

Building Peace: A Content Analysis of Women and Peacekeeping Issues
for the Journal *International Peacekeeping*

By

Dania Al-Rasheed

An applied research project (POLITICAL SCIENCE 5397) SUBMITTED TO THE
DEPARTMENT OF POLITICAL SCIENCE TEXAS STATE UNIVERSITY
IN PARTIAL FULFILLMENT OF THE REQUIREMENTS FOR THE DEGREE OF
MASTER OF PUBLIC ADMINISTRATION
SPRING 2015

Patricia Shields PhD

Patricia Parent PhD

John Sone MPA

Table of Contents

| | |
|--|----|
| Abstract | 5 |
| Chapter I: Introduction | 6 |
| Introduction..... | 6 |
| Statement of Research Purpose..... | 11 |
| Chapter Summaries..... | 12 |
| Chapter II: Literature Review..... | 13 |
| Chapter Purpose..... | 13 |
| History..... | 13 |
| The Varying Meanings of Peace..... | 14 |
| Peace or Conflict Management Studies..... | 15 |
| Evolution of Peace Tools..... | 16 |
| Peacekeeping..... | 21 |
| The History of Peacekeeping..... | 25 |
| The Beginnings of Peacekeeping..... | 25 |
| Cold War Peacekeeping..... | 26 |
| Peacekeeping After the Cold War..... | 28 |
| Conceptual Framework..... | 33 |
| Women at the Hague Resolutions (1915)..... | 33 |
| Beijing Platform for Action (1995)..... | 39 |
| United Nations Resolution 1325 (2000)..... | 45 |
| Women and Peacekeeping Conceptual Framework Table..... | 53 |

| | |
|--|----|
| Conclusion..... | 54 |
| Chapter III: Methodology..... | 55 |
| Chapter Purpose..... | 55 |
| Operationalization Table..... | 55 |
| Content Analysis..... | 57 |
| Population..... | 58 |
| Statistics..... | 60 |
| Inter-Rater Reliability..... | 60 |
| Chapter IV: Results..... | 63 |
| Chapter Purpose..... | 63 |
| Women at the Hague Resolutions..... | 63 |
| Beijing Platform for Action..... | 65 |
| United Nations Resolution 1325..... | 66 |
| Chapter V: Conclusion..... | 69 |
| Chapter Purpose..... | 69 |
| Findings..... | 69 |
| Weaknesses of Content Analysis..... | 70 |
| Additional Topics in Population of Articles..... | 70 |
| Suggestions for Future Research..... | 73 |
| Gender Inclusion and Future Peace..... | 74 |
| Conclusion..... | 74 |
| Bibliography..... | 75 |

List of Tables:

| | |
|---|----|
| Table 2.1: UN Peacekeeping Missions During the Cold War..... | 27 |
| Table 2.2: Post-Cold War United Nations Peacekeeping Operations..... | 29 |
| Table 2.3: Women in the Military Component of UN Peacekeeping Operations..... | 48 |
| Table 2.4: Conceptual Framework Linked to the Literature – Descriptive Categories for Women and Peacekeeping Operations..... | 58 |
| Table 3.1: Operationalization of the Conceptual Framework - Descriptive Categories Operationalization Table: Building Peace..... | 56 |
| Table 3.2: List of Articles Discussing Women and Peacekeeping Issues..... | 58 |
| Table 3.3: Articles Analyzed by Additional Raters (N=5)..... | 61 |
| Table 3.4: Women and Peacekeeping Discussion Results of Author and Additional Raters (N=5)..... | 61 |
| Table 4.1: Characteristics of the Articles Reviewed..... | 63 |
| Table 4.2: Women at the Hague Resolutions..... | 65 |
| Table 4.3: Beijing Platform for Action..... | 66 |
| Table 4.4: United Nations Resolution 1325..... | 68 |

Abstract

This research study describes women and peacekeeping issues found in the journal *International Peacekeeping*. Three sets of resolutions that have been advanced over the course of history were used to organize the research. Women and peacekeeping issues are broken down into three overarching categories. These categories include: Women at the Hague Resolutions (1915), the Beijing Platform for Action (1995), United Nations Resolution 1325 (2000). The categories and the elements within them are derived from different sets of resolutions that have been proposed over time with regard to women and peacekeeping. A content analysis was performed on the articles that met the criteria. The articles were found in the journal *International Peacekeeping* in issues published from the year 2000 to 2014, and they were used to describe women and peacekeeping content.

About the Author

Dania Al-Rasheed is an international degree seeking graduate student in the Master's of Public Administration program at Texas State University – San Marcos. Along with her interest in public administration, Ms. Al-Rasheed also has an interest in international relations. Her upbringing in the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia has fueled her interest in women's studies, efforts to elevate women's status in society, and efforts to secure peace in the Middle East along with the rest of the world. Ms. Al-Rasheed hopes to parlay her passion for assisting women and advancing peace into a career in public service.

Chapter I: Introduction

Introduction

On April 28, 1915, a historic meeting of women began in Netherlands. Over a thousand women met at The Hague to discuss how they could bring about peace. They created the International Congress of Women for Permanent Peace, and Jane Addams was appointed president and chair of the congress. During World War I Jane Addams, along with Emily Green Balch and Alice Hamilton, traveled Europe in an effort to visit with national leaders to discuss bringing about peace. Upon their return, Adams, Balch, and Hamilton each wrote essays on their experiences. Upon the end of World War I, the women reconvened and pledged their support for “movements to further peace, internationalism, and the freedom of women” and adopted resolutions that called for the increased participation of women in resolving violent conflict and in building a post-conflict society (Addams et al., 1915/2003, vii). Jane Addams is recognized as a committed peace activist and philosopher, and is credited for having established Hull-House, the Chicago settlement which was the focus of her work. Her efforts in regard to peace and improving living conditions gained her the reputation of being one of the most successful reformers and thinkers of the Progressive Era. During World War I, however, pacifism and internationalism were considered unpatriotic.

Figure 1.1: Emily Greene Balch



Source: <www.nobelprize.org>

Despite the patriarchal societies they lived and the raging wars of their time, Addams, Balch, and Hamilton managed to make their voices heard and contribute to the study of peace in a time where peace activism was not invited.

The destruction of World War I led to the creation of the League of Nations in 1920. The organization was undoubtedly influenced by The Hague system, and despite its growth to 45 member countries, the United States failed to join. Unfortunately, the outbreak of World War II proved that the League of Nations could not fulfill its mission to maintain world peace and the organization eventually dissolved. While the organization failed to subdue the aggression of the Axis and only lasted a little over two decades, it paved the way for the creation of the United Nations (Alger, 2006, 71).

In 1945, upon the ratification of its charter, the United Nations (UN) was founded (Alger, 2006, 11). Today, the UN has 193 members and has adopted agencies that were created by the League of Nations. The UN charter declares one of its primary purposes is to “maintain international peace and security” and they do so with peacekeeping and

peace-building operations (The United Nations, 2015). Peacekeeping operations are meant to provide stability in post-conflict regions. Traditionally, women have played a minor role, but with the enactment of Resolution 1325 in 2000 by the UN Security Council, the number of women involved in peacekeeping operations has increased (Dharmapuri, 2012, 244-245). This increase was meant to address the issue of sexual violence and exploitation of women and young girls in zones of conflict.

Figure 1.2: Alice Hamilton



Source: <chemheritage.org>

Resolution 1325 highlights the important roles women play in conflict prevention and resolution. The study of peace and conflict is a social science. The aim of peace education is to strive for global peace and raise peaceful citizens. Unlike peace studies, historians have dedicated a disproportionate amount of research to war (Boulding, 1989, 461). Looking at the history of peace studies, it appears that they began as a result of catastrophic wars that have been waged within the last 150 years. It was after the American Civil War that peace studies emerged. Although peace issues were being

discussed as early as the aftermath of the American Civil War, no formal courses on peace and conflict studies were being held (Alpargu et al., 2009, 203).

World War I was a focal point in the study of peace. In 1919, leaders of France, Britain, and the United States met to discuss Europe's future. At this meeting, the 28th President of the United States, Woodrow Wilson, introduced his Fourteen Points for peacemaking. Part of the Fourteen Points brought forth by Wilson were to separate European empires into nation states and establish the League of Nations, the first world organization dedicated to preserving peace. Wilson also expressed that in order to ensure peace, a society needs justice and strong economic conditions (Alpargu et al., 2009, 205).

The time period between World War I and World War II was the first time peace history writing was analyzed by scholars (Howlett, 1994, 27). The period after World War II and the establishment of the United Nations proved itself to be significant to the study of peace and conflict. During this time, the first undergraduate program in peace studies was created in the United States at Manchester College in Indiana. The period after the Vietnam War saw an increase in universities offering courses on peace (Barash & Webel, 2014, 24). The field of security studies began a dramatic resurgence in the mid-1970s. The volume of published works increased and security studies became more rigorous (Walt, 1991, 211). During the time of the Cold War, western governments thought of peace as pacifism and utopianism (Van Den Dungen & Wittner, 2003, 372). After the Cold War, peace studies' focus shifted from international politics to domestic politics (Barash & Webel, 2014, 24).

In 1964, in order to generate interest in peace research, the Conference on Peace Research in History was founded (Carroll, 1969, 287). Toward the end of the Cold War,

the focus of peace and conflict studies shifted from international conflict toward issues concerning political violence, human rights and security, and social justice. By the 1990s, peace studies began to focus on positive peace instead of negative peace (i.e. the absence of war). In 1991, *Approaches to Peace: An Intellectual Map* was published by the United States Institute of Peace. The publication focused on traditional approaches to deterrence and international law approaches. By 2008, over 400 programs on peace and conflict studies were established all over the world (Barash & Webel, 2014, 24). Throughout history, however, women's roles in peace and conflict are largely neglected (Howlett, 1994, 29).

There is a link between the sharp increase in international peace activism and the dramatic drop in the amount and intensity of conflict (Call & Cousens, 2008, 8).

Investing in peace research and the causes of war can help in the advancement of the causes of peace (Schwartz, 1966, 24).

Figure 1.3: Officers of the International Congress of Women for a Permanent Peace, The Hague, 1915



Source: www.wwionline.org

Figure 1.4: Jane Addams Reading to Children



Source: www.janeaddamspeace.org

Statement of Research Purpose

The practice of conducting content analysis on a journal such as *International Peacekeeping* can help promote discussion on issues that have been previously inadequately discussed. Issues such as peacekeeping command thorough examination since its subject matter plays a major role in society's outcomes and international relations. Therefore, a journal of this kind should devote itself to the study and inclusion of issues associated with peacekeeping.

The purpose of this study is to describe how the journal *International Peacekeeping* examines women and peace. The journal has proven itself to be the benchmark in discussing peacekeeping issues and therefore should include content on women's role in peacekeeping operations.

Chapter Summaries

The next chapter is a review of the literature on women and peacekeeping. Chapter 2 provides an overview of women and peacekeeping issues and descriptions of the different categories and elements included in the conceptual framework of the study. Chapter 3, Methodology, outlines the method of research employed by the study. The chapter ends with an operationalization of the conceptual framework used to aid in the research. Chapter 4 presents the results of the study. The paper ends with Chapter 5, where the conclusion of the research is presented along with recommendations for future research on the subject.

Chapter II: Literature Review

Chapter Purpose

This chapter reviews existing literature to examine peacekeeping and to develop a framework to analyze articles in the journal *International Peacekeeping*. The chapter is divided into the following sections: History, the Varying Meanings of Peace, Peace or Conflict Management Studies, Evolution of Peace Tools, Peacekeeping, Conceptual Framework: 1) Women at the Hague Resolutions (1915), 2) the Beijing Platform for Action (1995), 3) United Nations Resolution 1325 (2000), Women and Peacekeeping Conceptual Framework, Conclusion.

History

The United Nations is considered an international institution. International institutions are intergovernmental, and therefore they are not a separate body from the states. International institutions are considered both independent and dependent simultaneously and have an “interactive” relationship with their member states (Devin, 2011, 4). These institutions are created to bring about certain changes, but they do not always achieve the results they set out to accomplish. These institutions have been proven to be ineffective at times due to states’ lack of discipline. They can also be extremely effective if states are completely involved (ibid, 4-6).

In 2010, after many years of work by women’s groups around the world, the United Nations voted to create an internal agency designed to work on issues concerning

girls and women. The United Nations Entity for Gender Equality and the Empowerment of Women, known as UN Women, devotes itself to promoting equality and ending discrimination against women across the globe. The agency is required to work with different countries' women's groups and other civil organizations that focus on gender equality and women's empowerment. The main goals of UN Women are to support governmental agencies in instituting standards and policies committed to advancing gender equality (Sister Nambia, 2010, 30).

The Varying Meanings of Peace

Peace is not the easiest term to define. Peace research distinguishes between positive and negative peace. Positive peace encompasses the many desirable states of a society; for instance, harmony, justice, and equity. Negative peace simply means the absence of war and other forms of human conflict (Barash & Webel, 2014, 4).

There are many other definitions of peace:

- ❖ *Webster's New International Dictionary* defines peace as “freedom from civil clamor and confusion” and as “a state of public quiet” (Barash & Webel, 2014, 4).
- ❖ Another definition of peace is “mental or spiritual condition marked by freedom from disquieting or oppressive thoughts or emotions” (Barash & Webel, 2014, 4).
- ❖ Peace is also associated with “calmness of mind and heart: serenity of spirit” and as “a tranquil state of freedom from outside disturbances and harassment” (Barash & Webel, 2014, 4).

- ❖ Peace is also considered a state of “harmony in human or personal relations: mutual concord and esteem” (Barash & Webel, 2014, 4).

Peace can be defined as a presence, as opposed to an absence (i.e. the absence of war). The ancient Greeks used “Eirene” to describe a time or state of peace, or the existence of a truce between nations. “Pax” another term used by the ancient Greeks, describes an agreement among leaders to apply a truce between times of conflict. Both terms suggest that peace is more than just the absence of war. There are many terms associated with peace; wholeness and fullness of life, contentment, harmony, goodness of life, personal and societal well-being, human rights, healthy existence, diversity, integration, ecological sustainability, and unity. Peace researchers are devoted to studying peace as more than just the absence of conflict. Peace can be described as the existence of desirable conditions in society that permit people to reach their full potential. The state of peace has also been described as societal and individual liberation.¹ Personal or individual liberation describes “a just relationship with one’s self and to a sense of peace with all others” (Haessly, 2010, 5). Societal liberation refers to “just relationships with others and the planet and care for the common good” (Haessly, 2010, 5). The twentieth century provided a new term associated with peace: development. All these terms imply that peace needs to be manifested in people’s daily activities. Through an understanding of peace, relationships within families and communities around the world can be transformed (Haessly, 2010, 4-7).

Peace or Conflict Management Studies

¹ For more definitions of peace see: Anderson, 2004; Baesler & Lauricalla, 2014; Barlow, 2011; Chernus, 1993; Fernández-Dols et. al., 2004; Gleditsch et. al., 2014.

This section gives a brief overview of peace studies, also known as conflict management studies. The section uses Kenya as an example of a country that could increase its focus and investment in peace education. While studies have focused on many topics associated with the subject of peace, the actual amount of research devoted to the subject is limited and could be more in-depth.

Kenya is a country experiencing a lot of conflicts. This begs the question of whether or not Kenyan school curriculums adequately provide peace or conflict management studies. Skills in conflict management are important to the development of a country. In light of the existence of emerging issues such as the abuse of drugs, management of the environment, peacebuilding, and HIV/AIDS prevention, the country has recently reviewed its curriculum. These issues currently exist as independent topics in specific subjects. Conflict resolution and its management is a topic in history and government curriculum offered only toward the end of secondary school (Dawo & Wagah, 2011, 904).

The study of the conditions of peace is referred to as peace studies. Peace education and research are not only important for understanding the world, but also for understanding how to change it. It involves skills such as listening, reflection, problem-solving, cooperation, and conflict resolution (Galtung, 1996, 10). Educating citizens on the sources of conflict and the things that promote peaceful relations in the world gives the public the knowledge it needs to form opinions on the condition of international relations, and influence decision-making.

Evolution of Peace Tools

This section describes the different peace tools that have emerged over time. The creation of different organizations whose primary mission is to build and sustain peace is attributed to the development a variety of peace tools, which emerged as a response to historic conditions. At the start of the twentieth century, states had already acquired experience with two complementary peace tools: *diplomacy* and the *balance of power* (Alger, 1995, 131). *Diplomacy* involves the system of embassies that developed over time. Originally, this tool was primarily focused on career diplomats whose goals were to represent their foreign ministries. This focus has expanded over time to include representation of public departments dedicated to basic infrastructure such as education, health, and the environment. The mere existence of this international diplomatic system was thought to effectively serve peace. *Balance of power*, on the other hand, acknowledges the possibility of conflict, which usually is accompanied by feelings of fear regarding the potential aggression by others. Its efforts involve countries' attempts to gain military capabilities as a means of deterring aggression. Another method balance of power employs to deter aggression is to form alliances with other states. A potential disadvantage of this peace tool is that it can lead to an arms race among states, which can increase the severity of distrust and conflict among states (Alger, 1995, 131-132).

The destructiveness of World War I led to the creation of the first world organization whose mission was to preserve peace, The League of Nations. The organization was considered Woodrow Wilson's brainchild (Selassie, 2011, 26). This gave birth to three new peace tools: *collective security*, *peaceful settlement*, and *disarmament/arms control* (Alger, 1995, 132-134).

Collective security, created in response to the fragility of *balance of power*, compelled all states that were members of the League of Nations to combat aggression. However, this peace tool was not effective since the world lacked a universal commitment to *collective security*, and authority to enforce it (Selassie, 2011, 26).

Peaceful Settlement, also known as peacemaking and conflict resolution, attempted to deter violence by encouraging members of the League of Nations involved in a dispute to employ third parties when they alone could not solve disagreements. While the League of Nation no longer exists, this peace tool is still used today and practitioners have added a variety of methods the assist in its use. One such method is known as “integrative bargaining”. This describes the process of identifying different interests of each side of the conflict in an attempt to acquire a settlement where both parties benefit.

Disarmament/arms control is based on the premise that the reduction or removal of all arms would decrease the chances of conflict among nations. This belief is attributed to another belief about the cause of World War I. Some believe that the arms race that developed among states was a leading cause for the outbreak of the world war (Alger, 1995, 132-134).

The end of World War II also marked the beginning of the United Nations. The United Nations was heavily influenced by the League of Nations. They incorporated the League’s three peace tools and came up with a few of their own: *functionalism*, *self-determination*, and *the protection of human rights*. *Functionalism* describes the process in which states collaborate in missions to overcome troubling outcomes associated with economic and social problems. These problems, if not addressed effectively, are thought to be disruptive to society and instigate violence. While no council was created to deal

with economic and social problems during the League of Nation's lifetime, the organization found itself undertaking a large number of these problems. *Functionalism* is also known as "peacebuilding" the process of constructing long-lasting relationships between groups of people (Alger, 1995, 136). *Self-determination* involves granting independence to nations that are being ruled by empires. During this time, many countries that were previously controlled by Ottoman and Austro-Hungarian empires were awarded independence. Even before these events took place, World War I peace treaties acknowledged self-determination as an effective peace tool. In addition, those governing colonies were mandated to report to and be responsible to the League of Nations for promoting the freedom of states and build their governments. These efforts to secure the independence of different countries led colonial powers to voluntarily cease control of their colonies. Generally speaking, this peace tool is considered extremely effective in its efforts to promote peaceful relations among nations.

The protection of human rights is the final peace tool introduced by the United Nations Charter (Alger, 1995, 137). The United Nations Charter emphasizes the importance of protecting human rights, and is the primary source on the issue (Hernandez, 2007, 18). However, the Charter is not binding, which means that countries are not obligated to comply (Barash & Webel, 2014, 413-414). In 1947, the Universal Declaration of Human Rights was proposed, declaring the UN's commitment to the promotion of human rights and peaceful relations (Alger, 1995, 137). There are two other UN documents that attempt to define human rights: the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights and the International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights (Hernandez, 2007, 20).

The Universal Declaration of Human Rights has 30 articles. The beginning articles speak with regard to civil/political issues, prohibition of torture, arbitrary arrest, guaranteeing freedom of assembly, religion, speech, emigration, and the right to vote. The rest of the articles are primarily concerned with economic and cultural rights such as the right to employment, education, social security, and vacations with pay (Barash & Webel, 2014, 413-414).

The Universal Declaration of Human Rights is merely a recommendation and is not binding at all. Therefore, it is impossible to enforce its provisions. Acknowledging the Declaration's weakness, the General Assembly of the United Nations put the outlined provisions in the form of a treaty as an attempt to strengthen its legality (Alger, 1995, 137). Since its passage, the Declaration has been incorporated into many countries constitutions. Unfortunately, the provisions of the Declaration are often violated (Barash & Webel, 2014, 414).

The United Nations has also issued two human rights covenants: the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights and the Covenant on Economic, Social, and Cultural Rights. The first was signed in 1966. Additionally, two 1977 Geneva Protocols on Armed Conflict were issued concerned with the rights of refugees and children. Abuses of human rights include torture, genocide, and racial segregation. The sovereign power of nations make the enforcement of such ideals for the protection of human rights extremely difficult (Barash & Webel, 2014, 413-414).

Despite the existence of these different peace tools, the United Nations faced challenges when trying to use them. The United States and the Soviet Union refused to collaborate with one another and resolve their differences. These countries continued to

threaten each other with war and involved themselves in proxy wars in Africa, Asia, and the Middle East, which only prolonged the long-lasting conflict. There was widespread fear that these conflicts would lead to world war. As a result, peacekeeping was invented (Alger, 1995, 138).

Peacekeeping

Peacekeeping operations are:

military operations undertaken with the consent of all major parties to a dispute, designed to monitor and facilitate implementation of an agreement (cease fire, truce, or other such agreement) and support diplomatic efforts to reach a long-term political settlement (Peace Operations, 2012, viii).

Peacekeeping was created as a result of the indirect involvement of the United States and the Soviet Union in conflicts in Africa, Asia, and the Middle East (Alger, 1995, 138). Under UN regulations, a Security Council resolution is needed in order to carry out peacekeeping operations. Permission for deployment of peacekeeping operations must be acquired by the conflicting parties, and the resolution does not make the peacekeeping operation binding. The Department of Peacekeeping Operations (DPKO) is the operational manager of peacekeeping missions, and the Secretary General carries overall responsibility of the operation. United Nations member states provide the financing and equipment required for peacekeeping operations (Forsyth, 2005, 516-517).

Peacekeeping has produced mixed results. The United States and Soviet Union, for instance, continued their rivalry during the Cold War by vetoing proposed UN peacekeeping operations. The veto power that both the United States and Soviet Union possessed gave them the ability to put a halt to proposed peacekeeping operations. Each of the superpowers appeared dedicated to prolonging different proxy wars in order to

carry on their conflict, making deploying peacekeeping missions very difficult. The consequence of this veto power was that it constrained the power of the UN to deploy peacekeeping missions. This was evident when there were only 18 peacekeeping missions granted between the years 1945 and 1989. However, the post-Cold War time period showed different trends. There were 45 peacekeeping operations conducted from 1990 to 2009 (Balas et al, 2012, 196). This rapid increase represents the newfound freedom of the international system to authorize peacekeeping missions. While peacekeeping is intended to be a temporary solution to conflict, time has proven that it has become a more permanent solution as five of the UN's peacekeeping operations have lasted for decades (Forsyth, 2005, 517).

The idea of sovereignty has significant impacts on peacekeeping. There are different types of sovereignty that will be defined and their impacts on peacekeeping will be reviewed. The four types of sovereignty are: 1) international legal, 2) Westphalian, 3) interdependence, and 4) domestic. The Merriam-Webster dictionary defines sovereignty as “a country's independent authority and the right to govern itself” (Merriam-Webster.com). The concept grants countries supreme authority to set rules within their territory. States' supreme authority has significant implications for peacekeeping (Krasner, 1999, 9).

There are four types of sovereignty. International legal sovereignty is “concerned with establishing the legal status of a political entity” (Krasner, 1999, 14). A country possesses international legal sovereignty when the international system recognizes that state's sovereignty as having the rights and privileges of rule-making authority (ibid, 14). International legal sovereignty is a gateway to the international system (Fowler & Bunck,

1995, 12). This means that these countries now have the ability to form treaties with other territories, accept invitations to join international organizations, engage in diplomatic relations, have access to resources outside their borders, and enjoy immunity from both civil and criminal actions committed within a foreign country's territory (Krasner, 1999, 20). Sovereign nations' ability to enter into treaties and be a member of international organizations have the most significant effects on peacekeeping operations. Forming treaties strengthens ties with other states and gives these partners a positive relationship that may give them the motivation to maintain peaceful relations with one another. The ability to gain membership in international organizations gives nations an expectation of cooperation and loyalty between themselves and member states.

The second type of sovereignty, Westphalian sovereignty, places emphasis on a nation's territoriality and omission of external governing bodies. This means that the sovereign state owns the freedom to handle domestic problems within their borders. If an external actor interferes with a country's domestic affairs, it is considered a violation of their sovereignty and may lead to conflict (Krasner, 1999, 20). This model formed an environment where countries are required to agree to humanitarian aid. Since a state has to authorize peacekeeping operations in their territory, their authorization serves as an invitation to violate the region's Westphalian sovereignty (Krasner, 1999, 20-23).

Stephen D. Krasner (1999) defines interdependence sovereignty as "the ability of authorities to control transborder movements" (9). It gives countries control over movement of people and goods in and out of its borders. For example, Rwanda's inability to control the flow of weapons from Uganda into its country contributed to the genocide that claimed hundreds of thousands of lives (Ramsbotham & Woodhouse, 1999, 211).

Krasner (1999) describes domestic sovereignty as “the organization of public authority within a state and to the level of effective control exercised by those holding authority” (9). This type of sovereignty is considered the most fundamental due to the fact that a state needs to have domestic sovereignty in order to draft deals and create organizations with other territories. One can think of domestic sovereignty as the basis from which all the other forms of sovereignty exist (ibid. 9).

This section analyzes the role sovereignty plays in creation and maintenance of peacekeeping operations. Typically, peacekeeping operations are deemed necessary once domestic and interdependence sovereignty have dissolved. The loss of state sovereignty makes resolving conflict even more difficult. Approving peacekeeping operations is a state’s attempt to restore its sovereignty. Sovereignty is one of the principles central to peacekeeping, along with consent, the defensive use of force, and neutrality (Brady, 2010, 12-13).

Each of these principles of peacekeeping is associated with the overarching principle of sovereignty. For example, consent is required in order to undertake a peacekeeping mission. Despite the requirement of consent, history has shown that sovereignty is commonly violated, thus instigating the need for peacekeeping operations. Neutrality represents the understanding that peacekeeping forces should not pick sides or display biased opinions on the conflict. Peacekeeping forces can only use force that is defensive in nature, that is, the use of force in instances of self-defense. The deployed forces cannot behave offensively because that would mean they were picking sides in the conflict and they would put themselves at risk of violent combat. Peacekeeping forces should be aware of the limits of their use of force, if they act offensively, the state may

feel they have lost control of their affairs and abolish the peacekeeping mission. Thus, if such a violation of the core principles of peacekeeping occurs, any attempts at peaceful reconciliation are put to a halt (Brady, 2010, 9-13).

The History of Peacekeeping

This section tells the story of peacekeeping in the world of international relations. The section is divided into three parts: The Beginnings of Peacekeeping, Cold War Peacekeeping, and Peacekeeping After the Cold War. The international system has used peacekeeping to alleviate and resolve conflicts between countries for centuries. This is based on the belief that countries of the world have a responsibility and interest in preserving peace around the globe. This widespread ideology has instigated hundreds of peacekeeping operations aimed at solving violent conflict and alleviating tensions between territories.

The Beginnings of Peacekeeping

Among the earliest recognized instances of peacekeeping operations are the Concert of Europe's efforts to maintain peace as the status quo around the world. In fact, the Concert of Europe, called the Concert for short, was created in 1815 with the goal of preserving peace in European territories (Bellamy et al., 2004, 60). Its failure to subdue the violent conflicts between Prussia and Denmark, Prussia and France, and finally Prussia and Austria led to the abolishment of the Concert in 1870. Eight years later, the Berlin Congress instituted a collective security system in the Balkans. It became the duty of European superpowers to expend every effort possible to protect the Balkans. Another

example of conflict that required international intervention was the Boxer Rebellion in China (ibid, 61-63). Finally, the Hague Conferences of 1889 and 1908, which gathered representatives of many countries, convened to discuss and pledge their support for peaceful relations around the world (Ramcharan, 2008, 13). While the efforts of these international institutions proved futile, it showcases their devotion to eliminating violence despite their failure to do so.

When World War I came to a close, the League of Nations was created. The organization's membership numbers were higher than any other previous institution aimed at the same goals the prevention of conflict. It suffered the same fate as the Concert and the Hague due to its inability to control and eliminate international conflict. The League did make a significant achievement toward the cooperation of nations and the preservation of peace; it laid the foundation for the creation of the United Nations (Brady, 2010, 15-16). The following section tells the story of Cold War peacekeeping.

Cold War Peacekeeping

The end of World War II, motivated the victorious Allies to revive the method of collective security (MacQueen, 2006, 43). As terrible as the failure of the League of Nations was, it brought to light the many changes necessary for the United Nations (UN) to make to have the chance of survival and success. The very first UN peacekeeping mission occurred in Israel. Their efforts were aimed at preserving the truce between Israel and Palestine. Their first effort was not as successful as their next. The conflict in the Congo that occurred from 1960 to 1964 showcases the UN's understanding of their previous mistakes. However, a vague mandate put in place by the UN authorized

deployed peacekeeping forces to use offensive force in attempting to resolve the conflict. This decision violated the core principles of neutrality and defensive use of force, which led to the deaths of over 100 peacekeepers and an undetermined number of Congolese citizens (Jett, 1999, 24). Table 2.1 lists the UN peacekeeping missions conducted during the Cold War.

Table 2.1: UN Peacekeeping Missions During the Cold War

| <u>Mission</u> | <u>Location</u> | <u>Personnel</u> | <u>Casualties</u> | <u>Expenditures (millions)</u> | <u>Start Date</u> | <u>End Date</u> |
|---|-----------------------|------------------|-------------------|--------------------------------|-------------------|-----------------|
| UN Truce Supervision Operation | Israel | 364* | 50 | \$52.31** | June 1948 | Ongoing |
| UN Military Observer Group India Pakistan | India/ Pakistan | 114 | 11 | \$13.40** | Jan. 1949 | Ongoing |
| UN Emergency Force I | Israel | 6,073 | 107 | \$1,104.55 | Nov. 1956 | June 1967 |
| Operation des Nations Unies au Congo | Congo | 19,828 | 250 | \$2,222.49 | July 1960 | June 1964 |
| UN Peacekeeping Force in Cyprus | Cyprus | 1,071 | 180 | \$42.98** | March 1964 | Ongoing |
| UN Emergency Force II | Israel/ Egypt | 6,973 | 51 | \$1,059.05 | Oct. 1973 | July 1979 |
| UN Disengagement Observer Force | Israel/ Syria | 1,263 | 43 | \$35.57** | May 1974 | Ongoing |
| UN Interim Force in Lebanon | Lebanon | 15,000 | 283 | \$465.87** | Mar. 1978 | Ongoing |
| UN Good Offices Mission in Afghanistan and Pakistan | Afghanistan/ Pakistan | 50 | 0 | \$18.45 | May 1988 | Mar. 1990 |
| UN Iran-Iraq Military Observer Group | Iran/ Iraq | 400 | 1 | \$224.91 | Aug. 1988 | Feb. 1991 |

*2010 Current Personnel; **2010 Authorized Budget; ***Expenditures paid by the governments of India and the Netherlands in equal amounts.

Source: <http://www.un.org/en/peacekeeping/>

Peacekeeping After the Cold War

The time period covered in this section starts with the dissolution of the Soviet Union in 1988 to the present (Jett, 1999, 27). These missions involved the collaboration and agreement of world superpowers, increasingly structured peacekeeping operations, and more complicated mandate requirements (Bellamy et al., 2004, 75).

The end of the Soviet Union marked the beginning of increased cooperation between the United States and Russia, making the United Nations a stronger tool for dealing with the world's issues (Jett, 1999, 27). This made the approval of peacekeeping missions much simpler. However, funding of such missions has proved much more difficult (Brady, 2010, 20).

The planning and structure of these missions were much more extensive than they were in the past. These operations travel through a framework in an effort to grant peacekeeping forces greater chances of success (The United Nations, 2000b). Other attempts by the UN to improve the likelihood of successful peacekeeping were to implement personnel mandates describing and dictating appropriate behavior (Brady, 2010, 20). Table 2.2 displays the different UN peacekeeping mission that took place after Cold War.

Table 2.2: Post-Cold War United Nations Peacekeeping Operations

| <u>Mission</u> | <u>Location</u> | <u>Personnel</u> | <u>Casualties</u> | <u>Expenditures (millions)</u> | <u>Start Date</u> | <u>End Date</u> |
|---|---|------------------|-------------------|--------------------------------|-------------------|-----------------|
| UN Angola Verification Mission I | Angola | 70 | 0 | \$20.73 | Jan. 1989 | May 1991 |
| UN Transition Assistance Group | Nambia | 8,000 | 19 | \$485.61 | April 1989 | May 1990 |
| UN Observer Group in Central America | Costa Rica, El Salvador, Guatemala, Honduras & Nicaragua | 1,098 | 1 | \$113.41 | Nov. 1989 | Jan. 1992 |
| UN Iraq-Kuwait Observer Mission | Iraq/ Kuwait | 1,187 | 18 | \$561.52 | April 1991 | Oct. 2003 |
| UN Mission for the Referendum in Western Sahara | Morocco | 520* | 15 | \$42.28 | April 1991 | Ongoing |
| UN Angola Verification Mission II | Angola | 855 | 5 | \$198.64 | May 1991 | Feb. 1995 |
| UN Observer Mission in El Salvador | El Salvador | 683 | 5 | \$121.69 | July 1991 | April 1995 |
| UN Advance Mission in Cambodia | Cambodia | 1,504 | 0 | \$0*** | Nov. 1991 | Mar. 1992 |
| UN Protection Force | Bosnia and Herzegovina, Croatia, Yugoslavia (Serbia and Montenegro) and Macedonia | 38,599 | 167 | \$5,216.53 | Feb. 1992 | Mar. 1995 |
| UN Transitional Authority in Cambodia | Cambodia | 20,250 | 82 | \$1,906.71 | Feb. 1992 | Sep. 1993 |
| UN Operation in Somalia I | Somalia | 947 | 6 | \$51.12 | April 1992 | Mar. 1993 |
| UN Operation in Mozambique | Mozambique | 7,663 | 26 | \$572.37 | Dec. 1992 | Dec. 1994 |

| <u>Mission</u> | <u>Location</u> | <u>Personnel</u> | <u>Casualties</u> | <u>Expenditures (millions)</u> | <u>Start Date</u> | <u>End Date</u> |
|---|---|------------------|-------------------|--------------------------------|-------------------|-----------------|
| UN Operation in Somalia II | Somalia/ Uganda | 30,800 | 154 | \$1807.87 | Mar. 1993 | Mar. 1995 |
| UN Observer Mission Uganda-Rwanda | Rwanda | 81 | 0 | \$2.67 | June 1993 | Sep. 1994 |
| UN Observer Mission in Georgia | Georgia | 458 | 11 | \$28.96** | Aug. 1993 | June 2009 |
| UN Observer Mission in Liberia | Liberia | 652 | 0 | \$106.54 | Sep. 1993 | Sep. 1997 |
| UN Mission in Haiti | Haiti | 7,342 | 9 | \$351.20 | Sep. 1993 | June 1996 |
| UN Assistance Mission for Rwanda | Rwanda | 2,770 | 27 | \$498.16 | Oct. 1993 | Mar. 1996 |
| UN Aouzou Strip Observer Group | Chad/ Libya | 15 | 0 | \$.07 | May 1994 | June 1994 |
| UN Mission of Observers in Tajikistan | Tajikistan | 81 | 7 | \$63.90 | Dec. 1994 | May 2000 |
| UN Angola Verification Mission III | Angola | 4,220 | 32 | \$951.86 | Feb. 1995 | June 1997 |
| UN Confidence Restoration Operation | Croatia | 7,071 | 16 | \$0**** | Mar. 1995 | Jan. 1996 |
| UN Preventative Deployment Force | Macedonia | 1,110 | 4 | \$0**** | Mar. 1995 | Feb. 1999 |
| UN Mission in Bosnia and Herzegovina | Bosnia and Herzegovina | 2,052 | 12 | N/A | Dec. 1995 | Dec. 2002 |
| UN Transitional Administration in Eastern Slavonia, Baranja and Western Sirmium | Eastern Slavonia, Baranja and Western Sirmium | 2,847 | 0 | \$606.92 | Jan. 1996 | Jan. 1998 |
| UN Mission of Observers in Prevlaka | Croatia/ Yugoslavia | 37 | 0 | N/A | Feb. 1996 | Dec. 2002 |

| <u>Mission</u> | <u>Location</u> | <u>Personnel</u> | <u>Casualties</u> | <u>Expenditures (millions)</u> | <u>Start Date</u> | <u>End Date</u> |
|--|----------------------|------------------|-------------------|--------------------------------|-------------------|-----------------|
| UN Support Mission in Haiti | Haiti | 2,288 | 1 | \$66.63 | July 1996 | July 1997 |
| UN Verification Mission in Guatemala | Guatemala | 145 | 0 | \$4.18 | Jan. 1997 | May 1997 |
| UN Observer Mission in Angola | Angola | 3,568 | 17 | \$310.39 | June 1997 | Feb. 1999 |
| UN Transition Mission in Haiti | Haiti | 300 | 0 | \$22.10 | Aug. 1997 | Nov. 1997 |
| UN Civilian Police Mission in Haiti | Haiti | 522 | 7 | \$20.40 | Dec. 1997 | Mar. 2000 |
| UN Mission in the Central African Republic | Central African Rep. | 1,612 | 2 | \$101.30 | April 1998 | Feb. 2000 |
| UN Observer Mission in Sierra Leon | Sierra Leon | 307 | 0 | \$12.82 | July 1998 | Oct. 1999 |
| UN Interim Administration Mission in Kosovo | Kosovo | 2,479* | N/A | \$528.04** | June 1999 | Ongoing |
| UN Mission in Sierra Leon | Sierra Leon | 18,329 | 192 | \$2,468.82 | Oct. 1999 | Dec. 2005 |
| UN Transitional Administration in East Timor | East Timor | 10,169 | 17 | \$456.39 | Oct. 1999 | May 2002 |
| UN Organization Mission in DR Congo | Congo | 24,893* | 156 | \$1,066.33 | Nov. 1999 | Ongoing |
| UN Mission in Ethiopia and Eritea | Ethiopia/ Eritrea | 4,627 | 20 | \$1,055.74 | July 2000 | July 2008 |
| UN Mission of Support in East Timor | East Timor | 6,773 | 21 | \$498.60 | May 2002 | May 2005 |
| UN Mission in Liberia | Liberia | 13,396* | 143 | \$443.12 | Sep. 2003 | Ongoing |
| | | | | | April 2004 | Ongoing |
| UN | Haiti | 11,028* | 152 | \$483.21** | June 2004 | Ongoing |

| <u>Mission</u> | <u>Location</u> | <u>Personnel</u> | <u>Casualties</u> | <u>Expenditures (millions)</u> | <u>Start Date</u> | <u>End Date</u> |
|---|--------------------------------|------------------|-------------------|--------------------------------|-------------------|-----------------|
| Stabilization Mission in Haiti | | | | | | |
| UN Operation in Burundi | Burundi | 6,520 | 24 | \$579.38 | June 2004 | Dec. 2006 |
| UN Mission in Sudan | Sudan | 14,373* | 50 | \$756.98 | Mar. 2005 | Ongoing |
| UN Integrated Mission in Timor-Leste | Timor-Leste | 2,951 | 7 | \$162.67 | Aug. 2006 | Ongoing |
| AU/UN Hybrid Operation in Darfur | Sudan | 21,800* | 57 | \$1,262.96 | July 2007 | Ongoing |
| UN Mission in the Central African Republic and Chad | Central African Republic/ Chad | 3,814 | 4 | \$545.61** | Sep. 2007 | Ongoing |

*2010 Current Personnel; *2010 Authorized Budget; ***Expenditures paid from UNTAC Budget; ****Expenditures paid from UNPROFOR Budget, Expenditures in 2000 Constant Dollars.

Source: <http://www.un.org/en/peacekeeping/>

The United Nations formed the Panel of UN Peace Operations in 2000. Its mission was to conduct research on peacekeeping practices in order to come up with new guidelines for peacekeeping personnel to follow while participating in peacekeeping operations. This department was also ordered to recommend improvements to peacekeeping practices (The United Nations, 2000b, 1-12).

This section of the literature review covered the concept of sovereignty, the different types of sovereignty, and their effects on the international system. It also discussed how peacekeeping emerged, described early peacekeeping efforts, post-Cold War peacekeeping, and peacekeeping as it is used today. The purpose of this section was to provide an expansive discussion of peacekeeping by providing a history of peacekeeping operations in order to prepare readers for the review of literature that

pertains to peacekeeping. This chapter provides a platform to begin the discussion of the components of the conceptual framework that focus on women and peace issues.

Conceptual Framework

This section provides readers with extensive research on the topic of women and peace. The conceptual framework's descriptive categories frame and guide the study. The conceptual framework² was developed as a result of a review of three sets of resolutions from formal documents that deal with women and aspects of peace. These resolutions are used to analyze articles in the journal *International Peacekeeping*. The components of the women and peacekeeping conceptual framework are separated into three major categories: Women at the Hague Resolutions, Beijing Platform for Action, and United Nations Resolution 1325.

1) Women at The Hague Resolutions (1915)

The first set of resolutions came from a historic meeting of Women at The Hague in 1915, where over a thousand women of the World War I era met to discuss how to bring about peace. This was the first international meeting that considered the role of women and peace in a formal way (Addams et al., 1915/2003, vii). The International Congress of Women put forth 20 resolutions, 3 of which were used for the conceptual framework. The three main areas of concern for women and peace are women's suffering in war, women in national and international politics, and women's involvement in peace settlement. An examination of the selected Women at The Hague resolutions follows.

² For more on conceptual frameworks, see Shields (1998); Shields & Rangarajan (2013); and Shields & Tajalli (2006).

1.1) Resolution #2: Women's Suffering in War

This International Congress of Women opposes the assumption that women can be protected under the conditions of modern warfare. It protests vehemently against the odious wrongs of which women are the victims in time of war, and especially against the horrible violation of women which attends all war (Addams et al., 1915/2003, 72).

Suffering is a universal aspect of humanity. Suffering involves loss and negation (Bradby & Hundt, 2010, 3). Human suffering is a unique experience that only the sufferer is able to express (Idovaara et al., 2006, 242). While war produces many casualties, war also leads to indirect killing by disease and starvation due to disrupted food and service production, which is a source of women's suffering. For example, more citizens of the war-ravaged countries died from influenza during World War I than because of the war itself. It is worth noting that with improved medical care and technology, dying from disease is less common (Barash & Webel, 2014, 38). While members of the military undeniably suffer as a result of violent conflict, citizens are also affected negatively by war, and a majority of the non-combatant population are women.

Women are not mere spectators of war and are significantly affected by times of conflict. The discrimination and abuse women experience during times of peace worsen when war breaks out. Rape becomes a tactic of war that women and children fall victim to. There are numerous historical cases of women being abducted and sexually assaulted because they were viewed as "spoils of war" (Kaufman & Williams, 2010, 35). Since women are viewed as the reproducers of their community they often become victims of violence simply because of their ethnicity, religion, or tribal affiliations. To make matters worse, often times these acts of violence are not addressed or minimally addressed

because of the inviolability of the sovereign state, and can also be committed by officials who are there to protect them (Kaufman & Williams, 2010, 35).

It is worth noting that civilians, both men and women, are the majority of those killed in modern war, and if they are not killed, they are likely to become refugees (Kaufman & Williams, 2010, 36). In the past, war casualties usually were comprised of military forces (Barash & Webel, 2014, 39). Since women make up a majority of the noncombatant population, they tend to become the primary victims of attacks on their community. Women civilians can be exposed to sex trafficking and forced labor and if imprisoned, they often times suffer from gender-based torture (Amnesty International, 2004, 4). Women are affected by times of war, and it is therefore only reasonable that they be included in peace processes. Women make up a majority of refugees and displaced people. One could even argue that women are affected by times of conflict in greater numbers than they were in the past. The percentage of civilian victims in World War I was 5%, and today it is 90%, and women make up a majority of the civilian population (Golan, 2004, 92). While men are undoubtedly affected by war, women and children also become extremely vulnerable to the suffering from war.

1.2) Resolution #15: Women in National and International Politics

This International Congress of Women declares it to be essential, both nationally and internationally to put into practice the principle that women should share all civil and political rights and responsibilities on the same terms as men (Addams et al., 1915/2003, 76).

The International Congress of Women point out that women were excluded from political participation on many levels. Women were mostly not allowed to vote, hold office, own property, serve on a jury, or work outside the home. This section examines

the struggle for equality that women faced in the 19th and 20th centuries. Many of these restrictions still exist today, giving this topic continued relevance.

In 1900, New Zealand was the only country where women were permitted to vote. The next country to follow in New Zealand's footsteps was Australia (1902) (Whittick, 1979, 18-19). While the U.S. Supreme Court held that women were indeed citizens of the United States as early as 1875, they also held that their citizenship did not grant them the right to vote (McGlen & O'Connor, 1983, 41). By 1900, women in four western states had the parliamentary vote, however, nationally, suffrage was not attained in the United States until 1920 (Whittick, 1979, 19).

Despite women achieving the right to vote, sex roles changed little and women were still expected to bear primary responsibility for taking care of children and the home. Although the Industrial Revolution paved the way for the introduction of women into the workforce, their job responsibilities were often related to their domestic responsibilities at home (Watkins, 2009, 98). There were also barriers in place for women who wished to run for elected office, and some female candidates that attempted to were forced to withdraw from the races (McGlen & O'Connor, 1983, 64).

While women's rights have increased, there is still a significant gap. Cultural attitudes continue to hold women back from taking a more active role in the political arena. The issue is that women in countries where the UN is engaged in peacekeeping missions often do not have many of the basic rights alluded to in The Hague Resolutions. It is very much a boys' club. Cultural attitudes and legal restrictions discourage female participation and result in women being ill prepared and inexperienced in the political process. While some women refrain from politics because they find their participation to

be inappropriate, others are discouraged because of continuing negative views about women's abilities to participate effectively in politics. While women can play a critical role in security structures, most peace negotiations are dominated by men. In addition, many of those men involved in the peace settlement were previous combatants in the conflict. Women need to be able to participate at the peace table, and help with post-conflict reconciliation and long-term peace (McGlen & O'Connor, 1983, 64). The inclusion of women in peace processes can be thought of as a precondition and/or a goal of peacemaking. Therefore, women should be well integrated into political structures of society.

This element of the conceptual framework deals with women's involvement in politics and society. What distinguishes element 1.3 (Women's Involvement in Peace Settlement) from this section is that element 1.3 deals exclusively with women's involvement in peace settlement and peace activities in general. The next section provides a detailed discussion of women's engagement in the processes.

1.3) Resolution #19: Women's Involvement in Peace Settlement

This International Congress of Women resolves that an international meeting of women shall be held in the same place and at the same time as the Conference of the Powers which shall frame the terms of the peace settlement after the war for the purpose of presenting practical proposals to that Conference (Addams et al., 1915/2003, 76)

In the 1915 resolutions, the Women at The Hague were interested in the increased participation of women in the political arena. These women were interested in sustaining peace before there were any institutional arrangements for peacekeeping. Despite their demands to be included, women were excluded from the peace negotiations in 1919. At the time, there was the perception that those who were not involved in making war should

be excluded from making peace. Another reason they weren't included in the peace talks is their general exclusion from governments and political parties, and their inability to vote. Currently, in some parts of the world, this is an ongoing problem. For example, in Afghanistan, where people are governed by male tribal and religious leaders, women have little chance to participate in attempts to resolve recurrent economic and social problems. Such problems, if not solved, potentially lead to violence. *Self-determination* is a tool for building future peace by requiring that administrating colonies “develop self-government,...and to assist them in the progressive development of their free political institutions” (Alger, 1995, 137). This led to colonial powers giving up control of their colonies, and eventually doubling the number of independent states and the UN members (ibid, 135-138).

Diplomacy and peace negotiations are important parts of peace processes, yet women are still often excluded from participating in them today. For example, despite being the first country to pass legislation implementing United Nations Security Council Resolution 1325, which calls for the increased participation of women in peacebuilding, Israel continues to exclude women from peace negotiations (Prince-Gibson, 2014, 16).

Women can provide a different perspective on security than men, who tend to view security in terms of weapons systems and armory; women tend to view security in terms of shelter, food, and health. This could mean that they may emphasize the importance of human rights – a key part of peacemaking (Golan, 2004, 93). For example, according to the U.S. Institute for Inclusive Security, women raised important issues such as food security when they were included in the peace talks that ended the over three decade long war in Guatemala and advocated for gender-sensitive proposals (Prince-

Gibson, 2014, 16). These examples demonstrate that including women in peace talks can generate the discussion of previously neglected, but important issues.

Women need to be included in peace processes, not necessarily because they are more peaceful than men or because it is only fair since they make up over 50% of the population, but because women have different needs, skills, and experiences than that of men. For example, in Northern Ireland, women brought their concerns of transparency and inclusiveness to the peace table, possibly because they have felt excluded (Golan, 2004, 94). These experiences and skills can make them an indispensable resource for the peace table and are necessary to better ensure lasting peace.

The next major category of the conceptual framework is inspired by resolutions passed by the United Nations at the Fourth World Conference on Women. The set of resolutions are called the Beijing Platform for Action. It is considered to be the largest United Nations conference held in history, gathering over 40,000 participants from 189 governments (Porter, 2007, 12).

2) Beijing Platform for Action (1995):

The Fourth World Conference on Women was held in Beijing, China in September 1995. The First World Conference on Women was held in Mexico City in 1975 (McKay & Winter, 1998, 167). Since then, a number of changes in the understanding of the reasons behind women's disadvantaged position in society have taken place. In addition, the thinking about what is needed to change women's status in society had also evolved (Mahapatro, 2014, 311). The second conference was in Copenhagen in 1980, and the third in Nairobi in 1985. The purpose of the fourth

conference was to evaluate the progress made on women's issues and come up with commitments for enhancing the position of women in society (McKay & Winter, 1998, 167). Women tend to hold a subordinate role to men in society. This is clear, for example, in Indian societies. Women eat only after the men in the household have eaten, they often have fewer years of educational experience, and are generally considered home-makers (Mahapatro, 2014, 310).

The Platform for Action adopted in Beijing tackles 12 areas concerning women: poverty, education, health, violence, armed conflict, economic structures, power sharing, institutional mechanisms for the advancement of women, human rights, media, environment, and the girl child (Gillis, 1996, 26). This paper uses three of these items as elements in the second category (Beijing Platform for Action) for the conceptual framework: women and poverty, women and health, and the education and training of women. All of these items deal with justice and peace issues as they relate to women across the globe.

2.1 Women and Poverty

We are determined to...promote women's economic independence, including employment, and eradicate the persistent and increasing burden of poverty on women by addressing the structural causes of poverty through changes in economic structures, ensuring equal access for all women, including those in rural areas, as vital development agents, to productive resources, opportunities and public services (Fourth World Conference on Women, 1995).

While the world as a whole has never been wealthier, it has also never been more unequal. Despite the global economic crisis of 2008, the world's wealth grew to U.S. \$120 trillion dollars in 2010. That is an increase of 20% between 2007 and 2010 (Abuom, 2014, 345). In 2003, the annual income of the wealthiest 1% was equal to that of the

poorest 57%. In addition, at least 24,000 people die from malnutrition and poverty everyday (Barolin, 2011, 1). According to Joseph G. Massaquoi, the unequal distribution of resources is a source of conflict (2009, 60). Poverty is shaped by social hierarchies that are rooted in gender, class, race, and ethnicity (Abuom, 2014, 345). This section addresses the complexities of women's poverty at the time of the Beijing Platform for Action. Over a billion people in the world live in absolute poverty, and 70% of them are women (Turshen, 2007, 36). Absolute poverty is defined as living on less than \$1.25 per day. In 2007, the poverty rate in the United States was over 12%, or more than 37 million people. The U.S. holds poverty to be at \$21,000 a year for a family of four (Hubbard, 2009, 12-13). The Millennium Development Goals of eradicating extreme poverty and hunger by 2015 are a distant reality (Abuom, 2014, 344). The problem is that impoverished countries did not receive the benefits of an annual real growth rate per GDP (of between 19% and 7%) during the last three years, but they do experience the negative effects of inflation (around 8%). In addition, the price of food increased in 2010 (Shoesmith, 2011, 325). Women are directly affected by poverty because they lack economic opportunities. (Fourth World Conference on Women, 1995).

Prolonged conflict has massive negative impacts on the economy of a nation. Economic and social infrastructures, such as transport systems and health care, experience serious damage as a result of the conflict. Economic reconstruction is necessary for peacebuilding in conflict-ridden areas. In an effort to fix economic problems in war-torn countries, the international community has offered their help in rehabilitating the country's basic infrastructure, stimulating employment with micro

enterprise assistance, and creating environmental protection programs (Yilmaz, 2009, 243-244).

When a country or area requires peacekeeping operations, generally there has been some violent conflict resulting in the deaths of husbands and fathers. As a result, these environments have more single women raising children. These are the women most likely to be trapped in poverty. Globally, women are not included (in the same way that men are) when it comes to policies that are financial or economic in nature. However, in many developing countries, women are responsible for the economic development of their country. In many cases, women are the financial providers for their families. Despite this, women have unequal access with men when it comes to wages, land, and lending. About 50% of the world's labor force consists of "sex-stereotyped" jobs, where females are employed in the lowest paying and least secure occupations (Edralin et.al., 2015, 110). These conditions make it difficult for women to access good health care and enhanced mobility (ibid, 109-110).

2.2 Women and Health

Women have the right to the enjoyment of the highest attainable standard of physical and mental health. The enjoyment of this right is vital to their life and well-being and their ability to participate in all areas of public and private life (Fourth World Conference on Women, 1995, 34)

The Fourth World Conference on Women held that inequality is the barrier for women in achieving the "highest attainable standard of health" (Fourth World Conference on Women, 1995, 34). Inequality is a concept measured in terms of income or consumption. Gender equality in the case of health means that men and women both have equal access and a chance to be healthy (Turshen, 2007, 34). Despite the fact that

women's participation is increasing, in most countries men still have political control which adversely affects women's income and their health (World Health Organization, 2009). A woman's low position in society can increase the chances of her becoming a victim of domestic violence and ill health, which even further decreases the chances of her elevating her status (Mahapatro, 2014, 311).

There is a link between healthcare and poverty. Poverty serves as a barrier to access to healthcare and ill health can lead to poverty. Most of the women in the world live in low or middle-income countries (World Health Organization, 2009). Although women are considered to have a longer life expectancy than men, in some countries women during adolescence actually have higher death rates than men due to bearing children at a young age. (Turshen, 2007, 36).

The causes of death and disability in women and girls are different at the different stages of their life. Communicable diseases such as HIV and malaria account for most deaths in childhood. However, in Africa, communicable diseases account for most deaths in girls and women up to age 60. Noncommunicable diseases such as heart disease and cancer account for deaths at older ages (World Health Organization, 2009, 4).

Women are also susceptible to diseases caused by sexual assault, violence by an intimate partner, and female genital mutilation. In addition, women and girls are more vulnerable to human trafficking and honor killings. These acts can lead to injuries, death, pregnancy, abortion, substance abuse, mental health problems, and sexually transmitted diseases. Times of conflict and natural disasters can increase the chance of women falling victim to these acts of violence and also restrict the availability of health care services, placing women and girls in an even more vulnerable position (World Health Organization,

2009, 11). Women and girls have different health needs than men and boys, and health care systems across the world need to respond to those needs. Peace is concerned with justice. Greater incidence of poverty, health problems, and lower education are justice issues.

2.3 *The Education and Training of Women*

We are determined to...promote people-centred sustainable development, including sustained economic growth, through the provision of basic education, life-long education, literacy and training. (Fourth World Conference on Women, 1995, 4)

Despite the importance of education, girls still make up 55% of the population that is not enrolled in school. Literacy is a means for human liberation and social change (Glasgow & Baer, 2011, 69). The number of illiterate women in the world is twice that of men, and over 70 million girls are not enrolled in school (World Health Organization, 2009, 11). There is not a single part of the developing world where women participate in formal education equally with men. In countries where primary education is not the norm, male enrollments are two to three times higher than female enrollments. In countries where schooling is mandatory, more women drop out of school when permitted than men do. The reasons for this vary. Some women are pressured into more traditional roles in the household, and in some parts of the world, there is shortage of available places in schools (Acker, 2006, 15). The education of women not only benefits themselves but also their offspring. For instance, child mortality rates are the highest in homes where the mother's education is the lowest (World Health Organization, 2009, 11).

Women in higher education tend to concentrate on the arts, social sciences, and teacher education, and underachieve in subjects such as engineering, the sciences, and

technology. Women are also underrepresented in decision-making in education. However, they are highly represented in the teaching workforce (Acker, 2006, 15-16).

The Fourth World Conference on Women holds education to be a human right and equality in education to be necessary for achieving peace. The Platform for Action advocates the importance of making sure the female population is literate and able to participate in decision-making bodies (Fourth World Conference on Women, 1995). Equality in education is key to ensuring that women play a part in the society and the economy.

The next major category of the conceptual framework is United Nations Resolution 1325. This was the first United Nation's resolution concerning women and peacekeeping and not just women's issues in general. Passed in 2000, United Nations Resolution 1325 has played a major role in increasing the number of women in peacekeeping operations. Although it was unanimously adopted, the international organization lacks the ability to enforce the resolution's provisions.

3. United Nations Resolution 1325 (2000)

There were many events that lead up to the open debate on "Women, Peace, and Security" that eventually lead to the passage of Security Council Resolution 1325. First, in May 1999, the International Alert and Women Waging Peace set in motion a global initiative called "Women Building Peace: from the Village Council to the Negotiating Table" (Porter, 2007, 15). This was intended to advocate the role women play in peacebuilding and help create a new picture of peace and security centered on "inclusivity and equality" (ibid, 15). As a result, the Security Council distributed a paper

that drew on the contributions that they could make to increase the safety of women in zones of conflict and their inclusion in peacemaking and peacebuilding efforts (15).

A non-governmental organization Working Group on Women and International Peace and Security led the effort in bringing important issues to the surface. They provided background information and recommendations to the Security Council, which led to a formal meeting where women's groups met to discuss their views on October 23, 2000. The very next day, an open debate of the Security Council was held where non-Security Council members were invited to share their views. On October 31, 2000, SCR 1325 was distributed among Security Council members and passed unanimously. The resolution has 18 points and calls for all parties involved to take action (Porter, 2007). The three points chosen for this project are increased representation of women, gender mainstreaming, and protection from gender-based violence. These three areas of concern are discussed below.

3.1 *Increased Representation of Women*

The Security Council... Urges Member States to ensure increased representation of women at all decision-making levels in national, regional, and international institutions and mechanisms for the prevention, management, and resolution of conflict. (UNSC, 2000a, 2).

While women are becoming increasingly involved in international affairs in the United Nations, there have been a very low number of women elected to the highest positions in international peacekeeping. In fact, the UN set the bar of women's representation only at 30%. This means that in order for a nation's government to be considered successful as representing women's concerns, the minimum proportion of women's representation must be 30% (Clover, 2015, 17). The reason for the lack of

women holding the highest position in UN peacekeeping is multifaceted. One of the primary barriers for women attaining this position is the requirement of military experience (Shoemaker & Conaway, 2009, 1-3). In 2014, women accounted for 3% of military personnel in UN peacekeeping missions. Police personnel made up 10% of the total 125,000 peacekeepers deployed on missions. This is an improvement, though an inadequate one, at increasing the number of women in peacekeeping forces. For instance, the percentage of women in peacekeeping forces constituted a mere 1% in 1993 (United Nations Peacekeeping, 2015). Peacekeeping requires that peacekeepers attempt to put into place humanitarian and relief programs, but women in those backgrounds often do not have the military experience that is currently considered so paramount in the use of civil peacekeeping forces (Shoemaker & Conaway, 2009, 3). However, the incorporation of a humanitarian approach to modern peacekeeping has increased the number of women involved in such activities. The inclusion of more women in these leading countries is paramount to giving women a proper voice in peace talks.

Women are becoming increasingly represented in United Nations matters, however, their representative influence has often been limited due to the assignment of women leaders to gender-based positions and a lack of focus on gender equality in the United Nations itself (Haack, 2014, 38). The UN has focused on improving women's representation in its member states as well as in field operations, but women are finding themselves limited in the actual representation of their nations and what positions they are considered for. In the past four terms of the Secretary General, women have rarely held the highest position in peacekeeping positions. Instead, common areas where women are given leadership positions include the United Nations Children's Fund, the World

Health Organization, the World Food Programme, and the UN Population Fund (Haack, 2014, 44-45).

While these positions assist in the advancement of women's position in the UN generally, the fact that women are precluded from the highest levels of office in peacekeeping-centered roles perpetuates the currently male-dominated model of peacekeeping and disallows for the introduction of new ideas. Women need to be given positions in these key roles that are almost exclusively male-dominated as they lack a chance to even start the discussion of new methods for peacekeeping in their current positions. The following section describes the process that many critics have argued is important for the subject of women and peacekeeping. Its significance lies in the strategy's requirement that the implications of government proposals be considered in regard to both men and women. Table 2.3 displays the number and percentage of women in the military component of UN peacekeeping operations in 2009.

Table 2.3: Women in the Military Component of UN Peacekeeping Operations (February 2009)

| Mission | Male | Female | Total | Percentage Female |
|----------------|-------------|---------------|--------------|--------------------------|
| MONUC | 17,048 | 269 | 17,317 | 1.5 |
| UNAMID | 12,342 | 262 | 12,604 | 2.1 |
| UNIFIL | 12,077 | 465 | 12,542 | 3.7 |
| UNMIL | 10,006 | 252 | 10,258 | 2.4 |
| UNMIS | 9,162 | 129 | 9,291 | 1.4 |

Source: United Nations Department of Peacekeeping Operations (UNDPKO), Gender Statistics as of February 2010

www.un.org/en/peacekeeping/contributors/gender/2009gender/feb09.pdf

Notes: MONUC (Mission in the Democratic Republic of Congo), UNAMID (United Nations Africa Mission in Darfur), UNIFIL (United Nations Interim Force in Lebanon), UNMIL (United Nations Mission in Liberia), UNMIS (United Nations Mission in the Sudan).

3.2 Gender Mainstreaming

As a strategy, gender mainstreaming “proposes to introduce the gender sensitivity and equality perspective to all policies at all levels and at all stages by changing the norms and practices that stand at the roots of gender inequality” (Mahapatro, 2014, 309). Emerging in the 1990s, it is considered a “sustainable process” as opposed to a sudden change (Ibid, 309). The study of gender analyzes the relations between women and men in society. The goal of gender mainstreaming is to intervene in order to empower women, and include women’s issues in all policy consideration and research. The process of empowerment is a long one. It requires political and social support for the equality of women in education, work, and financial independence (Ibid, 309-310).

It is important to note that there is a difference between the terms *sex* and *gender*. While commonly used interchangeably, they mean different things. A person’s gender describes their representation of themselves as male or female. Sex, on the other hand, considers a person’s reproductive organs and functions when determining their sex (Mahapatro, 2014, 310).

The empowerment of women has its advantages in that their families reap the benefits of their empowerment and their elevated status in society affects succeeding generations. Gender mainstreaming policies have experienced a shift from individual projects to national government initiatives. While this shift has the potential to achieve the goals of gender mainstreaming, governments tend to be too weak and financially strained to make significant changes in their societies (Mahapatro, 2014, 311).

On a more positive note, every member country of the United Nations has promised to take action on women's empowerment in their countries. However, improving women's health status and progress still remains a challenge. More efforts have been made to decrease the incidence of domestic violence and exclusion of women (Mahapatro, 2014, 312).

As a process, gender mainstreaming's goal is to advance gender equality. However, the results of gender mainstreaming have been uneven, leading critics to question the effectiveness of the process in promoting gender equality, particularly in the area of policymaking. Some analysts, however, consider it to be one of the most successful methods aimed at gender equality. While the debate continues, the interest in gender mainstreaming has not dwindled, and many governments have incorporated the process in their decision-making and policy initiatives. The idea is that before making concrete decisions, governments should expend resources to analyze the effects such policy change will have on both men and women in their society (Mahapatro, 2014, 312).

One of the biggest difficulties in engaging in gender mainstreaming research is the inconsistency in the understanding of what gender mainstreaming is. Sweden describes gender equality not just in terms of access, but also in terms of equal outcomes. In Ukraine, the term gender mainstreaming is not used at all in policymaking. Additional terms have been introduced in countries with regard to gender mainstreaming. The United Kingdom has incorporated the concept of "intersectionality" (Hankivsky, 2013, 632). In Canada, the idea of gender-based analysis plus has been used in policy language. The commitment to gender mainstreaming also varies across governments. Countries such as Canada, Australia, Sweden, and the United Kingdom have incorporated high-

level methods and frameworks in pursuit of gender mainstreaming activities, while Ukraine has adopted low-level mechanisms (632).

As a concept, gender mainstreaming is underdeveloped. In order to be effective, gender mainstreaming needs to be targeted with a “multi-sector approach” with an emphasis on gender sensitivity and equality in policy (Mahapatro, 2014, 314). While men and women are undeniably different in their characteristics and needs, their human rights are similar. That said, women’s contributions need to be acknowledged and invited, and efforts to tackle the different needs of both the sexes in society is necessary (ibid, 313-314).

Since its emergence in the 1990s, gender mainstreaming has been hailed an important process for peace and gender equality. More specifically, the process was introduced at the UN’s Fourth World Conference on Women in 1995. The central idea behind gender mainstreaming is that it is crucial to integrate gender in every process put forth in decision-making, and for it to be included in every level of thinking. The process totally transformed the study and concept of feminism and serves as a metaphor for gender equality (Bendl & Schmidt, 2013, 365).

3.3 Protection from Gender-Based Violence

The Security Council...Calls on all parties to armed conflict to take special measures to protect women and girls from gender-based violence, particularly rape and other forms of sexual abuse, and all other forms of violence in situations of armed conflict (UNSC, 2000a, 3)

Despite the existence of international provisions outlawing such acts, sexual violence continues to be a problem, especially during times of conflict. During times of war, women often become victims of sexual assault and other forms of gender-based

violence, such as sexual mutilation and forced sexual trafficking, as a result of attacks on their community. Women are thought of as “bearers of the next generation” and are attacked as a way of displaying the inability of men to defend their community (Amnesty International, 2004, 26). Even after the conflict has simmered down, women and girls are extremely vulnerable to incidences of violence.

The beginning of the 1990s marked an increase in peacekeeping operations. This unfortunately led to reports of concerns over sexual activities between peacekeepers and local women. The first allegations were reported in 1992 about the United Nations Operation in Mozambique (ONUMOZ). ONUMOZ personnel are said to have organized a prostitution ring involving women and children. After that, there were more reports of a high increase in prostitution and trafficking accompanying UN missions in Cambodia, Somalia, and Bosnia. The sexual transgressions of accused UN peacekeepers include prostitution, exchanging sex for food, to consensual relationships with local women (Simic & O’Brien, 2014, 348). The scope of the problem is not clear; however, the United Nations has taken measures, such as Resolution 1325, to try to resolve this ongoing problem.

The increased participation of women in peacekeeping is necessary in order to combat sexual violence. Many victims of sexual violence do not report the crimes committed against them, or are unable to prosecute their attackers. The presence of women in peacekeeping operations can decrease incidences of sexual violence and can increase the likelihood that victims will come forward.

The Conceptual Framework and Operationalization Table

The conceptual framework and operationalization table is displayed below. The conceptual framework consists of three formal resolutions that are divided into categories that deal with aspects of women and peace. The Hague Resolutions, Beijing Platform for Action, and Security Council Resolution 1325 demonstrate the efforts that have been made to bridge the gender gap in society and international relations.

Women and Peacekeeping Conceptual Framework

The list of descriptive categories and the corresponding literature is shown in Table 2.3. Formal documents dealing with women and peace were broken down into descriptive categories to better understand its characteristics.

Table 2.4. Conceptual Framework Linked to the Literature – Descriptive Categories for Women and Peacekeeping Operations

| Women and Peacekeeping Conceptual Framework | |
|---|--|
| Descriptive Categories | Literature |
| 1. Women at the Hague Resolutions | |
| 1.1. Women’s Suffering in War | Addams et.al. 1915/2003, Amnesty International 2004, Barash & Webel 2014, Bradby & Hundt 2010, Golan 2004, Idovaara et al. 2006, Kaufman & Williams 2010. |
| 1.2. Women in National and International Politics | Addams et. al. 1915/2003, McGlen & O’Connor 1983, Watkins 2009, Whittick 1979 |
| 1.3. Women’s Involvement in the Peace Settlement | Addams et.al. 1915/2003, Alger 1995, Golan 2004, Porter 2007, Prince-Gibson 2014. |
| 2. Beijing Platform for Action | |
| 2.1. Women and Poverty | Abuom 2014, Barolin 2011, Edralin et. al., 2015, Hubbard 2009, Massaquoi 2009, Shoesmith 2011, Fourth World Conference on Women 1995, Turshen 2007, Yilmaz 2009. |
| 2.2. Women and Health | Mahapatro 2014, Fourth World Conference on Women 1995, Turshen 2007, World Health Organization, 2009. |
| 2.3. Education and Training of Women | Acker 2006, Galtung 1996, Glasgow & Baer |

| | |
|---|--|
| | 2011, Fourth World Conference on Women 1995, World Health Organization 2009. |
| 3. United Nations Resolution 1325 | |
| 3.1. Increased Representation of Women | Clover 2015, Haack 2014, Porter 2007, Shoemaker & Conaway 2009, United Nations Peacekeeping, UNSC 2000a. |
| 3.2. Gender Mainstreaming | Bendl & Schmidt 2013, Hankivsky 2013, Mahapatro 2014, UNSC 2000a. |
| 3.3 Protection from Gender-based Violence | Amnesty International 2004, Simic & O'Brien 2014, UNSC 2000a. |

Conclusion

The conceptual framework takes into account the different concerns put forth in three different resolutions concerning women and peace. They are ordered according to the time period the resolutions were passed, from oldest to newest. The next chapter is the methodology chapter. This next chapter describes the method of research employed to study women and peacekeeping issues.

Chapter III: Methodology

Chapter Purpose

The purpose of this chapter is to describe the methodology used to measure and describe women-focused articles in the journal *International Peacekeeping*. The content analysis frame was developed from three sets of resolutions dealing with women and aspects of peace. Content analysis is used to determine the level of discussion of women and peacekeeping using simple descriptive statistics. The conceptual framework developed from three sets of resolutions dealing with women and aspects of peace is used to direct analysis of the journal articles in *International Peacekeeping*. Women and peacekeeping issues are examined using frequency of discussion within the set of journal articles focused on women between the years 2000 and 2014.

Operationalization Table

This section introduces the operationalization of the conceptual framework to determine the different levels of discussion. The operationalization table was adapted from Christopher W. Brady's 2010 Applied Research Project *A Content Analysis of Peacekeeping Issues for the Journal *Armed Forces & Society**. The categories of the conceptual framework are labeled as variables. The elements of the conceptual framework are labeled as assessment categories that are be evaluated by identifying the frequency of discussion of the elements in the articles in the journal *International Peacekeeping*. The elements are labeled as “significantly discussed,” “partially

discussed,” or “no discussion,” depending on how much these elements are discussed in the articles.

Table 3.1: Operationalization of the Conceptual Framework
Descriptive Categories Operationalization Table: Building Peace

| Title: Building Peace: A Content Analysis of Women and Peacekeeping Issues for the Journal <i>International Peacekeeping</i> | | | | |
|---|---|--------------------------------|----------------------------|----------------------|
| Purpose: The purpose of this research is to describe female peacekeeping issues found in the journal <i>International Peacekeeping</i> . | | | | |
| Variables | Assessment Category | Significantly Discussed | Partially Discussed | No Discussion |
| Women at the Hague Resolutions | | | | |
| 1 | Women’s Suffering in War | SD | PD | ND |
| 2 | Women in Power, National and International Politics | SD | PD | ND |
| 3 | | | | |
| | Women and the Peace Settlement Conference | SD | PD | ND |
| Beijing Platform for Action | | | | |
| 4 | Women and Poverty | SD | PD | ND |
| 5 | Women and Health | SD | PD | ND |
| 6 | | | | |
| | Education and Training of Women | SD | PD | ND |
| United Nations Resolution 1325 | | | | |
| 7 | Increased Representation of Women | SD | PD | ND |
| 8 | | | | |
| 9 | Gender Mainstreaming | SD | PD | ND |
| | Protection from Gender-Based Violence | SD | PD | ND |
| Article Profile | | | | |
| 9 | Year Published | | | |
| 10 | Number of Pages | | | |
| 11 | Number of Authors | | | |
| 12 | Nationalities of Authors | | | |
| 13 | | | | |

| | | |
|----|-------------------|--|
| 14 | | |
| 15 | Gender of Authors | |
| 16 | | |
| 17 | | |
| | | |

Content Analysis

This study incorporates content analysis to describe women and peacekeeping issues found within the journal *International Peacekeeping*. The content analyzed are articles published in *International Peacekeeping*. Each article dealing with women and peacekeeping components is analyzed using a coding sheet, which was designed using the categories in the conceptual framework described in Chapter II.

The operational relationship between the content analysis and the descriptive categories is depicted above (Table 3.1). Content analysis provides a picture of the frequency that women and peacekeeping components and issues are discussed within the pages of *International Peacekeeping*. Content analysis has different strengths and weaknesses.

In his book *The Practice of Social Research*, Earl Babbie defines the research method *content analysis* as the study of recorded human communications, such as books, websites, paintings, and laws. Babbie goes on the outline the benefits and drawbacks of content analysis.

Babbie (2001) describes content analysis as being economical financially and in terms of time, as all a researcher would need is the material that needs to be coded. A second advantage of content analysis is that it allows room for error unlike other forms of research, such as an experiment, where an error might require a researcher to repeat the entire research project. In addition, content analysis allows for the study of processes

over a long period of time. While useful in many ways, content analysis also has its disadvantages. For instance, using content analysis for research is only useful for researching oral, written, or graphic communications that have been recorded (Ibid, 341-342).

Population

The population of this study are the articles found in the journal *International Peacekeeping* that deal with women and peace. A total of 25 articles that met the criteria between 2000 and 2014 were chosen. All issues from the year 2000 forward were used for the study if their content explicitly dealt with women. Articles with terms such as “women,” “gender,” “female,” and “sexual violence” were found in the articles used, and the population of the study is 25 articles. Table 3.2 lists the articles discussing women and peace issues found in the journal *International Peacekeeping* ordered by year. Most of the articles dealing with women and peace were published in 2010, presumably because 2010 marked the 10-year anniversary of United Nations Resolution 1325. The years 2007, 2005, 2004, 2003, and 2000 each had only one article published on the topic.

Table 3.2: List of Articles Discussing Women and Peacekeeping Issues

| <u>Year</u> | <u>Author(s)/Title</u> | <u>Volume (Issue)</u> |
|-------------|--|-----------------------|
| 2014 | Kunz, R. / Gender and Security Sector Reform: Gendering Differently? | 21(5) |
| 2014 | Neudorfer, Kelly / Reducing Sexual Exploitation and Abuse: Does Deterrence Work to Prevent SEAs in UN Peacekeeping Missions? | 21(5) |
| 2014 | Zawati, H. M. / Sex in Peace Operations. | 21(5) |
| 2014 | Olsson, L., & Gizelis, T. / Advancing Gender and Peacekeeping Research. | 21(4) |
| 2013 | Mukenge, M. / The Role of Grassroots Women's Groups in HIV/AIDS Prevention and Response: Examples of Practice in Post-Conflict Settings. | 20(4) |
| 2013 | Pruitt, L. J. / All-Female Police Contingents: Feminism and the | 20(1) |

| | | |
|------|--|-------|
| | Discourse of Armed Protection. | |
| 2012 | Byrne, S., & McCulloch, A. / Gender, Representation and Power-Sharing in Post-Conflict Institutions. | 19(5) |
| 2012 | Hudson, H. / A Double-edged Sword of Peace? Reflections on the Tension between Representation and Protection in Gendering Liberal Peacebuilding. | 19(4) |
| 2010 | Mobekk, E. / Gender, Women and Security Sector Reform. | 17(2) |
| 2010 | Puechguirbal, N. / Discourses on Gender, Patriarchy and Resolution 1325: A Textual Analysis of UN Documents. | 17(2) |
| 2010 | Carreiras, H. / Gendered Culture in Peacekeeping Operations. | 17(4) |
| 2010 | Harris, V., & Goldsmith, A. / Gendering Transnational Policing: Experiences of Australian Women in International Policing Operations. | 17(2) |
| 2010 | Jenkins, R., & Goetz, A. / Addressing Sexual Violence in Internationally Mediated Peace Negotiations. | 17(2) |
| 2010 | Simic, O. / Does the Presence of Women Really Matter? Towards Combating Male Sexual Violence in Peacekeeping Operations. | 17(2) |
| 2010 | Willett, S. / Introduction: Security Council Resolution 1325: Assessing the Impact on Women, Peace and Security. | 17(2) |
| 2007 | Valenius, J. / A Few Kind Women: Gender Essentialism and Nordic Peacekeeping Operations. | 14(4) |
| 2005 | Pupavac, V. / Empowering women? An Assessment of International Gender Policies in Bosnia. | 12(3) |
| 2004 | Väyrynen, T. / Gender and UN Peace Operations: The Confines of Modernity. | 11(1) |
| 2003 | Puechguirbal, N. / Gender Training for Peacekeepers: Lessons from the DRC. | 10(4) |
| 2001 | Carey, H. F. / 'Women and Peace and Security': The Politics of Implementing Gender Sensitivity Norms in Peacekeeping. | 8(2) |
| 2001 | DeGroot, G. J. / A Few Good Women: Gender Stereotypes, the Military and Peacekeeping. | 8(2) |
| 2001 | Karame, K. H. / Military Women in Peace Operations: Experiences of the Norwegian Battalion in UNIFIL 1978-98. | 8(2) |
| 2001 | Olsson, L. / Gender Mainstreaming in Practice: The United Nations Transitional Assistance Group in Namibia. | 8(2) |
| 2001 | Skjelsbaek, I. / Sexual Violence in Times of War: A New Challenge for Peace Operations? | 8(2) |
| 2001 | Stiehm, J. H. / Women, Peacekeeping and Peacemaking: Gender Balance and Mainstreaming. | 8(2) |
| 2000 | Olsson, L. / Mainstreaming Gender in Multidimensional Peacekeeping: A Field Perspective. | 7(3) |

Statistics

This study uses descriptive statistics to analyze the frequency of discussion of categories and elements dealing with women and peace listed in the conceptual framework. Descriptive statistics were used because of the descriptive nature of the study.

Inter-Rater Reliability

This research study reviewed 25 articles found within the journal *International Peacekeeping*. The level of discussion of each element of the conceptual framework was analyzed. In an effort to overcome the weakness in the reliability on content analysis, two additional raters other than the author reviewed a sample of five articles. This tested if the findings of this study are consistent with the results of other raters. These additional researchers are both students at Texas State University – San Marcos.

The first additional researcher is Douglas G. Montgomery (additional rater #1) – an A&M University alumnus and Texas Tech Law School graduate. Montgomery is a practicing attorney in San Marcos, Texas and is also a Master's student in the Master's of Public Administration Program at Texas State University – San Marcos. The second researcher is Tyler M. Reed (additional rater #2), a current degree-seeking undergraduate student at Texas State University – San Marcos.

Analysis of a sample of articles by the additional researchers revealed similar findings. However, there were minor differences. Additional rater #2's results were more similar to the author's results than additional rater #1's. Table 3.4 displays the results of the analysis of the sample of the population of articles.

Table 3.3: Articles Analyzed by Additional Raters (N=5)

| | Article |
|---|--|
| 1 | (2012) / Byrne, S., & McCulloch, A. / Gender, Representation and Power-Sharing in Post-Conflict Institutions. |
| 2 | (2001) / Carey, H. F. / 'Women and Peace and Security': The Politics of Implementing Gender Sensitivity Norms in Peacekeeping. |
| 3 | (2010) / Carreiras, H. / Gendered Culture in Peacekeeping Operations. |
| 4 | (2010) / Jenkins, R., & Goetz, A. / Addressing Sexual Violence in Internationally Mediated Peace Negotiations. |
| 5 | (2014) / Olsson, L., & Gizelis, T. / Advancing Gender and Peacekeeping Research. |

Table 3.4: Women and Peacekeeping Discussion Results of Author and Additional Raters (N=5)

| Conceptual Framework | Byrne & McCulloch (2012) | Carey (2001) | Carreiras (2010) | Jenkins & Goetz (2010) | Olsson & Gizelis (2014) |
|---|--------------------------|---------------------|---------------------|------------------------|-------------------------|
| 1. Women at the Hague Resolutions (1915) | | | | | |
| 1.1. Women's Suffering in War | A = 0, B = 0, C = 0 | A = 1, B = 0, C = 1 | A = 0, B = 0, C = 0 | A = 0, B = 0, C = 0 | A = 0, B = 0, C = 0 |
| 1.2. Women in National and International Politics | A = 0, B = 0, C = 0 | A = 0, B = 0, C = 0 | A = 0, B = 0, C = 0 | A = 0, B = 0, C = 0 | A = 0, B = 0, C = 0 |
| 1.3. Women's Involvement in the | A = 0, B = 0, C = 0 | A = 1, B = 2, C = 1 | A = 0, B = 2, C = 1 | A = 0, B = 2, C = 0 | A = 0, B = 2, C = 1 |

| | | | | | |
|--|------------------------|------------------------|------------------------|------------------------|---------------------|
| Peace Settlement | | | | | |
| 2. Beijing Platform for Action (1995) | | | | | |
| 2.1. Women and Poverty | A = 0, B = 0, C = 0 | A = 1, B = 1, C = 1 | A = 0, B = 0, C = 0 | A = 0, B = 0, C = 0 | A = 0, B = 0, C = 0 |
| 2.2. Women and Health | A = 0, B = 0, C = 0 | A = 1, B = 0, C = 1 | A = 0, B = 0, C = 0 | A = 0, B = 0, C = 0 | A = 0, B = 0, C = 0 |
| 2.3. The Education and Training of Women | A = 0, B = 0, C = 0 | A = 0, B = 1, C = 0 | A = 0, B = 1, C = 0 | A = 0, B = 1, C = 0 | A = 0, B = 1, C = 0 |
| 3. UN Resolution 1325 (2000) | | | | | |
| 3.1. Increased Representation of Women | A = 2, B = 2, C = 2 | A = 1, B = 1, C = 1 | A = 1, B = 2, C = 1 | A = 1, B = 0, C = 1 | A = 1, B = 2, C = 1 |
| 3.2. Gender Mainstreaming | A = 1, B = 2, C = 1 | A = 2, B = 2, C = 2 | A = 1, B = 2, C = 1 | A = 0, B = 0, C = 0 | A = 2, B = 2, C = 2 |
| 3.3. Protection from Gender-Based Violence | A = 2, B = 1, C = 2 | A = 2, B = 2, C = 2 | A = 0, B = 0, C = 0 | A = 2, B = 2, C = 2 | A = 1, B = 1, C = 1 |

A = Author, B = Additional rater #1, C = Additional rater #2 / 0 = no discussion, 1 = partial discussion, 2 = significant discussion

Chapter IV: Results

Chapter Purpose

The results of the analysis of women and peacekeeping articles found within the journal *International Peacekeeping* are found in this chapter. The results of the content analysis are organized in the same order as the conceptual framework's components and percent of significant, partial and no discussion. Table 4.1 below reveals *International Peacekeeping's* level of discussion of women and peacekeeping issues.

Table 4.1: Characteristics of the Articles Reviewed N=25

| | |
|-------------------------------------|---|
| Average # of Pages | 14.1 |
| Percentage of Female Authors | 62.1% |
| Average # of Authors | 1.2 |
| Nation of Institutions | Canada, Democratic Republic of the Congo, Finland, Germany, Norway, Scotland, Sweden, Switzerland, United Kingdom, United States. |

Women at The Hague Resolutions

The Women at The Hague Resolutions are concerned with the level of women's participation in peace conferences, women's suffering in war, and women in national and international politics. *International Peacekeeping* places little emphasis on these components. Table 4.2 displays the results of the level of discussion of three Women at The Hague Resolutions within the pages of *International Peacekeeping*.

Women's suffering in war was a topic that was barely discussed in the literature. Only two articles within the population made brief references to the general types of suffering women fall victim to in times of war. Twenty-three articles did not even make mention of this element. While Women's Suffering in War and Protection from Gender-Based Violence both concentrate on different instances of women's suffering in war, the

element Gender-Based Violence focuses on suffering in the form of rape, genital mutilation, forced prostitution, etc. Women's Suffering in War addresses multiple types of suffering that are not types of sexual assault; for example, the large number of women that suffer from the loss of their husbands and other family members as a result of violent conflict. The loss of family members often forces women into new roles in the household (Vayrynen, 2004, 135). Women suffer greatly as a result of armed conflict. When violence breaks out, societal norms virtually disappear, making women more likely to be physically harmed and abused (Mukenge, 2013, 470).

Women in National and International Politics was the second element discussed in the literature review. This issue received slightly more attention in the population of articles of the study. A single article placed great emphasis on the participation of women in both the national and international arena. Another article addressed the issue briefly, while 23 failed to include any discussion of women's participation in national and international politics. Byrne and McCulloch (2012) are authors who significantly discussed women's involvement in politics. Major political parties are male-dominated especially in the most powerful positions. Even when governments institute mandatory quotas to increase women's representation in politics, women are expected to be followers and not leaders (Ibid, 574-576).

None of the articles significantly discuss the Involvement of Women in the Peace Settlement. Five articles placed slightly more emphasis on this element, and 20 articles did not discuss the topic at all. Byrne and McCulloch (2012) point out that women are continually excluded from the peace process. For example, a study was conducted where 585 peace agreements that were reached between the years 1990 and 2010 were analyzed.

The study found that only 16% of the peace agreements referenced women and women’s issues. It is clear that this is an issue that still needs to be resolved, and more literature on the subject may be helpful.

Table 4.2: Women at The Hague Resolutions (N=25)

| <u>Framework Sub-Components</u> | <u>Significantly Discussed</u> | <u>Partially Discussed</u> | <u>No Discussion</u> |
|---|--------------------------------|----------------------------|----------------------|
| Women’s Suffering in War | 0 | 2 | 23 |
| Women in National International Office | 1 | 1 | 23 |
| Women’s Involvement in the Peace Settlement | 0 | 5 | 20 |

The Beijing Platform for Action

The Beijing Platform for Action components are concerned with Women and Poverty, Women and Health, and the Education and Training of Women. Women and Poverty was a largely neglected subject in the *International Peacekeeping* journal. Not a single article invested a significant amount of research on the subject of poverty’s impact on women. Twenty-four articles did not discuss the subject of poverty at all (see Table 4.3). Mukenge (2013) found a correlation between women’s financial situation and their ability to fight against gender-based violence. For example, women who suffer from gender-based violence at the hands of their male relatives are unlikely to report such violence if they rely on their abusers financially (Ibid, 473).

Women and Health was discussed significantly in one article of a population of 25 concerning women and peacekeeping. Three articles partially discussed women’s health issues, but 21 articles did not discuss the topic at all. The articles that did discuss

health issues tended to discuss the how women were more likely to be infected with HIV and AIDS. They also cite how the Beijing Platform for Action calls for government action on the issue of HIV and AIDS along with other sexually transmitted diseases, as they disproportionately impact female members of society (Carey, 2001, 52).

The Education and Training of Women was greatly discussed in two articles and one article addressed the issue briefly. Twenty-two articles did not address the education and training issues associated with women. Puechguirbal (2003) cites one of the strongest reasons behind gender training in UN PKOs in that the military, police, and PKOs are male-dominated. Researching the impact of gender training is also considered a difficult and daunting task for the UN. Gender training is argued to be most effective when conducted by both men and women, as this will result in trust between instructors and those receiving training (Ibid, 124-126). Olsson (2001) discusses the importance of long-term education and training of women in order to better ensure their political participation. It is difficult to educate women on the importance of civic participation and voting if they are illiterate and uneducated in the democratic process (Ibid, 101).

Table 4.3: Beijing Platform for Action (N=25)

| <u>Framework Sub-Components</u> | <u>Significantly Discussed</u> | <u>Partially Discussed</u> | <u>No Discussion</u> |
|---------------------------------|--------------------------------|----------------------------|----------------------|
| Women and Poverty | 0 | 1 | 24 |
| Women and Health | 1 | 3 | 21 |
| The Education and Training | 2 | 1 | 22 |

United Nations Resolution 1325

The United Nations Resolution 1325 is concerned with the Increased Representation of Women, Gender Mainstreaming, and Reduced Gender-Based

Violence. Twelve articles had a lot of content on the issues with women's representation, seven articles partially discussed the topic, and six articles out of twenty-five did not address the element of women's representation at all (see Table 4.4).

While many of the authors of the population of articles consider UNSC 1325 to be instrumental in the strides taken to increase women's representation particularly in PKOs, they also consider the positive impacts to be inadequate. Achieving gender-balanced international missions helps achieve gender-balanced societies (Harris & Goldsmith, 2010, 294). Simic (2010) points out that the importance of increased women's representation received major attention after reports of sexual misconduct by peacekeeping forces and near peacekeeping bases surfaced (189). Women made up less than 2% of PKO troops deployed in 2008. One of the reasons cited for this low number are women's reluctance to participate in PKOs since women still experience great discrimination and in some cases, abuse (Willett, 2010, 152).

Gender Mainstreaming calls for the impacts of men and women to be analyzed in all aspects of peace building and peacekeeping. It incorporates the principles of women's human rights and basic needs into PKOs (Carey, 2001, 50). Researchers of gender mainstreaming find the research on the impact of mainstreaming policies to be limited, making people skeptical of their impacts (Carreiras, 2010, 477).

While UNSC 1325 cites the importance of protecting civilians from gender-based violence, it is not the first resolution to do so. Resolutions 1820, 1888, and 1960 are all UN resolutions that concentrate on the impacts on conflict on gender-based conflict (Byrne & McCulloch, 2012, 567). Women who become victims of gender-based violence are often stigmatized by their societies, making them reluctant or unable to seek justice

(Mukenge, 2013, 470). Pruitt (2013) argues that this is where the inclusion of women in PKOs is especially important. In societies where culture prohibits men from discussing sexual matters with women and vice versa, the presence of women peacekeepers can encourage women to come forward with their complaints (Ibid, 68).

Table 4.4: United Nations Resolution 1325 (N=25)

| <u>Framework Sub-Components</u> | <u>Significantly Discussed</u> | <u>Partially Discussed</u> | <u>No Discussion</u> |
|--|---------------------------------------|-----------------------------------|-----------------------------|
| Increased Representation of Women | 12 | 7 | 6 |
| Gender Mainstreaming | 8 | 8 | 9 |
| Reduced Gender-Based Violence | 17 | 4 | 4 |

Chapter V: Conclusion

Chapter Purpose

The final chapter presents the findings of this study and suggests possibilities for future research. Conclusions are drawn on the contribution of the journal *International Peacekeeping* is making to women and peacekeeping literature.

This study analyzes articles found within the journal *International Peacekeeping* and determined the level of discussion of women and peacekeeping issues. Chapter I introduced the study and stated the intended purpose of research. The intended purpose of research is to determine the level of discussion of women and peacekeeping issues in the journal *International Peacekeeping*. The second chapter presented a review of the literature of women and peacekeeping issues and a history of peacekeeping. The methodology and operationalization of the conceptual framework are presented in the third chapter. The final chapter concludes the study by summarizing the findings of the study and recommends suggestions for future research.

Findings

More discussion is needed for many elements that make up the conceptual framework of the study. More content on some aspects of women and peacekeeping, namely, Women's Suffering in War, Women in National and International Politics, Women in the Peace Settlement Conference, Women and Poverty, Women and Health, and the Education and Training of Women. All these components are barely discussed in the journal *International Peacekeeping*.

The journal *International Peacekeeping* has concentrated its focus on Protection from Gender-based Violence, Gender Mainstreaming, and Increasing the Representation

of Women. A majority of the population of articles concerning women and peacekeeping contained significant discussion. Issues such as Women and Poverty, Women and Health, and the Education and Training of Women are not adequately discussed.

Weaknesses of Content Analysis

As discussed in the third chapter, content analysis has several weaknesses along with its advantages. The major weaknesses that must be accounted for in this study is the content analysis' reliability. Reliability describes the frequency that occurs when measured several times. To attempt to curb the issues with reliability, two students from Texas State University - San Marcos agreed to test the population and determine the frequency of women and peacekeeping issues found in the journal *International Peacekeeping*. The results found by both additional testers reflected the results I found when doing my research. Using additional researchers to determine the frequency of women and peacekeeping components found within the volumes of *International Peacekeeping* ensure that my findings are accurate (Babbie, 2001).

Additional Topics in Population of Articles

The conceptual framework is made up of elements from three sets of resolutions that deal with women and aspects of peace and justice. While reviewing the population of articles from the journal *International Peacekeeping*, it became apparent that the literature addressed topics that were not included in the conceptual framework. Power-sharing institutions, all-female contingents in peace operations, United Nations Security Council Resolution 1820, policing, gender balance, humanitarian affairs, and human

rights were topics that appeared in the population of articles that were not focused on in the conceptual framework.

Power-sharing institutions is a conflict resolution technique focused on by Byrne and McCulloch (2012). It involves participation and representation by different ethnic groups in a society to work on the resolution of conflict. According to the article, this is a conflict resolution technique that is favored by the UN. The cited benefits of power-sharing institutions are that by including all ethnic groups, members of groups feel as though they are being respected, making it easier for groups to tolerate their differences. However, while this technique focuses on the inclusion of all ethnic groups, women continue to be excluded for the most part (Ibid, 565-566).

Pruitt (2013) addresses the topic of all-female contingents in peace operations. Researchers have made claims that women have the ability to calm dangerous circumstances with their presence. The presence of women has also been argued to result in fewer cases of HIV infection in places ridden with conflict. Women's presence also tends to reduce the number of brothels located in close proximity to peacekeeping bases and the rate of children that are fathered and then abandoned by male peacekeepers. In addition, it is thought that including women in peacekeeping operations is of extreme significance in areas where sexual violence is rampant. This is especially important in places where it is considered taboo for women to discuss matters such as sexual assault with the opposite sex. By giving women a medium to discuss violations committed against them, the chances for justice are increased (Ibid, 68).

Harris and Goldsmith (2010) address the topic of women's policing in peacekeeping operations. While previously thought to be men's work, policing has

incorporated women over the years. However, their inclusion has been minimal and research has not focused on this topic adequately (Ibid, 292-293).

Both Olsson (2001) and Mobekk (2010) address the topic of gender balancing in their articles. Gender balancing involves the equal participation of men and women at all levels and functions (Olsson, 2001, 99). While the UN has set gender balance goals, achieving those goals in field missions has proven difficult. The UN set their target at 50% women and 50% men in all positions. Some of the difficulties in achieving this target lie in recruitment problems. Peacekeeping operations involve non-UN external personnel, which makes it difficult to fully incorporate UN goals (Ibid, 99). Gender balancing is a goal but also a tool for hiring women in the security sector where their presence is lacking (Mobekk, 2010, 279).

Many of the issues included in the conceptual framework deal with human rights issues; however, the term human rights is not explicitly mentioned. Humanitarian affairs and the protection of human rights are both components of peacekeeping but the inclusion of women in their efforts are difficult to measure. Olsson (2000) argues that the reason for the difficulty in finding statistics concerning women's involvement is that there are several departments in the UN that are tasked with humanitarian affairs efforts (Ibid, 6). In regard to human rights violations, men and women tend to suffer differently. Men have a higher chance of being killed in conflict, while women are more likely to be sexually assaulted. It is important that these differences are considered, that human rights violations are recorded, and efforts are made to prevent all people including peacekeepers from committing these violations (Ibid, 7-8).

These different aspects of peacekeeping and international relations could have been incorporated into the conceptual framework. They are all critical to the advancement of peace and women's participation in the security sector. Their inclusion in the journal articles is positive, but there are many topics that still need more research. The following section discusses suggestions for future research.

Suggestions for Future Research

Scholars, the United Nations, and other associations have considered gender as a topic important to the study of peacekeeping and international relations. However, research on gender inclusion is lacking. More research is needed with respect to peace agreements and the impact of including language on gender-based violence in these treaties (Jenkins & Goetz, 2010, 275). Most importantly statistics on peace operations do not include gender-based analysis. Failing to provide analysis on gender in peacekeeping does not provide researchers with an accurate portrayal of the situation in these countries, especially in regard to women (Puechguirbal, 2010, 174). Gender mainstreaming initiatives have been promoted and implemented; however, there isn't enough research on whether or not these policies advance gender equality (Olsson & Gizelis, 2014, 522).

This study performed a content analysis to describe the articles in *International Peacekeeping* dealing with women and peacekeeping issues. The methodology used in this research could be replicated to analyze the women and peacekeeping content of other journals. Using this study's framework and methodology to analyze the content of additional journals can assist in the development of peacekeeping literature. The use of

this study as a template for different journals is recommended to assist further development of peacekeeping literature.

Gender Inclusion and Future Peace

The participation of women has been argued to further peace in society. It is important to stop associating women with only child-rearing and matters of the home. Women can play a vital role in the security sector and transform it from the boys' club it is today. By excluding women from the peace process, issues that pertain to women will continue to be unaddressed (Willett, 2010, 151). Simic (2010) makes the claim that the inclusion of women in peace operations has numerous benefits, including but not limited to increased support of local women and having a positive influence on the behavior of male peacekeepers (Ibid, 190). The presence of women in conflict-ridden areas can reduce the chance of sexual assault and increase the likelihood that crimes against women actually get reported (Willett, 2010, 151).

Conclusion

Peacekeeping is an antidote to armed conflict in an attempt to secure global peace and stability. In order to better understand women and peacekeeping issues, it is essential that it be known when an area of peacekeeping is not discussed adequately. By being aware of the level of contribution a journal makes to a topic such as women and peacekeeping, we are better able to address under-discussed issues. A comprehensive understanding of the theories and best practices of women and peacekeeping issues can help ensure the conflict is avoided.

Bibliography

- Abuom, A. R. M. (2014). Moderator's Address: Moving Together Toward Communities of Justice and Peace. *The Ecumenical Review*, 66(3), 341-354.
- Acker, S. (2006). *Women and education [electronic resource] / edited by Sandra Acker ... [et al.]*. London ; New York : Routledge.
- Addams, J., Balch, E.G., & Hamilton, A. (1915/2003). *Women at the Hague: The International Congress of Women and its Results*. Urbana: University of Illinois Press.
- Alger, C.F. (2006). *The United Nations System: A Reference Handbook*. Santa Barbara, California: ABC-CLIO.
- Alger, C.F. (1995). *Teaching About International Conflict and Peace*. Albany: State University of New York Press.
- Alpargu, M., Sahin, E., Yazici, S. (2009). Teaching History and Its Contribution to Peace. *International Journal of Social Inquiry*, 2(2), 199-214.
- Amnesty International. (2004). *Lives Blown Apart: Crimes Against Women in Times of Conflict, Stop Violence Against Women*. London: Amnesty International.
- Anderson, R. (2004). A Definition of Peace. *Peace and Conflict: Journal of Peace Psychology*, 10(2), 101-116.
- Babbie, E. R. (2001). *The Practice of Social Research*. Belmont, CA: Wadsworth Thomson Learning.
- Baesler, E. J., & Lauricella, S. (2014). Teach Peace: Assessing Instruction of the Nonviolent Communication and Peace Course. *Journal of Peace Education*, 11(1), 46-63.
- Balas, A., Owsiak, A. P., Diehl P. F. (2012). Demanding Peace: The Impact of Prevailing Conflict on the Shift from Peacekeeping to Peacebuilding. *Peace & Change*, 37(2), 195-226.
- Barash, D. P. & Webel, C. P. (2014). *Peace and Conflict Studies*. SAGE Publications, 1-560.
- Barlow, T. (2011). The Big Words and Our Work: Peace, Women, and the Everyday. *Signs: Journal of Women in Culture & Society*, 36(3), 588-601.
- Barolin, D. (2011). Practices of Justice. *Journal of Latin American Hermeneutics*, 1-5.
- Bellamy, A. J., Williams, P. & Griffin, S. (2004). *Understanding Peacekeeping*. Cambridge CB2 1UR, UK, Polity Press.

- Bendl, R., & Schmidt, A. (2013). Gender Mainstreaming: An Assessment of its Conceptual Value for Gender Equality. *Gender, Work & Organization*, 20(4), 364-381.
- Boulding, K. E. (1989). A Proposal for a Research Program in the History of Peace. *Peace & Change*, 14(4), 461-469.
- Bradby, H. & Hundt, G. L. (2010). *Global Perspectives on War, Gender and Health: The Sociology and Anthropology of Suffering*. Burlington, VT: Ashgate Publishing Limited. i-157.
- Brady, C. W. (2010). A Content Analysis of Peacekeeping Issues for the Journal *Armed Forces and Society*. *Applied Research Projects – Public Administration Program*, iv-81.
- Byrne, S., & McCulloch, A. (2012). Gender, Representation and Power-Sharing in Post-Conflict Institutions. *International Peacekeeping*, 19(5), 565-580.
- Call, C. T. & Cousens, E. M. (2008). Ending Wars and Building Peace: International Responses to War-Torn Societies. *International Studies Perspectives*, 9, 1-21.
- Carey, H. F. (2001). Women and Peace and Security: The Politics of Implementing Gender Sensitivity Norms in Peacekeeping. *International Peacekeeping*, 8(2), 49-68.
- Carreiras, H. (2010). Gendered Culture in Peacekeeping Operations. *International Peacekeeping*, 17(4), 471-485.
- Carroll, B. A. (1969). Introduction: History and Peace Research. *Journal of Peace Research*, 6(4), 287-293.
- Chernus, I. (1993). Order and Disorder in the Definition of Peace. *Peace & Change*, 18(2), 99-125.
- Clover, D. E. (2015). Gender Mainstreaming, Women, and Politics: A Case for Feminist Adult Education. *Canadian Journal for the Study of Adult Education*, 27(2), 16-30.
- Dawo, J. A., & Wagah, M. O. (2011). Teaching Conflict Management Skills in Schools: Prerequisite for Peace and Achievement of Millennium Development Goals in Kenya. *Educational Research And Reviews*, 6(17), 902-905.
- DeGroot, G. J. (2001). A Few Good Women: Gender Stereotypes, the Military and Peacekeeping. *International Peacekeeping* 8(2), 23-39.
- Devin, G. (2011). *Making Peace: The Contribution of International Institutions*. Palgrave Macmillan, i-192.
- Dharmapuri, S. (2012). Implementing UN Security Council Resolution 1325: Putting the Responsibility to Protect into Practice. *Global Responsibility to Protect*, 4.2, 241-272.

- Edralin, D. M., Tibon, M. P., and Tugas, F.C. (2015). Initiating Women Empowerment and Youth Development through Involvement in Non-Formal Education in Three Selected Parishes: An Action Research on Poverty Alleviation. *DLSU Business & Economics Review*, 24(2), 108-123.
- Fernández-Dols, J., Hurtado-de-Mendoza, A., Jiménez-de-Lucas, I. (2004). Culture of Peace: An Alternative Definition and its Measurement. *Peace and Conflict: Journal of Peace Psychology*, 10(2), 117-124.
- Forsyth, T. (2005). *Encyclopedia of International Development*/edited by Tim Forsyth. Abingdon, Oxon; OX; New York, NY: Routledge, 2005.
- Fourth World Conference on Women. (1995).
<http://www.un.org/womenwatch/daw/beijing/platform/>
- Fowler, M. R. & Bunck, J. M. (1995). *Law, Power, and the Sovereign State: The Evolution and Application of the Concept of Sovereignty*. University Park, Pennsylvania. *The Pennsylvania State University Press*.
- Galtung, J. (1996). *Peace by Peaceful Means: Peace and Conflict, Development and Civilization*. SAGE Publications. 1-59.
- Gillis, M. J. (1996). The Platform for Action : "A Revolution Has Begun": A review of the highlights of the historic commitment to action from Beijing. *Church & Society*, 86(5), 25-30.
- Glasgow, J. N. & Baer, A. L. (2011). Lives beyond Suffering: The Child Soldiers of African Wars. *The English Journal*, 100(6), 68-77.
- Gleditsch, N. P., Nordkvelle, J., & Strand, H. (2014). Peace Research – Just the Study of War? *Journal of Peace Research*, 51(2), 145-158.
- Golan, G. (2004). The Role of Women in Conflict Resolution. *Palestine-Israel Journal Of Politics, Economics & Culture*, 11(2), 92-96.
- Haack, K. (2014). Breaking Barriers? Women's Representation and Leadership at the United Nations. *Global Governance*, 20(1), 37-54.
- Haessly, J. (2010). *Tourism, Progress and Peace*. Moufakkir O. & Kelly, I. (Eds.) Oxfordshire & Cambridge: CAB International, i-256.
- Hankivsky, O. (2013). Gender Mainstreaming: A Five-Country Examination. *Politics & Policy*, 41(5), 629-655.
- Harris, V., & Goldsmith, A. (2010). Gendering Transnational Policing: Experiences of Australian Women in International Policing Operations. *International Peacekeeping*, 17(2), 292-306.

- Hernandez, A. (2007). An Examination of Human Rights Violations in Latin America, 2002-2006. Texas State – Alkek Library’s Catalog, 1-104.
- Howlett, C. F. (1994). Peace History: The Field and the Sources. *OAH Magazine of History*, 8(3), 26-32.
- Hubbard, H. J. (2009). Fighting Poverty to Build Peace. *America*, 10-12
- Hudson, H. (2012). A Double-edged Sword of Peace? Reflections on the Tension between Representation and Protection in Gendering Liberal Peacebuilding. *International Peacekeeping*, 19(4), 443-460.
- Idovaara, S., Arman, M., Rehnsfeldt, A. (2006). Family suffering related to war experiences: an interpretative synopsis review of the literature from a caring science perspective. *Scand J. Caring Sci*, 20, 241-250.
- Jenkins, R., & Goetz, A. (2010). Addressing Sexual Violence in Internationally Mediated Peace Negotiations. *International Peacekeeping*, 17(2), 261-277.
- Jett, D. C. (1999). *Why Peacekeeping Fails: A Comparative Assessment of Angola*. New York: St. Martin’s Press, i-236.
- Karame, K. H. (2001). Military Women in Peace Operations: Experiences of the Norwegian Battalion in UNIFIL 1978-98. *International Peacekeeping*, 8(2), 85-97.
- Kaufman, J. P. & Williams, K. P. (2010). *Women and War: Gender Identity and Activism in Times of Conflict*. Sterling, VA, USA: Kumarian Press.
- Krasner, S. D. (1999). Sovereignty Organized Hypocrisy. Princeton, New Jersey. *Princeton University Press*, i-264.
- Kunz, R. (2014). Gender and Security Sector Reform: Gendering Differently? *International Peacekeeping*, 21(5), 604-622.
- MacQueen, N. (2006). *Peacekeeping and the International System*. London; New York: Routledge.
- Mahapatro, M. (2014). Mainstreaming Gender: Shift from Advocacy to Policy. *Vision*, 18(4), 309-315.
- Massaquoi, J. G. M. (2009). Strengthening peace building through Science and Technology education. *Science Education International*, 20(½), 60-68.
- McGlen, N. E., & O'Connor, K. (1983). *Women's rights : the struggle for equality in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries*. New York, NY : Praeger, 1983
- McKay, S. R., & Winter, D. (1998). The United Nations’ Platform for Action: Critique and implications. *Peace And Conflict: Journal Of Peace Psychology*, 4(2), 167-178.

- Mobekk, E. (2010). Gender, Women and Security Sector Reform. *International Peacekeeping*, 17(2), 278-291.
- Mukenge, M. (2013). The Role of Grassroots Women's Groups in HIV/AIDS Prevention and Response: Examples of Practice in Post-Conflict Settings. *International Peacekeeping*, 20(4), 469-485.
- Neudorfer, Kelly. (2014). Reducing Sexual Exploitation and Abuse: Does Deterrence Work to Prevent SEAs in UN Peacekeeping Missions?. *International Peacekeeping*, 21(5), 623-641.
- Olsson, L. (2001). Gender Mainstreaming in Practice: The United Nations Transitional Assistance Group in Namibia. *International Peacekeeping*, 8(2), 97-111.
- Olsson, L. (2000). Mainstreaming Gender in Multidimensional Peacekeeping: A Field Perspective. *International Peacekeeping*, 7(3), 1-17.
- Olsson, L., & Gizelis, T. (2014). Advancing Gender and Peacekeeping Research. *International Peacekeeping*, 21(4), 520-528.
- Peace Operations*. (2012). Joint Chiefs of Staff, 9999 Joint Staff Pentagon, Washington, DC. <http://oai.dtic.mil/oai/oai?&verb=getRecord&metadataPrefix=html&identifier=ADA581806>
- Porter, E.J. (2007). *Peacebuilding: Women in International Perspective*. London: Routledge, 2007.
- Prince-Gibson, E. (2014). Give Peace--And Women--A Chance. *Moment Magazine*, 39(3), 16.
- Pruitt, L. J. (2013). All-Female Police Contingents: Feminism and the Discourse of Armed Protection. *International Peacekeeping*, 20(1), 67-79.
- Puechguirbal, N. (2010). Discourses on Gender, Patriarchy and Resolution 1325: A Textual Analysis of UN Documents. *International Peacekeeping*, 17(2), 172-187.
- Puechguirbal, N. (2003). Gender Training for Peacekeepers: Lessons from the DRC. *International Peacekeeping*, 10(4), 113-128.
- Pugh, M. (2014). International Peacekeeping. *Peace Review*, 26(4), 489-490.
- Pupavac, V. (2005). Empowering women? An assessment of international gender policies in Bosnia. In , *Peace without politics? Ten years of international state-building in Bosnia*. Ed. David Chandler, London & New York: Routledge, 12(3), 85-99.
- Ramcharan, B. G. (2008). *Preventative Diplomacy at the UN*. Bloomington, IN: Indiana University Press.

- Ramsbotham, O. & Woodhouse, T. (1999). Encyclopedia of International Peacekeeping Operations. Santa Barbara, CA: *ABC-CLIO*, xxviii-356.
- Schwartz, L. E. (1966). Social Science and the Furtherance of Peace Research. *The American Behavioral Scientist*, 24-28.
- Selassie, B. H. (2011). Democracy and Peace in the Age of Globalization: Old Problems, New Challenges for Africa. *African Studies Review*, 54(1), 19-31.
- Shields, P. M. (1998). Pragmatism as Philosophy of Science: A Tool for Public Administration. *Research in Public Administration*, 4, 195-225.
- Shields, P. M. & Rangarajan, N. (2013). *A Playbook for Research Methods: Integrating Conceptual Frameworks and Project Management*. Stillwater, OK: *New Forum Press*, c2013.
- Shields, P. & Tajalli, H. (2006). Intermediate Theory: The Missing Link in Successful Student Scholarship. *Journal of Public Affairs Education*, 12(3): 313-334.
- Shoemaker, J., & Conaway, C. (2009). Women in UN Peace Operations: Increasing the Leadership Opportunities. *Conference Papers -- International Studies Association*, 1-6.
- Shoesmith, D. (2011). Timor-Leste: On the Road to Peace and Prosperity? *Southeast Asian Affairs*, 323-335.
- Simic, O. (2010). Does the Presence of Women Really Matter? Towards Combating Male Sexual Violence in Peacekeeping Operations. *International Peacekeeping*, 17(2), 188-199.
- Simić, O., & O'Brien, M. (2014). 'Peacekeeper Babies': An Unintended Legacy of United Nations Peace Support Operations. *International Peacekeeping*, 21(3), 345-363.
- Sister Nambia (2010). UN Women Born! *Sister Nambia Trust*, 22(3), 30-30.
- Skjelsbaek, I. (2001). Sexual violence in times of war: a new challenge for peace operations? *International Peacekeeping (London, England)*, 8(2), 69-84.
- Sovereignty. (2015). In *Merriam-Webster.com*. Retrieved April 1, 2015, from <http://www.merriam-webster.com/dictionary/sovereignty>
- Stiehm, J. H. (2001). Women, Peacekeeping and Peacemaking: Gender Balance and Mainstreaming. *International Peacekeeping*, 8(2), 39-49.
- The United Nations. (2015). *Charter of the United Nations*. Retrieved from <http://www.un.org/en/documents/charter/preamble.shtml>
- The United Nations Security Council (2000a). <http://www.un.org/womenwatch/osagi/wps/>

- The United Nations. (2000b). “*Report of the Panel on United Nations Peacekeeping Operations*”. *Report presented at the fifty-fifth session of the General Assembly of the United Nations*. New York: USA.
- Turshen, M. (2007). *Women's health movements [electronic resource] : a global force for change / Meredith Turshen*. New York : Palgrave Macmillan, 2007.
- United Nations Department of Peacekeeping Operations (2010). Gender Statistics as of February 2010. www.un.org/en/peacekeeping/contributors/gender/2009gender/feb09.pdf
- United Nations Peacekeeping*. (2015). Retrieved from <
<http://www.un.org/en/peacekeeping/issues/women/womeninpk.shtml>>
- Valenius, J. (2007). A Few Kind Women: Gender Essentialism and Nordic Peacekeeping Operations. *International Peacekeeping*, 14(4), 510-523.
- Van Den Dungen & P., Wittner, L. S. (2003). Peace History: An Introduction. *Journal of Peace Research*, 40(4), 363-375.
- Väyrynen, T. (2004). Gender and UN Peace Operations: The Confines of Modernity. *International Peacekeeping*, 11(1), 125-142.
- Walt, S. M. (1991). Mershon Series: Research Programs and Debates. *International Studies Quarterly*, 35, 211-239.
- Watkins, S. (2009). A Historical Perspective: The Women’s Liberation Movement and Family Dynamics Education. *Journal of Philosophy & History of Education*. 59. 98-101.
- Whittick, A. (1979). *Woman into citizen / by Arnold Whittick ; introd. by Helvi Sipilä*. Santa Barbara, Calif. : ABC-CLIO, c1979.
- Willett, S. (2010). Introduction: Security Council Resolution 1325: Assessing the Impact on Women, Peace and Security. *International Peacekeeping*, 17(2), 142-158.
- World Health Organization. (2009). Women and health [electronic resource] : today's evidence tomorrow's agenda / World Health Organization. Geneva : WHO, c2009.
- Yilmaz, M. E. (2009). Peace-Building in War-Torn Societies. *Peace Review, LLC.*, 21(2), 238-248.
- Zawati, H. M. (2014). Sex in Peace Operations. *International Peacekeeping*, 21(5), 693-696.