore, the sexual abuse from the militarized groups makes girls and women exposed to many fatal diseases (UNIFEM, 2002). Also, gender-based violence can be used as an 'ethnic cleansing' tool by the dominant military group. This can be seen while considering the case of Kosovo and Bosnia Herzegovina. According to Human Rights' "International Justice for Women: The ICC Marks a New Era" (2002), the Serbian forces used rape as an instrument to punish women who were members of the Kosovo Liberation Army. The women also sometimes became victims of sexual slavery as their only option to survival. They got exploited by the military and government officials. Besides, the men in the conflict societies are reluctant to accept women's changing roles, leading to long-lasting offense against women (El Jack et al., 2003).

### **3.2. Gender Inequality Lead to Gender Violence in an Armed Conflict**

There is a strong relationship between gender inequality, gender violence, and conflict. The individuals from conservative patriarchal societies opt for aggressive conflict approaches (Herbert, 2014a). The country having greater female representation is less likely to go for the militarized solution. In addition, gender equality within a country brings economic stability and prosperity. According to Herbert (2014a), states with a high ratio of unequal treatment and violence against women are more prone to indulge in conflict.

Furthermore, numerous studies have revealed the correlation between the three concepts mentioned earlier (Caprioli et al., 2001; Hudson, 2009). A country is assumed to be less peaceful and less compliant with international norms when there is a greater degree of gender-based violence against women. The greater the degree of gender-based violence, the worse will be a country's relationship with its neighbors. The countries having a significant gender gap possess higher chances of involving in inter-state and intra-state conflicts. In addition, any country is less likely to indulge in a conflict if the equal representation of women in the legislature and equal opportunities for their education (Caprioli et al., 2001; Hudson, 2009). However, not all countries with higher gender equality, low levels of conflicts, and equal education opportunities are free from gender-based violence. It also occurs in these countries (Herbert, 2014b).



### 3.3. Gender and Peacekeeping Operations

Women's role has usually been undervalued in the political and public arena. This underestimation of women's capabilities is not only limited to domestic or political systems. It also sweeps into the peacekeeping and building initiatives. The peacekeeping and building initiatives rely solely on political measures such as negotiations for peace, diplomacy, and mediation efforts (El Jack et al., 2003). Thus, they consider women incompatible with carrying out such political activities. According to United Nations, peacekeeping is the military and civilian existence of the United Nations in any state, with the consensus of conflicting parties, for the conflict resolution and the delivery of humanitarian aid. According to El Jack et al. (2003), the peace-building initiatives are not limited to negotiations only, yet they facilitate effective infrastructural development and institutions in the conflict-affected area. The peacekeeping missions also facilitate the establishment of free and fair governance (Morris, 2000). Unfortunately, men remained the domineering actors in the peacekeeping and building mechanisms till the late 1990s. Women were only supposed to provide primary healthcare, education, and essential services El Jack et al., (2003). The peacekeeping soldiers mostly involved men as they were considered as protectors while women were the protected ones. Women were considered incompatible for peacekeeping, and only their role was limited to peacebuilding. This was the misrepresentation of reality. Women soldiers also play a dynamic role in peacekeeping along with their male counterparts. One cannot separate men and women when it comes to peacekeeping operations. The women's participation is crucial, for instance, in the cases where men peacekeepers exploit the locals by misusing their authority and sexually abuse women (Bennet et al., 1995).

Politicizing women's involvement in peacekeeping operations highlights gender inequalities. Women always remained keen to play a principal role; however, they were subjected to gender-based unequal treatment. They are considered weak and inept in handling organizational and governmental issues because of their gender. For example, in Bosnia-Herzegovina, women organizations wanted to involve in a variety of peacekeeping efforts to deal with the post-conflict problems like violence against females and their trafficking (Cockburn and Hubic, 2002; Cockburn and Žarkov 2002); however, due to dominant male peacekeepers and the underestimated value of women, they were not granted the rights to work along with men. Due to this gender inequality, the outcomes were not fruitful. There was a lack of coordination between both sides, which was crucial for post-conflict peacebuilding. Thus, it can be assumed that women are the principal actors for peace-keeping and building in post-

conflict areas. In order to guarantee the success of missions, the conservative men's dominant mindset must be eliminated from the organizational hierarchies and political systems, and substantial participation of female peacekeepers must be ensured.

### **3.4. Gender Mainstreaming and Adoption of Resolution 1325**

In 2000, United Nations Security Council unanimously adopted Resolution 1325 to increase the participation of women in United Nations peace operations. In the post-cold war era, the changing nature of conflicts posed serious threat to international peace and security. The global security approach shifted from state centric approach to the one where humans were prioritized. However, the organization remained unsuccessful in Rwanda, former Yugoslavia, and Somalia, which drew a lot of criticism and questioned the role of the United Nations for mandating international peace. Failed due to the unwillingness of the belligerents and inadequate resources, the three operations tarnished the image of the whole peacekeeping initiative, which led the United Nations to limit and reconsider the role of its peacekeeping operations. UN forces largely failed to protect women during these conflicts. In order to protect women in future from such crimes, UN member states ratified Resolution 1325 and opened doors for women in peacekeeping.

#### **3.4.1. Gender Mainstreaming and the United Nations**

The term of gender mainstreaming is a broader concept. It was developed in 1995 in Beijing at the Fourth Women's World Forum. The forum identified gender mainstreaming as the vital instrument for addressing the inequalities women were facing. Furthermore, the forum called for promoting women's empowerment (Moser and Moser, 2005). The concept of gender mainstreaming aims to achieve gender equality and usually looks for the amalgamation of gender in constitutional and organizational mechanisms (Hafner and Pollack, 2002). The United Nations defines gender mainstreaming as “the process of assessing the implications on all areas and at all levels. It is a strategy for making the concerns and experiences of women and men an integral dimension of design, implementation, monitoring, and evaluation of policies and programs 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, 1997/2; pg.24).” Within the United Nations framework, the primary goal of gender mainstreaming is the integration of gender as a chief element at all stages. Furthermore, the United Nations directs its member states and agencies to mainstream gender in their policies and mechanisms to ensure gender equality vital for international peace.

### **3.4.2. United Nations Security Council Resolution 1325 (UNSCR 1325)**

Historically, the activities of the United Nations were not gender-focused. Men were a domineering force in military, peacemaking, and building mechanisms (Ramsbotham et al., 2011). The organization was widely condemned for its incompetence in recognizing the role and influence of gender in conflict, its impact, and peace processes (Moghadam, 2005). For the first time, in 1997, the United Nations' Economic and Social Council stressed the need to integrate gender perceptions in all areas of the organizational framework, including economic, security, and peace mechanisms. The first and the foremost imitative in this regard was the United Nations Security Resolution 1325 (SCR1325) on Women, Peace, and Security (Security Council Resolution 1325, 2000). Being a historical and revolutionary Resolution of its kind, it was adopted universally on October 31st, 2000, by the United Nations Security Council (UNSC). Through this resolution, the UNSC called out the unequal and distinct influence of an armed conflict on women by endorsing the role of women in conflict prevention and resolution (Landmark resolution on Women, Peace, and Security (Security Council resolution 1325), 2000). The Resolution further accepted the underrated efforts of women in peacebuilding and keeping, peace negotiations, humanitarian response, and reconstruction, which were not put to good use by the UNSC itself (What is UNSCR 1325? 2000). In addition, the resolution emphasized the critical role women can have for the preservation of global peace and security by their equivalent and total contribution (Landmark resolution on Women, Peace, and Security (Security Council resolution 1325), 2000).

Resolution 1325 was adopted at a time when the nature of warfare was changing. The targets were not limited to the military; the civilian casualties of warfare were increasing. At that time, this Resolution emphasized the need for women's participation in peace and security efforts (Landmark resolution on Women, Peace, and Security (Security Council resolution 1325), 2000). Apart from women's involvement, it demands that all parties involved in the conflict adopt specific measures against gender-based violence, including rape and sexual abuses, to protect girls and women. Also, it provided several directives for the UN member states and its agencies (What is UNSCR 1325? 2000).

#### **3.4.2.1. Basic Provisions**

The SCR 1325, which recognizes gender mainstreaming in peacekeeping operations, comprises a preamble and 18 clauses. The basic Provisions of SCR 1325 are as follows;

1. Greater involvement of demonstration of women at all decision-making levels

2. Consideration of explicit protection needs for girls and women during a conflict
3. Integration of gender perspectives in post-conflict practices
4. Gender mainstreaming in UNSC missions, programs, and reports
5. Participation of gender in UN peacekeeping operations and training (Security Council Resolution 1325, 2000).

### **3.4.2.2. Primary Actors**

The primary actors liable for the execution of SCR 1325 are;

1. The United Nations Security Council (UNSC)
2. Agencies and Departments of the United Nations
3. Member States
4. The UN Secretary-General
5. Parties to the Conflict (Security Council Resolution 1325, 2000).

### **3.4.2.3. Inter-Agency Coordination for the Implementation of Resolution 1325**

To implement the SCR 1325 and to guarantee cooperation among the agencies and departments of the United Nations, a task force named the ‘Interagency Taskforce on Women, Peace, and the ‘Interagency Network created security on Women and Gender Equality.’ The task force was headed by the Special Adviser on Gender Issues and Advancement of Women. Its members and observers involve representatives from various international organizations and programs. The Taskforce is working for the effective implementation with the guidance of UNSC along with the members and observer organizations (Landmark resolution on Women, Peace, and Security (Security Council resolution 1325), 2000).

According to critiques, the SCR 1325 was undoubtedly the most significant initiative to transform the whole mechanism of peacekeeping procedures; however, it has certain loopholes. The primary issue was with the resolution's language, which explicitly states the involvement of women in conflict resolution. The resolution was primarily adopted to address gender mainstreaming in United Nations mechanisms, yet it only stressed the participation of women rather than both genders. Hence, it can be argued that through the Resolution's language, it can be considered ‘women mainstreaming’ rather than the gender one (Karakoulaki, 2012). However, apart from the challenging language of the Resolution, the goal of gender mainstreaming in UN peacekeeping operations was considerably achieved. The women's involvement in the decision-making procedures and the organizational hierarchy has increased (Anderlini, S. N. 2007). The representation of women in legislatures has increased

in post-conflict areas following the peacemaking and building processes. Besides, due to this gender mainstreaming initiative, the peace operations adopted specific gender-specific policies which lasted substantial change in government and economy of conflict-affected areas (Rehn and Johnson, 2002). Overall, gender mainstreaming cannot be regarded as a complete disappointment or a total success mainly because even the United Nations or the governments can interpret the concept fully (Olsson, & Gizelis, 2015).

### **3.5. The Evolution of Women Involvement in Peacekeeping**

In the present Century, peacekeeping missions have been transformed and become more operative with the substantial involvement of women peacekeepers. Today, women are progressively participating in all fields such as the military, police, and civilians. They are creating a positive influence but also encouraging others to get involved in the peacebuilding process. The female peacekeepers are performing in line with their male colleagues and are facing challenges equally. The United Nations have consistently called on its member states to engage more and more females in peacekeeping operations. According to United Nations Peacekeeping 2020, women constitute around 10.9 percent of the police force, 4.8 percent of the military, and 34 percent of the other civilian personnel, out of around ninety-five thousand peacekeepers deployed in various peacekeeping operations (Women in Peacekeeping, n.d.). In a first chief acknowledgment to implement the UNSCR 1325, on May 12, 2014, in a landmark decision, for the first time, a woman was appointed as the Force Commander to serve in the United Nations peacekeeping operation at Cyprus. Major General Kristin Lund belonged to a male-dominated society, Norway and had around thirty-four years of military expertise at the national and international level (Ivanovic, 2014). Her appointment became the basis to encourage worldwide female participation in peacekeeping missions and broke the gender stereotypes in the United Nations' hierarchy. Although the participation of women in the United Nations Peacekeeping operations is higher, it depends on the member states to which extent they encourage and promote the contribution of female peacekeepers (Ivanovic, 2014).

#### **3.5.1. Peacekeeping Missions: The case of Pakistani Women**

Pakistan being the greatest supporter of the United Nations Charter, has been dynamically contributing to peacekeeping missions worldwide. It is the principal and oldest contributor to the United Nations peacekeeping operations, working since 1962 (Kiani, 2004). It is currently ranked sixth-leading troop contributor to the United Nations peacekeeping operations. With over 200,000 soldiers participated in forty-six peacekeeping operations,

positioned in the twenty-eight countries, Pakistani personnel has a special place among the peacekeepers working to ensure international peace and security (Najimdeen, 2020). The one hundred and fifty-six Pakistani personnel have sacrificed their lives for international peace and stability. Pakistan's peacekeeping contributions can be regarded as an opportunity to improve its image globally. Like the rest of the world, Pakistan has been utilizing its participation in peacekeeping to get foreign and diplomatic privileges (Najimdeen, 2020). Besides, Pakistan is also encouraging the participation of women in peacekeeping operations. Being an advocate of peacekeeping operations, Pakistan did not stand back when it came to women's involvement in the United Nations missions. Practically 450 Pakistani women are participants of the United Nations peacekeeping operations performing the tasks like medical and psychological assistance, thus, setting the trend and example for the rest of the world (Sana Jamal, 2020).

Pakistani women peacekeepers have been admired globally for their contribution to the peacekeeping mission. The United Nations have awarded its female peacekeepers multiple honors and medals for their extraordinary performances and contributions (Sana Jamal, 2020). In 2019, Antonio Guterres, the UN Secretary-General, presented a 'certificate of appreciation to Major Samia Rehman. In addition, Major Sadia, another Pakistani women peacekeeper, has been serving as the UN Integrated Training Team member for the past two years. Several other female peacekeepers from Pakistan are serving and getting trained at different United Nations agencies and departments.

### **3.5.2. Pakistani Women and MONUSCO**

Pakistan sent its first-ever female engagement group under peacekeeping operation for the Democratic Republic of Congo (DRC) on June 19, 2019 (The Express Tribune, 2020). The Female Engagement Team (FET) from Pakistan is getting worldwide recognition because of its contribution and has been awarded the UN Medal in 2020 (Security Women, 2020). The women team provides several services in DRC under its mission to stabilize and maintain peace in the country. The team regularly interacts and trains the community, consisting of training officers, psychologists, doctors, nurses, gender advisors, counselors, information and logistic officers. Pakistani female psychologists are providing therapies to women and children by addressing the core issues. They are helping them to come out of trauma. A female clinical psychologist, Nazia Mustafa, who is currently part of MONUSCO, while giving an interview to the Mission's YouTube Channel, narrated, "In their class, when they suspect that a child is

dealing with a trauma, they can implement these activities by groups of ten.” Next, they provide multiple sessions to children.

Further, while talking about her experience, she shared that in the start, the female group was a little worried about how they would manage the work and survive in uncertain and male-dominated circumstances. However, the situation remained under control. “There is “nothing I do not like about my work,” she added. From her interview, one can assess the positive impact the women are creating as they are working passionately to reconstruct the community in Congo.

## Chapter Four: Discussion and Analysis

### 4.1. The need of Women in peacekeeping: Case of Women in MONUSCO

The United Nations Department of peacekeeping (DPKO) has been working for years to build sustainable peace in war-torn areas. With the shift in the nature of conflicts, i.e., from inter-state to intra-state and inter-ethnic conflicts, peacekeeping tasks are not restricted to military operations. It has become more complex and challenging. This complexity demands the organization to incorporate multiple actors in the peacekeeping missions to undertake the tasks ranging from restructuring of the state's political system and institutions to public safety and welfare. This demand led the UN to adopt a gendered approach to effectively facilitate women, girls, men, and boys in the conflict-affected areas. The DPKO has drafted multiple policies for the active amalgamation of women in peacekeeping operations and has stressed on the significant role women peacekeepers play in assisting vulnerable populace, mainly females who were subjected to gender-based and sexual violence (UN Resolution 1820, 2008). Gender mainstreaming, i.e., placement of women in the peacekeeping operations, is essential for the missions' success as it addresses various security needs in society by enhancing the effectiveness of the peacekeeping operations (PKOs). According to Bertolazzi (2010), women's involvement further helps to strengthen civil and democratic administration. However, under the UN directives, the involvement of women in peace operations is mainly dependent on the willingness of member states and their top leadership. The adoption of UNSCR 1325 clearly demonstrates that the UN promotes the participation of women in UN peacekeeping missions, owing to their unique characteristics; they have feminine attributes (distinct from males) that PKOs value. As a result, we may infer that the UN adopts a radical feminist approach to the issue of women's rights. Radical Feminism believes different traits of women should be valued. Women's participation in peacekeeping expresses the necessity for gender mainstreaming within UNPKOs. Women with their unique traits can enhance the effectiveness of the mission.

The role of women as peace-builders, negotiators, and keepers was put aside till the 1990s. The rights of children and women were completely ignored in the earliest UN peacekeeping mission of 1948, which resulted in the greater unlisted violence against women and children. There were grave violations of women's rights in Somalia, Eritria, the Democratic Republic of Congo (DRC), and Mozambique, even by the peacekeeping forces (Raashed, 2020). The United Nations recognized the need for gender mainstreaming into PKOs, and it began to advocate incorporating gender into peacekeeping. The adoption of



momentous Resolution 1325 on women, peace, and security is an excellent initiative in this regard. The Resolution recognized the women's ability and services to make a positive impact on PKOs which will help to ensure the security of the vulnerable community (Alchin, 2015). According to Jennings (2011), women have specific feminine qualities and are naturally more peaceable than men, which is essential for peacemaking in conflict-affected zones. Here, it is noteworthy that although UN is repeatedly advocating the role of women in PKOs through its policies and other initiatives, it also wants women to maintain their prominent role as peacekeepers. The UN aims to achieve gender equality by utilizing the notion of gender mainstreaming. A number of countries are acting in accordance with the resolution SCR 1325 and engaging their female officers in peacekeeping missions. Today, according to the UN Department of 'Women in peacekeeping' (2020), in peacekeeping missions, around 4.8 percent of women are serving in the military out of almost 95,000 peacekeepers.

Furthermore, 34 percent of them are engaged in public welfare, and 10.9 percent are working in police units. Unfortunately, the percentage of women positioned in PKOs is still not up to the mark, primarily due to the man dominant hierarchy within the states and in the UN agencies and departments. The UN is aimed to encourage more and more involvement of women in peacekeeping missions, mainly in the military.

In Congo, a country violently affected by conflict, a greater majority of the women were exposed to violence, mainly sexual abuse, in a male-dominated society. The male peacekeepers have abused several women in the past. In the area where the men were the perpetrators of the violence (Marie Ryan, 2011), the engagement of male peacekeepers only was not rational. There was a dire need for women peacekeepers working for women, just like Liberia, where female peacekeepers' involvement helped foster trust between peacekeeping forces and the victims (Marie Ryan, 2011). The UNSC, in order to facilitate women victims of the conflict in DRC, has adopted multiple resolutions. In several resolutions adopted over the years including, SCR 1325, 1493, 1565, 1896, 1925, 1856, 1991, the UNSC has raised concerns over gender-based and sexual violence in the DRC (SC Resolutions for MONUSCO, n.d.). These resolutions have encouraged the participation of females in the peace and security process and also in the government of the country to explicitly focus on the women victims in the conflict-affected area (UN Women, 2012). The engagement of female peacekeepers can help women in the conflict-affected zones feel more secure. They can ask for help which they might not ask otherwise due to cultural stigmas within the country. Women peacekeeping forces can alleviate

their problems more efficiently. According to the DPKO of UN, “Female peacekeepers act as role models in the local environment, inspiring women and girls in often male-dominated societies to push for their own rights and for participation in the peace processes” (Keita, 2018). The international community responded to the call of the UN. There are many females deployed from various countries including India, Pakistan Bangladesh, China, Ghana, Uruguay, etc., in Congo; however, the proportion of women peacekeepers deployed in the country remains low.

The MONUSCO was the first UN peacekeeping mission that established a separate unit to address gender-based and sexual violence. Established in 2009, the unit was named ‘Sexual Violence Unit (SVU)’ directed to work together in accordance with the UN directives to tackle the issue of sexual violence at the top priority. Surprisingly, sexual violence was becoming more of a political issue in the Congo at that time. Consisting of six personnel, the unit involved coordinated efforts from UN agencies, government, and civil society and was focused on facilitating the execution and monitoring of the Comprehensive Strategy on Combating Sexual Violence (UN Women, 2012). The SVU was a striking initiative to facilitate MONUSCO’s efforts of fighting sexual violence. But, despite its effective mandate, the unit proved inefficient in carrying out a sustainable change (Solhjell, 2013) primarily due to its limited capacity and short-term initiatives. In addition, according to an estimate. In addition, the MONUSCO, over the years, has made substantial efforts to engage more qualified gender-based civilian and military staff in Congo. Unfortunately, it still lags behind the target (UN Women, 2012). The ratio of females involved in the country is insufficient to address the needs of the women affected. According to Preeti Sharma, a female Commander from the ‘Female Engagement Team of India in Congo,’ women-only constitutes the 4 % of the entire military staff of MONUSCO (Number of uniformed women personnel in UN peacekeeping must be raised: Indian commander -The Economic Times, 2020). Although the UN is repeatedly advocating the member states to incorporate more female military peacekeepers in the mission, the number is less. Here, it can argue that it might be due to the arrangement of military troops by the countries involved in the mission.

#### **4.2. Women to Women: Impact on Congolese Community**

The Democratic Republic of Congo (DRC) has the greater majority of sexual violence cases in conflict-affected areas. According to Ulbrich (2020), around fifty-one percent of the internal emigrant populace in the DRC are women and girls. In addition, 1048 women were

the victims of sexual as compared to only six men, as indicated by MONUSCO in its 2019 data. Presently, the fifteen uniformed and civilian FETs are deployed under the MONUSCO to limit and stop violence against women. These FETs involve peacekeepers from the UN member countries and perform patrolling, aerial inspections, healthcare, and counseling to victims, training, and protecting indigenous women and girls.

Because of the FET's, there is greater acceptance and trust in the mission, especially local women and girls. In an interview conducted by Josephine Ulbrich (2020), a UN Regional Officer, the two FET commanders from Morocco and Bangladesh shared their experience and impact under the MONUSCO. The Lieutenant from Morocco, Najat Sellamitou, narrated that women peacekeepers regularly involve in conversations with the women and listen to their worries which is helpful for them to not only build mutual trust but to classify and address the needs of the residents. The female personnel assure the resident women that they are here to protect and help them. Although it is challenging to build trust, yet the response of the residents is often positive, and the women appreciate the support of FETs. In addition, female peacekeepers share data regarding sexual violence with relevant mission staff (Ulbrich, 2020). The female FETs lend a helping hand to women and girls and ensure their safe evacuation in case of any attack or any incident of sexual violence, Binte Solaiman, Captain from Bangladesh, added. Women come to help women when they need it.

Moreover, the skilled female teams provide psychological assistance and awareness to women and children (Ulbrich, 2020). The female teams are helping the victims and other women in the country in getting vocal about their problems. Today, they are more open to female peacekeepers and share their concerns and worries to get a solution. No doubt, the engagement of female peacekeepers in the DRC is a noteworthy initiative facilitating the execution of the MONUSCO mandate.

#### **4.3. Women Peacekeepers in MONUSCO: Female Engagement Team (FET) of Pakistan**

Pakistan is an eminent contributor to the UN peacekeeping missions. The country positioned its first FET on 18th June 2019 under MONUSCO and involved experts in various fields (MONUSCO, 2020). Since then, the female peacekeepers have been doing a remarkable job in the country and praised by the UN and international community. To better understand the role and assess Pakistan's involvement in peacekeeping missions, semi-structured

interviews from female peacekeepers have been conducted in the study from July to August 2021.

Firstly, the female peacekeepers were asked ‘How Pakistan’s peacekeeping forces have integrated female members to meet UN requirements?’ while answering this question, most of the peacekeepers from the Female Engagement Team (FET) mentioned that the involvement of women in peacekeeping is not new. There is a general assumption that before the MONUSCO, there was no female staff involvement from Pakistan in peacekeeping missions which is not valid. The female medical staff has remained part of various peacekeeping missions; however, the engagement was limited to the female healthcare staff. No female military staff was employed before. In 2006, under the reforms introduced in the era of General Pervez Musharraf, under the slogan of women empowerment, the involvement of women in peacekeeping was also emphasized. The female security officers were encouraged to join the peacekeeping missions and were sent along with medical staff in various missions.

Secondly, the researcher inquired, ‘Do the Gender protection norm and perception of sexes affect the recruitment of women in Pakistan’s peacekeeping forces?’ answering this, a female officer from the female engagement team responded that, “there is no discrimination when it comes to engagement of peacekeeping forces from Pakistan. In Pakistan’s military, there is no such gender protection norms and perception. The officers for the UN PKOs are engaged on merit and expertise”. Pakistan's government and military are committed to gender equality and the inclusion of women in peacekeeping troops. Section 27 of Pakistan's constitution, Chapter 1 'Basic Rights and Principles of Policy,' protects the fundamental rights of all people in services and ensures equal opportunities without discrimination based on class, color, gender, or place of birth. It is appropriate to infer that Pakistan adopts a liberal feminist approach to gender equality and women's involvement in peacekeeping missions as liberal feminist believes that both men and women irrespective of their gender must get equal civil rights. The recruitment of women in Pakistan’s peacekeeping forces reveals that individual rights and equality are fundamental components of Pakistan’s Constitution. However, the abovementioned scenarios demonstrate that the Pakistani government supports the inclusion of women as an end: focusing on gender quantity rather than equality. Pakistan champions a liberal feminist approach in its constitution, stressing gender equality. It fails to appreciate the distinct contributions that women make.

Another peacekeeper responded by saying the social and cultural norms influenced by the patriarchal mindset prevalent in Pakistani society might affect the female involvement in PKOs. Most of the time, the female officers face restraints and criticism from their families, the married officers who are mothers hesitate to leave their kids for long-time peacekeeping missions. As radicals argue that women's oppression is not because of external constraints; instead, they are because of internal constraints (cultural norms and conventional mindsets). Women's problems cannot be addressed by modifying legislation but demand a radical transformation in the social structure. Gender inequality and women's oppression stems from conservative cultural mindsets and societal norms.

The third question of the interview was, 'Does the National Policy of Pakistan encourage the participation of women in the military, more specifically combat roles?' The interviewee answered that Pakistan lacks a national gender mainstreaming policy. There is less participation of women in combat roles in Pakistan. Pakistan air forces undertook the initiative to engage women as fighter pilots; however, the process was halted following the death of female fighter pilot Mariam Mukhtiar Shaheed in a plane crash on November 24, 2015. Women are being engaged in the three-armed forces as educators, psychologists, logistics, and health officers. Here, it can be assessed that gender discrimination exists in Pakistan's armed forces as the female engagement as combatants were stopped, and they were deprived of the opportunity due to one incident while several male pilots embraced Shahadat in multiple incidents. According to the general analysis derived from the participants, women are expected to fit into the masculine milieu. Some of the participants responded that society believes that women have no place in the infantry. The next question of the study was asked to identify the factors that have caused less participation of female peacekeepers over the years, 'Why it took 20 years for Pakistan to send its female engagement team on a UN mission?' Answering this, the female officers stated that most of the women officials belonged from Khyber Pakhtunkhwa and Gilgit-Baltistan. Their conservative mindset did not encourage them to participate in the peacekeeping mission. This point is worth considering that it was not the armed forces and state who neglected the gender mainstreaming in peacekeeping missions; instead, it was the conservative and patriarchal mindset of society and the females themselves.

The fifth question of the interviews was focused on institutions, i.e., 'to what extent do institutional barriers lead to partial success in gender equality?' Most of the interviewees were of the view that the institutional hierarchies affect gender mainstreaming and participation.

Most of the institutions possess a male-dominant hierarchy and are reluctant to accept female involvement in the systems, which causes obstacles in achieving the goal of gender equality. The sixth question of the interview, ‘is minimal female legislative representation can be the reason for the gender imbalance in Pakistan forces?’ was complex, and no interviewee could answer the question. One of the female peacekeepers answered that the females’ involvement in the law-making process could affect gender perception in various institutions. If the females have less representation in the parliament, fewer people will advocate for their rights in a patriarchal mindset. As Tricia Ruiz argued, international relations remain a prominent example of Patriarchy where key players are still males, excluding women from the discipline (Ruiz, 2005). Not only in wars, but women also face discrimination and oppression in all fields of life. The exclusion of women from policy making, decision making, security, and the military adds more to their miseries. The gendered nature of security has failed to contextualize women's insecurities.

The greater the female number in the legislature will be, the greater will be the voice about their rights and involvement in the state institutions. When asked about the challenges faced on the mission, the language barrier was one of the main issues faced by peacekeepers. It made it difficult for them to communicate with the local population. Many peacekeepers identified the language barrier as a natural and complex issue as it prevented them from contributing to the mission in an expected way.

The last question was focused on MONUSCO, ‘how the contributions of Pakistani female Peacekeepers in DRC offer lessons for women's future in Pakistan’s peacekeeping contingents?’ Responding to this question, the peacekeepers said that the involvement of Pakistani women in MONUSCO helped foster Pakistan's positive international image. Apart from the soft power image, there involved economic factors. The female peacekeepers are paid according to the UN standards. Also, several international organizations encourage women's engagement from the country and are involved in various projects concerning women's empowerment within Pakistan. One significant factor is that Pakistani female peacekeepers increased operational performance.

Furthermore, their involvement and contributions improved the host country's human security. Women with their unique contributions and feminine traits contribute to creating a more equitable society and long-term peace (Jennings, 2011). Moreover, seeing a woman in such an authoritative role encourages the local women to stand up for their rights. These

aforesaid scenarios prove that a war-torn society plays a greater role in improving the human security of the local population.

Pakistan has no gender mainstreaming policy, so it follows the UN criteria of gender representation in peacekeeping missions. Despite being the largest contributor in the UN PKOs, female involvement from Pakistan is insufficient as per the UN standards. According to the United Nations Gender Imbalance Data (2021), 18 percent of the female representation from each member state contributing to peacekeeping missions is essential. The data has divided the countries into three categories; the countries that meet or exceed the target of 18 percent female representation; the countries contributing more than 0.1 percent or a greater number of women peacekeepers; and the countries with no representation of women peacekeepers. Pakistan stands on the list of countries with 0.1 or more women representation in UN peacekeeping missions. According to an estimate in May of United Nations Gender Imbalance Data (2021), a total of 44 Women peacekeepers are working under UN missions which is far less than the target. By considering the statistical data and the interviews, one can assess that the gender mainstreaming process of Pakistan for the peacekeeping missions is slower compared to the other states who are contributing fewer peacekeeping forces, but their female representation is higher. This is mainly because of the dominant male society within Pakistan.

According to the data collected from interviews, the patriarchal mindset has swept across institutions leaving less space for women to incorporate themselves into the system. However, one can also see that female involvement in peacekeeping is gradually increasing as compared to the past. Furthermore, in Pakistan, there are social norms and family pressure. The mothers are reluctant to leave their children for long-term missions as narrated earlier by a Pakistani female officer in MONUSCO, Nazia Mustafa; she is missing her children. To counter the obstacles hindering female involvement in peacekeeping, Pakistan needs to let go of the conservative mindset and facilitate more gender streaming inside its state institutions and society. Gender representation in the state's hierarchy will lead to effective measures to reach the ultimate goal of gender equality. The country needs to effectively adopt a comprehensive gender-based policy to represent women in its institutions, especially armed forces. In addition, females must be allowed to join armed forces as combatants as the women today were more capable. The more involvement of women in the UN peacekeeping mission is pivotal to strengthening Pakistan's positive global image and encouraging women empowerment. The female peacekeepers in the MONUSCO are creating an optimistic view of

Pakistan by helping and training the women, girls, and children in the conflict-affected areas. The world is appreciating the country's female staff efforts in the DRC. Today, the success of peacekeeping depends on the participation of female officials as women victims are most likely to trust and share their worries with them. The FETs in DRC are offering protection to victims and encouraging them towards everyday life. For sustainable peace, addressing the vulnerabilities of the female community in the conflict-affected areas is necessary, and for that, greater involvement of women peacekeepers is crucial. The UN is encouraging its member states and has outlined specific measures and targets. The need is to act in accordance with that to ensure global peace and security.



## Chapter Five: Conclusion

This chapter centers around the inferences derived from the study titled, “Role of Women in UN Peacekeeping Operations: A Case Study of Pakistan’s Female Peacekeepers in MONUSCO.” By getting insights into UN Peacekeeping, the study reviews the evolution of gender in United Nations Peacekeeping. Furthermore, through United Nations Resolution SCR 1325, the study considers the mainstreaming of gender in United Nations Peacekeeping Missions at the end of the 21st Century. Women's need in peacekeeping was recognized following the changing nature of conflicts where women and children are subjected to violence. The research then focuses on the case of Pakistani Women peacekeepers that are deployed in the Democratic Republic of Congo (DRC). By viewing their contributions through semi-structured interviews, the research identifies the obstacles and challenges the country’s women face to become part of the peacekeeping missions. Lastly, by highlighting the impressive contribution of Pakistani female peacekeepers in the MONUSCO, the research assesses that women peacekeepers' involvement in Congo will pave the way for gender equality in Pakistan peacekeeping forces. Moreover, the research has stated few recommendations as a way forward and for the future of women peacekeeping forces from Pakistan.

The United Nations has been working for international peace and stability since its formation. With recognizing the changing nature of world politics and conflicts, the organization has adopted multiple measures to mitigate the effects of conflicts and ensure peace in the conflict-affected regions. Peacekeeping in the conflict-affected areas is one of the most significant initiatives of the United Nations under which member states and the United Nations Agencies and Organizations strive to instigate peace by rescuing and restructuring the conflict-affected communities. Since the first peacekeeping operation in 1948, the organization has deployed multiple missions worldwide to maintain ceasefires and to resolve conflicts by offering protection to victims of war peacefully. However, the male peacekeepers dominated the peacekeeping missions as combatants while the women were generally viewed as the victim of the conflict. Later, with the emergence and increase in internal conflicts like civil wars and genocides in the late twentieth century, the United Nations started to think beyond gender inequality in its peacekeeping missions. Also, with the changing nature of conflicts, in the male-dominant societies, the women, girls and children were exposed to violence, mainly sexual violence, which made the organization reconsider the gender disparity in its organizational hierarchy and peacekeeping missions.

Furthermore, due to some incidents in the conflict-affected countries where the male peacekeepers themselves were the perpetrators of the violence against women and because of the United Nations failure in the genocides within few countries, the organization was criticized mainly for the gender gap that existed in its peacekeeping forces. There was a dire need to incorporate gender into peacekeeping missions. Although the organization undertook several initiatives to emphasize the role of gender in peacekeeping operations and international peace and security, they remained ineffective until the landmark Security Council Resolution termed SCR 1325, which demanded the mainstreaming of gender into peacekeeping operations.

The SCR 1325 emphasizes the role of women in peace and security and urges all the United Nations members' states, organizations, and agencies to involve gender in its peacekeeping forces and the decision-making systems vital to ensure peace and stability in the conflict-affected regions. United Nations promotes the Radical Feminist approach, as it recognizes the unique contributions of women. United Nations focus on gender equality nu recognizing quality, not quantity. The organization recognizes the positive role women peacekeepers can play in war-affected communities, mainly for women and children. Gender mainstreaming in peacekeeping operations is not limited to filling the gender gap in proportion of peacekeepers, but it involves the unique and constructive contributions women peacekeepers can make in peace negotiations and rescue the victims. Women's involvement is crucial for peace-building and reconstruction of societies.

Since Resolution SCR 1325, many countries, including Pakistan, have incorporated female peacekeepers into the missions. In addition, the inclusion of women in peacekeeping has been supported by various schools of thought. Few consider that women are affected differently during the conflict, and in the patriarchal mindset, the miseries of women are often ignored. When the male peacekeepers are sent to war-torn areas, the sexual violence against women increases, it is women who are capable of understanding the insecurities and concerns of female victims. Few of the feminist schools of thought stresses gender mainstreaming in peacekeeping operations because, in their view, women can bring reforms and changes in the social structures. With their competencies, they can efficient role in the conflict mediation, thereby enhancing the mission's effectiveness. Moreover, the study specifically focused on the radical feminism approach, which offers that with the increasing vulnerabilities of women in war, the involvement of women peacekeepers is essential. Women possess special abilities which must be appreciated, and they should have an active role in peacekeeping. Furthermore,

the demonstration of women as victims should be changed, for which women's contributions in peacekeeping are a great opportunity. The mainstreaming of gender in peacekeeping is a way to ensure gender equality which the United Nations has also recognized.

The peacekeeping missions have been transformed with the substantial involvement of females. Countries from around the globe are sending their female peacekeepers as a part of the United Nations peacekeeping missions. The United Nations has been incorporating female officials into its organizational hierarchy to bridge the gender inequalities that existed in the systems. Although the member countries to the organization are sending their female officials in peacekeeping opportunities, females' contribution depends on the gender mainstreaming inside the member countries. In the DRC, the MONUSCO has been deployed for years to ensure peace in the conflict-affected regions. The mission was the first United Nations mission to address gender-based violence and has demanded the international community to incorporate more female peacekeepers to address the needs of women and girls in the DRC. Pakistan, one of the most significant contributors in peacekeeping missions, is also contributing to the MONUSCO. Several Pakistani military officers have sacrificed their lives in peacekeeping operations. Earlier Pakistan's involvement centered around the men peacekeepers only, or the women's involvement was limited to medical staff.

However, with the increasing demand for female peacekeepers, Pakistan also took the initiative of involving female peacekeepers. To break the gender stereotypes, the first FET from Pakistan was sent to serve under MONUSCO. These women with different expertise are pursuing remarkable jobs and offering their services to the female and minor victims in the male-dominated society of DRC. By performing a range of tasks, listening to the grievances and concerns of women of the country, and offering consultation, the Pakistani female peacekeepers are creating a positive impact and building an optimistic image of Pakistan. The FET from a country like Pakistan, where most of the population holds the patriarchal mindset, is an outstanding example for the rest of the world. Pakistani female peacekeepers are honored and praised by the United Nations and from countries all around the globe. However, in contrast to United Nations, Pakistan champions a liberal feminist approach in its constitution, stressing gender equality. It fails to appreciate the distinct contributions that women make as liberal feminist believes that both men and women irrespective of their gender must get equal civil rights. The recruitment of women in Pakistan's peacekeeping forces reveals that individual rights and equality are fundamental components of Pakistan's Constitution.

While considering the circumstances Pakistani female peacekeepers are being employed, the research finds that there is no discrimination exists in Pakistan's military. Based on merit and expertise, Pakistani females are encouraged to join in peacekeeping missions by the Pakistani government.

However, there are a few obstacles and challenges that female peacekeepers from Pakistan face, which hinder the recruitment process of females as peacekeepers. The first and foremost challenge the women face is the patriarchal mindset which does not appreciate the women's role as peacekeepers. Secondly, in the traditional family system where single females are supposed to get married, mothers are expected to take care of their children, most of whom are restricted by their families. In addition, although there is no gender discrimination in Pakistan's armed forces when it comes to the combatants, the females are not usually recruited. Their involvement is restricted as educators, medical staff, psychologists, and logistics officers. Lastly, the less representation of females in the legislature and state institutions within the country also hinders the progress of gender mainstreaming into peacekeeping. Due to less representation of females in law-making, there are fewer people to advocate for their rights in the military and armed forces. Also, Pakistani lacks a definite gender mainstreaming policy into its institutional hierarchies. For peacekeeping, it is pursuing the agenda of the United Nations, yet it has a lot to achieve to reach the organization's gender mainstreaming target into peacekeeping operations. However, despite the several hurdles and challenges Pakistani women faced when it comes to the involvement in peacekeeping, the female FETs serving along with MONUSCO in DRC are the shining example for all the world. Though their recruitment process is slower, it is better compared to the many developed nations of the world. They are pursuing an influential role in DRC to execute the mandate of MONUSCO. Their role as peacekeepers is making the country proud and encouraging the other females within Pakistan. The worldwide appreciation and attention are paving the way for gender equality in Pakistan. Moreover, they highlight the country's commitment to international peace and security, thereby strengthening the soft image of Pakistan.

This research is an excellent contribution to highlight the role of gender in United Nations peacekeeping operations. Using the theoretical insights of Radical Feminism, the research proves that women provide unique contributions in peacekeeping missions and enhance the effectiveness of the mission. Gender equality must not be recognized in terms of numbers being right. Instead, it must acknowledge the role women play in peacekeeping

missions as it will increase the effectiveness of peacekeeping missions in the future. The research contributes to the literature and will demonstrate the positive role Pakistani women peacekeepers are playing under MONUSCO. In addition, it will help the scholars, researchers, and students to get an insight into the gender mainstreaming in the Pakistani peacekeeping forces. It will open the doors of further research regarding gender equality in Pakistan. Furthermore, it will encourage Pakistani society and women to change their perspective regarding the gender stereotypes in peacekeeping by attracting the attention of more female officers towards the peacekeeping missions.

### **5.1. Recommendations and Opportunities for Pakistan Women**

Pakistani peacekeepers have been playing an essential role in the MONUSCO. Given their contributions, positive impact, and worldwide appreciation can open multiple doors for Pakistani females. Pakistan has several opportunities to enhance its role in the international community as a country promising gender equality. The participation of females in peacekeeping can be utilized to get foreign and diplomatic privileges facilitating gender empowerment. With the less involvement of the women military personnel from the West in the United Nations, Pakistan can engage more of its female peacekeepers in the United Nations peacekeeping, which helps flourish Pakistan's soft power image. Given its historical competition with India, Pakistan can get the upper hand globally by incorporating more women as the promoter of global peace. The greater contribution of women to humanitarian purposes under MONUSCO internationally will boost Pakistan relations with the international community.

Furthermore, Pakistan can get an economic surplus as the United Nations pays huge salaries to the peacekeeping forces despite their gender. In addition, Women's engagement as peacekeepers will highlight the country's positive ideology in giving equal opportunities and change the world's mindset of a conservative Pakistan. In this globalized age, Pakistan can advertise its role in the MONUSCO to secure its national interests and diffuse negative propaganda against it. Pakistan's increasing contribution can give its women researchers and experts to engage with the United Nations think tanks. The female military personnel can get advanced training and insights about the advancing technologies. Besides, Pakistan can build effective mutual relations with the countries where FETs are deployed.

Besides future opportunities for Pakistani females, there are several initiatives which can be undertaken to ensure gender equality in the society central for gender mainstreaming in the peacekeeping and to achieve the gender mainstreaming target set by the United Nations for its peacekeeping missions;

- Making an effective national gender policy.
- Making Laws regarding the inclusion of females in the military.
- Addressing the gender inequalities and patriarchal mindset at the lowest levels, i.e., from playgrounds to schools to workplaces.
- Elimination of gender-specific wages.
- Offering assistance and incentives to married female officers.
- Equal education and training opportunities for females.
- A team comprising of dedicated individuals involving military and civil stakeholders to analyze various United Nations and DPKO's resolutions concerning gender mainstreaming in peacekeeping operations.
- Involvement of an expert gender advisor in the military's decision-making hierarchy to ensure compliance with the SCR1325.
- Engagement of more FETs in the MONUSCO and other peacekeeping missions.
- Recruiting more competent female officers in the military to later serve as military observers, staff officers, and deputations in peacekeeping missions.
- Establishment of a national women peacekeeping institute to attract more women in uniforms and civil services to be part of the United Nations peacekeeping mission. Also, to advocate for them about the need for women in peacekeeping.
- Language and field training of lower rank staff, health officers, nurses, and police units.
- Before deployment, there must be general training of female officers and male officers to build mutual trust and bridge the gender gap between them.

Women are central to the effectiveness of peacekeeping. They can play a more significant role in the reconstruction of war-affected communities. The need is to offer opportunities and encourage their role as active participants to ensure global peace and security.

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