

Just Add Women and Stir?

SAHANA DHARMAPURI

© 2011 Sahana Dharmapuri

October 2010 marked the 10th anniversary of UN Security Council Resolution 1325 (UN Resolution 1325). The unanimous passage of UN Resolution 1325 recognized, for the first time in the history of the Security Council, the link between gender equality, peace, and security. The 10th anniversary of this landmark resolution heralds a move toward implementing UN Resolution 1325 in peace and security operations to improve operational effectiveness. Today, gender equality is recognized as a force multiplier in operational planning and execution strategies.

Yet when military planners and policy makers credit what has increased effectiveness in peacekeeping and security operations, they rarely, if ever, mention gender equality. Nevertheless, recent efforts made by UN peacekeeping missions and NATO to implement UN Resolution 1325, show that security actors are more successful when they take into account the different needs, status, and experience of men and women in the local population, and when peace and security missions include women in executing operations and decisionmaking.

A growing body of evidence from the field reveals that the inclusion of women enhances operational effectiveness in three key ways: improved information gathering, enhanced credibility, and better force protection. Empirical evidence underscores the fact that attention to the different needs, interests, and experiences of men and women can enhance the success of a variety of security tasks, to the benefit of both civilians and soldiers.

United Nations Security Council Resolution 1325

UN Resolution 1325 is an internationally recognized legal framework for promoting gender equality and addressing issues affecting women's peace and security at the local, regional, and international levels. UN Resolution 1325 is groundbreaking for several reasons. In the words of former UN Ambassador Anwarul K. Chowdhury:¹

The Security Council expressed for the first time in its history of 55 years its conceptual acceptance that peace is inextricably linked with equality between women and men and affirmed the equal access and full participation of women in power structures and their full involvement in all efforts for peace and security²

Sahana Dharmapuri is an independent gender advisor to a variety of international organizations, including USAID and NATO. She has lectured on gender, peace, and security issues at USAID, the Foreign Service Institute, and Harvard University. Ms. Dharmapuri is currently leading a Gender and Security Seminar Series at the Harvard Kennedy School of Government.

UN Resolution 1325 encompasses a range of complex issues such as judicial and legal reform, security sector reform, peace negotiations, peacekeeping, political participation, and protection from and response to sexual violence in armed conflict. The resolution champions the principle of gender equality above all, and urges the international community to move from aspiration to concrete actions on the ground. Skeptics may argue that UN Resolution 1325 was passed under Chapter VI of the UN Charter, not Chapter VII which invokes coercive enforcement and penalties for noncompliance and therefore UN Resolution 1325 is merely diplomatic window dressing.³ Supporters of UN Resolution 1325 point out that the unanimously passed Security Council resolution and its implementation is bolstered by Article 25 of the UN Charter which states, “Members of the United Nations agree to accept and carry out the decisions of the Security Council in accordance with its present Charter.”⁴

Though slow to act, member states now have or are developing national action plans to implement UN Resolution 1325. Both NATO and the UN Department of Peacekeeping Operations are implementing new mandates on UN Resolution 1325. In 2006, the United Nations Department of Peacekeeping Operations (DPKO) issued its policy directive, “Gender Equality in Peacekeeping Operations.”⁵ In 2007, NATO adopted a Euro-Atlantic Partnership Council (EAPC) policy, tasking member states to develop practical proposals for the implementation of the resolution. In September 2009, NATO approved the Bi-Strategic Command Directive 40-1 *Integrating UNSCR 1325 and Gender Perspectives in the NATO Command Structures Including Measures for Protection During Armed Conflict*. The directive is applicable to all international military headquarters or any other organizations operating with NATO chains of command.⁶ The US armed forces have not yet mandated the implementation of UN Resolution 1325. However, recognizing the need to include women in their efforts in Iraq and Afghanistan, the United States Marine Corps (USMC) created Female Engagement Teams (FETs).⁷ Along these lines, though without specific reference to UN Resolution 1325, the US Central Command’s Office of the Staff Judge Advocate has issued a “Memorandum of Law Concerning Women in Combat Support Operations.”⁸

In 2008 and 2009, the UN Security Council passed Resolutions 1820, 1888, and 1889 (companion resolutions to UN Resolution 1325), signaling a political commitment to advancing the women, peace, and security agenda. UN Resolution 1820 and 1888 address conflict-related sexual violence, while UN Resolution 1889 addresses women’s leadership in peacemaking and conflict prevention. UN Resolution 1889 calls for specific implementation methods, including a monitoring system and a set of indicators on UN Resolution 1325.⁹ A set of indicators was produced in March 2010 in an effort led by UNIFEM. A report on gender and peace-building is also mandated.¹⁰ Despite this progress, significant challenges remain. Only 16 percent of peace agreements contain specific provisions on women’s rights and needs.¹¹ Recent UN reports indicate that less than 8 percent of proposed post-conflict recovery budgets identify spending priorities addressing women’s needs.¹² Only 24 of 192 member states

have initiated national action plans to integrate UN Resolution 1325 into their training and advocacy on women, peace, and security issues.¹³ The top three troop-contributing countries to the UN—India, Pakistan, and Bangladesh—do not have national action plans for UN Resolution 1325.¹⁴

The Security Needs of Men and Women

It is important to note that the resolution calls for attention to “women, peace and security issues” and for “gender mainstreaming.” The question often asked, and with good reason, is “what is the difference between a focus on women, and gender mainstreaming?” Too often the term “gender” is used interchangeably with the word “women.” And too often the promotion of women’s empowerment is confused with using a gender perspective. The historical antecedents of women in development and gender mainstreaming, however, are not the main focus of this article. With regard to UN Resolution 1325, these questions require an answer, albeit a brief one.

The term gender refers to the different needs, experiences, and status of men and women, boys and girls based on a sociocultural context.¹⁵ “Gender mainstreaming” refers to the process of assessing the implications for both men and women of any planned action, program, policy, or legislation. Though women are often the primary beneficiaries of mainstreaming practices because of their disadvantaged position in societies, gender equality concerns the equal rights and opportunities of everyone, to include all males.¹⁶

Adding a gender perspective in peace and security operations illuminates the different threats and opportunities for men and women’s security. Gender awareness improves situational awareness because it provides a sociocultural lens on power relationships, including race, class, poverty level, ethnicity, and age. In the context of peace and security operations, gender awareness identifies the different priorities and abilities of men and women to advance peace and reconstruction efforts.

The following discussion provides examples of women-focused strategies and includes a gender perspective in security operations. Women-focused strategies include, for example, the use of female soldiers to engage with the local female population during security checks. Women-focused strategies are, unfortunately, often stand-alone activities removed from the larger strategic framework. A gender perspective in security operations includes mixed patrols (male and female soldiers) to consult local women and men on such issues as local governance or incidents of sexual violence. A gender perspective ensures that various consultations make a positive contribution to an operation’s ability to increase stability and prevent violence. Gender strategies are most successful when developed in concert with the overall mission strategy.

Evidence of Success

A growing body of evidence shows the application of a gender perspective improves peace and security operations. A review of the existing literature

related to the implementation of UN Resolution 1325 in peacekeeping operations reveals various studies in stabilization and peacekeeping operations in Cambodia, Kosovo, Timor Leste, Afghanistan, Liberia, and the Democratic Republic of Congo.¹⁷ In each of these cases, gender equality is recognized as a force multiplier in the operational planning and mission execution by the political leadership. These studies reveal that attention to gender improves operational effectiveness in three key areas:

- Information gathering.
- Operational credibility.
- Enhanced force protection.

Information Gathering

It is currently estimated that 80 percent of internally displaced persons (IDPs)¹⁸ are women, children, and the elderly in conflict-affected areas globally.¹⁹ Women and children are often the majority of post-conflict populations. It is estimated, for example, that 70 percent of Rwanda's post-genocide population were women and children.²⁰ With this landscape in mind, the different roles, statuses, and experiences of men and women must be taken into account from policy development to strategic planning in both reporting and monitoring activities. Men, women, boys, and girls are affected differently by security reforms, rule of law initiatives, and peace-building efforts based on their roles, statuses, and experiences.²¹ NATO forces, UN peacekeepers, and US forces conducting stabilization operations have discovered that attention to these differences results in a greater understanding of the operational environment. According to NATO's Civil-Military Cooperation Centre of Excellence, greater awareness of gender issues results in an enhancement of overall situational awareness, and better advice to the senior decision maker, "on which he can make better-founded, judicious and balanced decisions."²²

A study of five Provincial Reconstruction Teams (PRTs) in Afghanistan found that greater outreach resulting from communication with both men and women meant that operations received a more nuanced intelligence picture.²³ Information was collected from a broader cross-section of actors in society, which afforded the PRTs a more sophisticated picture of realities on the ground.

A similar study completed by the European Union Institute for Security Studies of Kosovo Force in Bosnia revealed that outside political influences could be detected by examining changes in women's public and private roles.²⁴ According to researchers:

Interviews among local women's NGOs [in Bosnia] told us how the resurgence of ethnic identity has increased the influence of religious conservatism in a society that previously was quite secular In the Muslim community, there is an increasing tendency to wear the veil Although this might be interpreted as free expression of cultural identity . . . we were told . . . that this practice was promoted by Saudi Wahhabi foundations in Bosnia-Herzegovina who provide funding for mosques and directly to families.

Although the United States does not currently have a national action plan for UN Resolution 1325 in place throughout its armed forces, the USMC utilizes female Marines in FETs in targeted security activities in Afghanistan. Interestingly, the use of female Marines for women-focused activities manifested out of necessity, first in Iraq and later in Afghanistan. The “Lionesses,” the precursor to the FETs, were created to address security threats from the female population within conservative regions of Iraq.²⁵ Female soldiers were able to search the Iraqi females for weapons and contraband when male soldiers could not. The creation of the Lionesses and FETs highlights the recognition that female soldiers possess a capability that male soldiers cannot—female soldiers can access a greater segment of the population (women, children, and men) in these culturally conservative regions.²⁶

Because female soldiers have proven to be successful in reaching a larger portion of the local population, the USMC is utilizing FETs in Afghanistan. Other International Security Assistance Force (ISAF) commands in Afghanistan are also employing FETs or similar teams. Task Force Kandahar (TFK), currently under Canadian command, conducts female engagement using teams of female and male soldiers.²⁷ The FETs are provisional teams that have been supporting Operation Enduring Freedom in seven-month rotations since March 2010.²⁸

At present, FETs are mandated to develop a relationship with the local female population, and to make contact with Afghan families through routine patrols, clearing operations, security checks, gathering census information, and engaging key leaders. FETs have found that in some areas Afghan women often possess significant influence over their male relatives. Male Marines are not allowed to converse with women; however, female Marines are free to communicate with both men and women. FETs are more successful when they are in direct support of infantry units. This relationship permits maximum and consistent access to the population. The efforts of these teams in support of security operations and civil affairs projects are being documented and will be incorporated into future pre-deployment training.²⁹

If female engagement teams were a critical component of a comprehensive gender strategy,³⁰ the use of FETs and strategic approach to gender sensitive operations would in all likelihood promote an improvement in women’s status at the local level and support stabilization efforts in the long term.³¹ Whether the full capability and potential of FETs is exercised remains to be seen; the test will be when the United States unveils its national action plan for UN Resolution 1325 in the fall of 2011.³²

Increased Credibility

When women are included in tactical security and policing operations, there is a greater opportunity to mitigate violence and build trust within the affected populations.³³ The all-female, Indian UN Police Unit deployed to Liberia in 2006 is a notable example.³⁴ This UN police unit has over 100 female police

officers capable of conducting riot and crowd control. The Liberian example also demonstrates that the local population's perception of male and female security forces is an important factor in an operation's success. These female police have reduced tensions and built trust with the peacekeeping operation in Liberia.³⁵ They are viewed by the local population as more approachable than their male counterparts. Additionally, they are perceived as having little interest in the possible abuse of their authority and are viewed as more sensitive to the needs of the local population, particularly when it comes to instances of sexual violence.

Globally, studies conducted on the limited number of women deployed in police units show that their contribution is significant; “. . . compared to their male colleagues, women police officers—across cultures—have significantly lower rates of complaints of misconduct, improper use of force, or the inappropriate use of weapons; are less authoritarian when interacting with citizens and lower-ranking officers . . . and are more likely to diffuse potentially violent situations. In addition, they respond more effectively to violence committed against women and are more likely to take action against domestic abuse.”³⁶

Critics may say that including women in operations will create cultural backlash, that female engagement in a Muslim environment will create more problems and offend the local population.³⁷ However, evidence shows the opposite is true: female soldiers and police have access to a greater range of actors in conservative societies because they can meet with all members of society, unlike their male counterparts.³⁸ Experience shows that men in conservative Muslim societies, whether in Afghanistan, Bosnia, or Hebron, prefer interacting with female soldiers.³⁹ A UN study conducted in 2000 on gender mainstreaming in multidimensional operations in Bosnia, Cambodia, El Salvador, Namibia, and South Africa, found that “Women's presence improves access and support for local women; it makes men peacekeepers more reflective and responsible; it broadens the repertoire of skills . . . within the mission, often with the effect of reducing conflict.”⁴⁰

Force Protection Through Enhanced Legitimacy

Mounting evidence reveals that PRTs, police services, and military units operate better when they are integrated with male and female personnel. According to the report *Operational Effectiveness*, produced by the Swedish Defense Research Agency, the inclusion of female soldiers in NATO operations in Afghanistan served to enhance force protection and strengthen security. For example, Italian PRTs used mixed units of male and female personnel to work with local communities, thereby avoiding unnecessary conflict that may have created a backlash against the team.⁴¹ FETs in Iraq and Afghanistan have a similar experience: compound searches are more effective when female Marines can search areas designated as “women's” space. Often this capability has led to the discovery of improvised explosive devices (IEDs) hidden in “women-only” areas within household compounds.⁴²

When PRTs and other security actors in predominantly Muslim nations reach out to local women they often find that female members of the local populace are not as restricted as anticipated. For example, when security actors met and consulted with local women, as in the case of some PRTs in Afghanistan, the Afghan women identified themselves in terms of their public functions—government officials, police officers, and teachers. They often expressed their right to be included as partners in political consultation and decisionmaking. Recognizing women in these public positions serves to strengthen them as political actors, increase their status, stabilize political and military environments.⁴³ When women are consulted and included in the decisionmaking process, it is a sign that progress is being made—new voices are being heard, and the spectrum of political actors is expanding.⁴⁴ According to a UN study on gender and peacekeeping operations, “. . . when at least 30 percent of peacekeepers are female, local women become more involved in the peace process.”⁴⁵ When the local population is included in decisionmaking processes, it permits them to satisfy their interests through dialogue and negotiation instead of violence.

Gender Blindness

Decades of empirical evidence collected by international donors, such as the World Bank, shows that the failure of operations is often due to a gender-blind approach to peace and security operations. Gender blindness means not paying attention to the different needs, interests, and roles of the various actors in a society. Gender-blind approaches to peace negotiations and specific security activities like disarmament, demobilization, and reintegration (DDR), and demining can serve to increase instability and fuel violence.

Women are often victims of, and active participants in, conflict situations. Whether they are forcefully conscripted or join the fighting forces on their own initiative, the participation of female combatants is well documented.⁴⁶ The roles, statuses, and experiences of female combatants are often quite different than those of their male counterparts. These differences not only shape women’s experiences during conflict, but often linger long afterward. During conflict they may serve as bush-wives, cooks, spies, and frontline fighters; they are responsible for establishing camps or carrying weapons. Quite often their role is to collect weapons and hold them in a cache until the fighting ceases, a function that is often overlooked, but critically important when planning for any disarmament.⁴⁷ Qualifications for entry to DDR programs often require combatants to bring in a certain number or type of weapon to the organization, and sometimes require the women to demonstrate a working knowledge of these weapons.⁴⁸ Women and girls may be responsible for establishing weapons caches, but due to their low status they often cannot meet DDR entry requirements.

Excluding females from DDR programs has had serious security consequences. For example, in Sierra Leone, when women and young girls were excluded from the DDR process during the period from 1998 to 2003⁴⁹ they still chose to remain active supporters of a given side in the conflict. Women who could not receive financial support either via a reintegration program or

through relatives often became disenfranchised and frustrated. In 2002, it was these same young women, particularly the ones with children, who instigated riots. Other women reportedly fled the conflict areas to join armed groups across the borders. Planners need to realize that when female members of the population are left out of DDR programs an entire group of combatants remains armed and active.

When women are included in the DDR process, such as happened in the Central African Republic and Kosovo, they are able to assist in locating hidden routes and caches.⁵⁰ In both of these programs, their role as “gun collectors” was recognized as an asset to the overall disarmament effort.

Another example of the negative consequences of gender blindness is taken from the experiences of the Coalition Forces in Iraq. In 2004, Coalition Forces detained and interrogated a woman without any male family members present. The woman was from a Shiite-dominated village, in a fundamentalist area. After returning to her village, no one would trust her. The villagers suspected she might have been raped or abused in some way by the military. As a result, the woman was put to death by stoning and her husband committed suicide because he was unable to protect his wife. Not surprisingly, the villagers were hostile toward Coalition Forces, resulting in less cooperation with members of the village, and there was a decided increase in the number of IEDs and suicide attacks in that area.⁵¹

Other security activities such as demining seem relatively gender-blind—the mine does not care if it kills men or women. But since decisionmakers routinely forget that the majority of the returning population is comprised of women and children who use forests and fields for food, the demining of these areas often comes second to the demining of roads.⁵² A gender-blind approach to demining can result in catastrophic injuries and fatalities suffered disproportionately by women and children.⁵³

Addressing Sexual Violence

With the passage of UN Security Council Resolutions 1820 and 1888, rape is now recognized as a tactic of war deliberately used to intimidate and destabilize populations. UN Resolutions 1888 and 1820 require peace and security operations to acknowledge the fact that sexual violence can contribute to additional violence and conflict.⁵⁴ While rape disproportionately affects women, men are also targets of sexual violence in conflict.⁵⁵ In general, the reporting of sexual violence against men and boys is far less prevalent, and infrequently addressed by the international community.⁵⁶ Cases of sexual and gender-based violence against male victims are usually under-reported. When cases of male rape are reported they are often reported as “torture” rather than rape.⁵⁷

The use of rape and other forms of sexual violence is intended to destabilize populations in myriad ways. The most obvious being the destruction of family and community honor as witnessed in Bosnia, Kosovo, and Darfur.⁵⁸ Rape of women and girls is perceived as an attack on the men of the family’s honor, shaming them for their inability to act as protectors. Sex-based crimes

transmit HIV-AIDS, which further weakens the surviving population, and carries a social stigma.⁵⁹ Female members of society who conceive children as a result of these rapes are further stigmatized and rejected by their partners and communities for having had “sex” outside of marriage, creating a new generation of destitute and impoverished people.⁶⁰

Rape and sexual violence are also used to destabilize the economic productivity of communities. In the case of Darfur, Liberia, and the Democratic Republic of Congo (DRC),⁶¹ the certainty of rape while collecting firewood prevented women from continuing most of their daily activities such as cooking and preparing the fields for planting. In these regions women provide the majority of agricultural labor, tasks that are considered “women’s work.” The threat of rape can disrupt the entire agricultural cycle if women are too afraid to go out and prepare the fields for planting. A recent report by International Alert highlights the economic impact of sexual violence on individuals and communities in conflict in the DRC. One informant for the study noted, “the whole population that was in the interior is now concentrated here in Kiwanja and the township of Rutshuru. They left the periphery and abandoned their fields, but in the meantime they were the ones who were feeding the townships and even the town of Goma. As a result everybody is now living from day to day.”⁶² Sexual violence or even the threat of such acts can instigate a vicious cycle of violence and displacement, having major security consequences. The continued threat of sexual violence often delays the return of refugees and displaced persons to their communities: directly impacting mandates that require the return of refugees and IDPs.⁶³

Due to the lack of a protection doctrine or standard procedures to respond to and prevent sexual violence, security actors, such as UN Peacekeepers, have developed *ad hoc* responses to address this threat. Some of these responses include: installing desks in IDP camps which are staffed with female police trained in taking sexual violence complaints; including female interpreters capable of coordinating patrols with local women; and including female peacekeepers in patrols to register incidents of sexual violence.⁶⁴ Other responses include consultation with local women’s groups on how best to address sexual violence. The European Union Force in the Congo (EUFOR) worked with a women’s organization to identify local organizations that EUFOR personnel could contact if they encountered victims of sexual violence and rape. This contact list was permanently kept in the Joint Operations Center so that it could be accessed at all times.⁶⁵

Another security issue that requires greater attention is the sexual exploitation and abuse of the local population by security forces. Sex-for-food scandals, involvement in prostitution rings, sexual exploitation and abuse of children, and other less than honorable behavior have been widely publicized in a number of peacekeeping operations.⁶⁶ The misconduct of peacekeeping forces, including acts of violence and incidences of human trafficking and prostitution in Liberia, Timor Leste, and Kosovo are well documented.⁶⁷ Sexual exploitation and abuse is both a misconduct issue and a security challenge.

Aside from human rights violations, human trafficking and prostitution rings are highly organized activities, which often depend on various actors in positions of power—including law enforcement and criminal justice officials.⁶⁸ During conflict, the breakdown of law and order contributes to human trafficking and, as such, is relevant to the interests of security actors.⁶⁹ The US Department of State recognizes the complicity of law enforcement officials in trafficking offenses as one of “10 Troubling Governmental Practices.”⁷⁰

The problem persists. In 2010, 39 cases were reported, but the UN only investigated 13 of them.⁷¹ In addition to the need for the United Nations to take a definitive stand on the issue of sexual exploitation and abuse of power by peacekeepers, there is a growing need for additional training and sensitization.

The question that policy makers and practitioners must answer with regard to sexual and gender-based violence, “Is it sufficient for peace and security operations to merely respond to sexual violence during conflict?” The unabated use of sexual violence as a tactic of warfare highlights the probability that simply responding to the problem is not enough; security actors require a clearly defined protection doctrine capable of preventing violence and creating a more secure environment. However, issues related to protection and the responsibility to protect continue to be hotly contested. Efforts by the international community to make UN Resolutions 1325, 1820, and 1888 relevant to the daily tasks involved in security operations may aid in moving this issue forward.

Just “Add Women and Stir”

Peace and security missions face a plethora of challenges today. Conflict and post-conflict situations are extremely complex, often including combat operations as well as peacekeeping missions. All operations face funding constraints and the political pressures associated with their mission mandates. In today’s world, the goals of gender equality and peacekeeping seem lofty and idealistic. Indeed, the tendency to “just add women and stir” combined with limited cultural sensitivity and a lack of knowledge about the roles women play in conflicts are certain to cause more harm than good.

UN Resolution 1325 urges us to move beyond basic principles to concrete action in a strategic and analytical fashion. Women and men who are well trained and understand the benefits of a gender perspective to the accomplishment of their mission can lead more successful security operations. When women are included in disarmament, demobilization, and reintegration programs, the ability to capture more arms and various weapons caches is enhanced. Gender analysis shows that when women are included in peace negotiations and decisionmaking, there are more moderate voices advancing the interests of the most marginalized groups. The inclusion of women in consultations makes it likely that more members of a society will benefit from stabilization efforts.

While there is room for debate on how to implement UN Resolution 1325 in daily operations, it is difficult to dispute the evidence from the field showing the effectiveness of the employment of a gender perspective. Additionally, the

instrumental role the empowerment of women plays in peace and security initiatives is key to the operational success of a variety of missions. Obviously, the inclusion of women in operations is a key factor, but to truly leverage the benefits that a gender perspective affords, planners and policy makers—both male and female—require additional training if we are going to apply a gender perspective more consistently. While the growing number of national action plans and policy directives related to UN Resolution 1325 is a positive sign, additional field research is required in an effort to further develop policies on how best to apply a gender perspective in daily operations. Ongoing monitoring and evaluations are necessary to assess the effectiveness of these activities.

There are limits to what UN Resolution 1325 can do. It cannot, for example, address the problem of unclear mandates, or the lack of a protection doctrine. But, if implemented correctly, gender equality, per UN Resolution 1325, can improve operational effectiveness to the benefit of both the military and civilians. What is required above all is a commitment to gender equality in order to move from aspiration to action.

NOTES

1. Security Council press statement on the theme of women, peace, and security on March 8, 2000, International Women's Day. This prepared the way for the passage of UN Resolution 1325 in October 2000.

2. Ambassador Anwarul K. Chowdhury, "Doable Fast-Track Indicators for Turning the 1325 Promise into Reality" (Paper presented at the United States Institute for Peace Working Group Meeting Implementing UN Resolution 1325, Lessons and Experiences a Decade On, Washington, DC: United States Institute for Peace, July 27, 2010), <http://www.usip.org/newsroom/multimedia/video-gallery/session-ii-women-peace-and-security-fulfilling-the-vision-1325> (accessed April 19, 2011)

3. Torunn L. Tryggestad, "Trick or Treat? The UN Implementation of Security Council Resolution 1325 on Women, Peace, and Security," *Global Governance* 15 (4) (2009): 539-557, <http://www.prio.no/Research-and-Publications/Publication/?oid=52131930> (accessed April 19, 2011)

4. Charter of the United Nations, Chapter V: The Security Council, Article 25, www.un.org/en/documents/charter/chapter5.shtml (accessed April 19, 2011).; Sanam Anderlini, *Women Building Peace* (London: Lynne Rienner Publications, 2007), 196-197

5. UN Department of Peacekeeping Operations (DPKO). *Gender Equality in UN Peacekeeping Operations, 2006*. For full text of the DPKO policy on gender, see <http://www.un.org/womenwatch/feature/wps/Policy%20directive%20gender%20equality%20FINAL%202006.pdf> (accessed April 19, 2011).

6. Including the gender dimension in all stages of the operational process—in the design, planning, implementation, monitoring and evaluation of policies and programs—is beneficial to achieving NATO's mission. "NATO Committee on Gender Perspectives (NCGP) Recommendations on Implementation of UNSCR 1325," http://www.nato.int/issues/women_nato/pdf/2010/BrochureGender.pdf (accessed April 19, 2011).

7. Colonel N. L. Cooling, USMC, Camp Lejeune, and Captain Emily Naslund, Commanding Officer of the FET Company operating in Afghanistan's Regional Command Southwest, e-mail interviews by the author, August 9, 2010.

8. Paula Broadwell, "Women at War," *The New York Times*, October 20, 2009. "[The Memorandum] explicitly condones the use of F.E.Ts," <http://www.nytimes.com/2009/10/21/opinion/21iht-edbroadwell> (accessed April 19, 2011); Captain Matt Pottinger, Hali Jilani, and Claire Russo, "Half-Hearted: Trying to Win Afghanistan Without Afghan Women," *Small Wars Journal*,

February 18, 2010, <http://smallwarsjournal.com/blog/2010/02/trying-to-win-afghanistan-with> (accessed April 19, 2011).

9. The indicators are contained in the report of the Secretary-General S/2010/173 dated April 6, 2010, http://www.un.org/ga/search/view_doc.asp?symbol=S/2010/173 (accessed April 19, 2011)

10. United Nations Development Fund for Women (UNIFEM) 1325 Highlights Fact Sheet 2010, <http://www.unifem.org/afghanistan/media/pubs/factsheet/10/index.html> (accessed April 19, 2011)

11. United Nations, *Women Count for Peace: The 2010 Open Days on Women, Peace, and Security* (New York: United Nations, 2010), 8.

12. Ibid.

13. Countries with existing National Action Plans include: Austria, Belgium, Bosnia-Herzegovina, Canada, Chile, Cote D'Ivoire, Denmark, The Netherlands, Estonia, Finland, France, Iceland, Liberia, Nepal, Norway, the Philippines, Portugal, Rwanda, Sierra Leone, Spain, Sweden, Switzerland, Uganda, and the United Kingdom. For current information on countries that are drafting new National Action Plans to implement UN Resolution 1325, see <http://www.peacewomen.org/pages/about-1325/national-action-plans-naps> (accessed April 19, 2011).

14. United Nations, *Background Note: United Nations Peacekeeping* (New York: United Nations, 2011), 5, <http://www.un.org/en/peacekeeping/documents/backgroundnote.pdf> (accessed April 19, 2011).

15. United Nations, Office of the Special Advisor on Gender Issues and Advancement of Women, *Gender Mainstreaming: Strategy for Promoting Gender Equality* (New York: United Nations, 2001), <http://www.un.org/womenwatch/osagi/pdf/factsheet1.pdf> (accessed April 19, 2011).

16. Ibid.

17. United Nations, Lessons Learned Unit, Department of Peacekeeping Operations, *Maintaining a Gender Perspective in Multidimensional Peace Operations* (New York: United Nations, 2000) http://openlibrary.org/books/OL3632351M/Mainstreaming_a_gender_perspective_in_multidimensional_peace_operations (accessed April 19, 2011); Louise Olson, *Gender Equality and United Nations Peace Operations in Timor Leste* (International Peacekeeping) (New York: Brill, 2009); Judy Batt and Johanna Valenius, *Gender Mainstreaming: Implementing UNSCR 1325 in ESDP Missions* (EU Institute for Security Studies, 3 July 2006); Cheryl Bernard et al., *Women and Nation-Building* (Santa Monica, CA: Rand Center for Middle East Public Policy, 2008); Solhjell Randi, *Gender Dynamics in Peace Operations* (MONUC) (Norwegian Institute of International Affairs, 2011), <http://english.nupi.no/Activities/Programmes2/Training-for-Peace/Projekter/Gender-Dynamics-in-Peace-Operations-MONUC> (accessed April 19, 2011).

18. United Nations, Office of the United Nations High Commissioner for Human Rights, Special Rapporteur on the Human Rights of Internally Displaced Persons Questions and Answers About IDPs, <http://www2.ohchr.org/http://www2.ohchr.org/english/issues/idp/issues.htm> (accessed April 19, 2011); UN Women, Post-Conflict & Humanitarian Planning (United Nations Entity for Gender Equality and the Empowerment of Women), http://www.unifem.org/gender_issues/women_war_peace/post_conflict_humanitarian_planning.php.

19. Dale Buscher and Carolyn Makinson, "Protection of IDP women, children and youth," (FMR/Brookings-Bern Special Issue, Women's Refugee Commission 15, n.d.), http://womensrefugeecommission.org/docs/fmr_protection.pdf (accessed April 19, 2011).

20. Elizabeth Powley, *Strengthening Governance: The Role of Women in Rwanda's Transition* (Washington, DC: Hunt Alternatives Fund, 2004), 5.

21. Barker, Gary, *Men Masculinities and Conflict: What does the research tell us?* (Rio de Janeiro, Brazil: Instituto Promundo, n.d.), (http://www.hks.harvard.edu/cchrp/initiatives/hr_lab/GenderAndSecurity/Slides_Barker_MenMasculinites_20110228.pdf) (accessed April 19, 2011).

22. Civil-Military Co-operation Centre of Excellence (CCOE), *Gender Makes Sense: A Way to Improve Your Mission* (The Netherlands: CCOE, NATO, 2008), 10.

23. Louise Olsson and Johan Tejpar (eds) et al., *Operational Effectiveness and UN Resolution 1325—Practices and Lessons Learned from Afghanistan*. (Stockholm: Swedish Defence Research Agency, 2009) 117, <http://www2.foi.se/rapp/foir2760.pdf> (accessed April 19, 2011).

24. Batt and Valenius, *Gender Mainstreaming*, 11.
25. Regional Command Southwest Press Room, *Female Engagement Team* (USMC), <http://regionalcommandsouthwest.wordpress.com/about/female-engagement-team-usmc/> (accessed April 19, 2011).
26. Captain Emily Naslund, e-mail interview by author, August 9, 2010.
27. Brenda Opperman (Stability Operations and Development Advisor (SODA) for Regional Command-South (RC-S), ISAF, Afghanistan), e-mail correspondence with author, April 17, 2011.
28. Captain Emily Naslund, e-mail interview by author, "General Background: An Augment Female Engagement Team Program was created under Colonel Yarnell," August 9, 2010.
29. Captain Emily Naslund, e-mail interviews August 9, 2010, February 3, 2011, and an in-person interview, November 29, 2010, Norfolk, VA.
30. Brenda Opperman (Stability Operations and Development Advisor (SODA) for Regional Command-South (RC-S), ISAF, Afghanistan), e-mail correspondence with author, April 19, 2011.
31. Brenda Opperman (Stability Operations and Development Advisor (SODA) for Regional Command-South (RC-S), ISAF, Afghanistan), telephone interview by author, April 1, 2011.
32. United States Agency for International Development, "U.S. Moves to Fulfill UN Resolution on Women, Peace and Security," *USAID Press Release*, March 8, 2011, http://www.peacewomen.org/news_article.php?id=3219&type=news (accessed April 19, 2011).
33. Donna Bridges and Debbie Horsfall, "Increasing Operational Effectiveness in UN Peacekeeping: Toward a Gender-Balanced Force," *Armed Forces & Society* 36 (May 29, 2009): 122,125, <http://afs.sagepub.com/content/36/1/120.full.pdf> (accessed April 19, 2011).
34. United Nations, *Gender Sensitive Police Reform in Post-Conflict Societies* (New York: UNIFEM, 2010), 2; International Herald Tribune, "India's toughest women gear up for UN deployment to violence-torn Liberia," Friday September 8, 2006. http://www.huntalternatives.org/download/234_9_8_06_india_s_toughest_women_gear_up_for_u_n_deployment_to_violence_torn_liberia_.pdf (accessed April 19, 2011).
35. Lea Angela Biason (Associate Gender Expert, UN Police Division, Strategic Policy and Development Section (SPDS) Office of the Rule of Law and Security Institutions, Department of Peacekeeping Operations), "Engaging Women in Security, Defense, and Peacekeeping in Southeastern Europe," presentation, Naval Post Graduate School Working Group Meeting, Washington, DC, June 24, 2010; Sanjoy Majumder, "Indian Women to Keep Liberia Peace," BBC News, September 8, 2006, http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/hi/south_asia/5323140.stm (accessed April 19, 2011).
36. Dyan Mazurana and Eugenia Piza Lopez, *Gender Mainstreaming in Peace Support Operations: Moving Beyond Rhetoric to Practice* (International Alert: July 2002), 27. http://www.timor-leste.org/gender/Gender_Mainstream_PSOs_International_Alert.pdf (accessed April 19, 2011).
37. Cheryl Bernard et al., *Women and National Building*, 55.
38. Karen Hostens, "The Temporary International Presence in Hebron: A Civilian International Observer Mission," in *Gender Aspects of Conflict Interventions: Intended and Unintended Consequences, Case Studies on the United Nations Mission in Eritrea/Ethiopia (UNMEE), the NATO Stabilization Force in Bosnia and Herzegovina (SFOR) and the Temporary International Presence in Hebron (TIPH), Final Report to the Norwegian Ministry of Foreign Affairs*, ed. Louise Ollson et al. (Oslo: 2004), 47.
39. Batt and Valenius, *Gender Mainstreaming*, 8, 9.
40. Bridges and Horsfall, "Increasing Operational Effectiveness," 125; Lessons Learned Unit, Department of Peacekeeping Operations, *Maintaining a Gender Perspective*.
41. Louise Olsson and Johan Tejpar et al. (eds), *Operational Effectiveness and UN Resolution 1325*, 117.
42. Captain Emily Naslund, interview by author, November 29, 2010 and December 12, 2010, Norfolk, VA.
43. Louise Olsson and Johan Tejpar et al. (eds), *Operational Effectiveness and UN Resolution 1325*, 127.

44. Louise Olsson, *Equal Peace? Consequences of Peace Operations for Local Gender Relations*, page 3 quoting Hudson (2005: 157) and Waylen (1994), http://www.allacademic.com/meta/p_mla_apa_research_citation/0/9/8/0/9/pages98098/p98098-4.php (accessed April 19, 2011).
45. Lessons Learned Unit, Department of Peacekeeping Operations, Maintaining a Gender Perspective; Bridges and Horsfall, "Increasing Operational Effectiveness," 122.
46. Tsjeard Bouta, Georg Frerks, and Ian Bannon, *Gender, Conflict, and Development*, (Washington, DC: The World Bank, 2005), 11.
47. Natalie De Watteville, "Addressing Gender Issues in Demobilization and Reintegration Programs," *Africa Region Working Paper Series* (Washington, DC: The World Bank, May 2002).
48. Dyan Mazurana and Khristopher Carlson, *From Combat to Community: Women and Girls of Sierra Leone* (Washington, DC: Women Waging Peace Policy Commission Report, January 2004), 2, http://www.huntalternatives.org/download/1791_sierra_leone_exec_summ_feb04.pdf (accessed April 19, 2011).
49. Ibid.
50. Sanam Anderlini and Camille Pampel Conaway, "Security Sector Reform," *Inclusive Security, Sustainable Peace: A Toolkit for Advocacy and Action* (Washington, DC: International Alert and The Initiative for Inclusive Security, 2007), 21.
51. Civil-Military Co-operation Centre of Excellence (CCOE), *Gender Makes Sense*, 22.
52. Marcia E. Greenberg and Elaine Zuckerman, "The Gender Dimensions of Post-Conflict Reconstruction: The Challenges of Development Aid," in *Making Peace Work: The Challenges of Social and Economic Reconstruction*, eds. Tony Addison and Tilman Brück (New York: Palgrave MacMillan, UNU-WIDER, 2009), 6-20. http://www.generation.org/images/GenderDimensionsPCR_2009.pdf
53. Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD), "Conflict, Peace-building Disarmament, Security: g) Gender Perspectives on Landmines," (prepared by the United Nations Department for Disarmament Affairs, New York, March 2001), <http://www.oecd.org/dataoecd/3/28/1896552.pdf> (accessed April 19, 2011).
54. A comprehensive examination of the issues related to sexual and gender-based violence in conflict and post-conflict zones is beyond the scope of this paper. However, a brief discussion of a few salient points regarding the different experiences of men and women, boys and girls, with regard to sexual and gender-based violence in conflict and post-conflict is necessary to highlight key security issues.
55. United Nations Development Fund for Women (UNIFEM), *Addressing Conflict-Related Sexual Violence: An Analytical Inventory of Peacekeeping Practice To Respond to Sexual Violence* (New York: United Nations, 2010), 15, http://www.unifem.org/attachments/products/Analytical_Inventory_of_Peacekeeping_Practice_online.pdf (accessed April 19, 2011).
56. Jeanne Ward, *If Not Now, When? Addressing Gender-Based Violence in Refugee, Internally Displaced and Post-Conflict Settings: A Global Overview*, (Reproductive Health Response in Conflict (RHRC), 2007), <http://www.rhrc.org/resources/gbv/ifnotnow.html> (accessed April 19, 2011).
57. Johanna Valenius, *Chaillot, Paper no 101, Gender Mainstreaming in ESDP Missions* (Paris: EU Institute for Security Studies, May 2007), 25, http://www.eulex-kosovo.eu/training/hrgi/docs/Gender_Mainstreaming_in_ESDP_missions_Chaillot_Paper_101_J_Valenius.pdf (accessed April 19, 2011); Sanam Anderlini, *Women Building Peace: What They Do, Why It Matters* (London: Lynne Rienner, 2007), 162.
58. Sanam Anderlini, *Women Building Peace*, 30.
59. Bannon, Frerks, and Bouta, *Gender, Conflict, and Development*, 37.
60. Jocelyn Kelly, "Sexual and Gender-Based Violence as a Security Issue—Societal, Economic, and Political Effects of SGBV in the Democratic Republic of Congo," (a Harvard Humanitarian Initiative presentation at the Carr Center for Human Rights, March 21, 2011).
61. Marion Pratt and Leah Werchick, "Sexual Terrorism, Rape as Weapon of War in Eastern Democratic Congo: An Assessment of Programmatic Responses to Sexual Violence in North Kivu, South Kivu, Maniema, and Orientale Provinces" (Washington, DC: United States Agency for

International Development Assessment Report, 2004), http://pdf.usaid.gov/pdf_docs/PNADK346.pdf (accessed April 19, 2011).

62. Chris Dolan, *The War is Not Yet Over: Community Perceptions of Sexual Violence and its Underpinnings in Eastern DRC* (European Union: International Alert, November 2010), 26, <http://www.international-alert.org/sites/default/files/publications/1011WarIsNotYetOverEng.pdf> (accessed April 19, 2011).

63. United Nations Development Fund for Women (UNIFEM), *Addressing Conflict-Related Sexual Violence*, 17.

64. *Ibid.*, 16.

65. Giji Gya, Charlotte Isaksson, and Marta Martinelli. “Report on ESDP Missions in the Democratic Republic of the Congo (DRC)” (Executive Summary, Background paper for the conference From Commitment to Action—The EU Delivering to Women in Conflict and Post-Conflict: Implementing SCT 1325 and 1820 in EU missions: Improving immediate and long-term security for women, Brussels: Council of the European Union and UNIFEM, 10 October 2008), http://www.isis-europe.org/pdf/2009_artrel_242_esdp&drc-gender-report.pdf (accessed April 19, 2011).

66. Sue Nelson, Jeannine Guthrie, and Pamela Sumner Coffey, *Literature Review and Analysis Related to Human Trafficking in Post-Conflict Situations* (Washington, DC: US Agency for International Development, June 2004), http://www.usaid.gov/our_work/cross-cutting_programs/wid/pubs/trafficking_dai_lit_review.pdf (accessed April 19, 2011); Corinna Csáky, *No One to Turn To: The Under-Reporting of Child Sexual Exploitation and Abuse by Aid Workers and Peacekeepers* (London: Save The Children, 2008), 8, 11, http://www.un.org/en/pseataaskforce/docs/no_one_to_turn_under_reporting_of_child_sea_by_aid_workers.pdf (accessed April 19, 2011).

67. *Human Security Report Project, Peacekeepers and Sexual Violence in Armed Conflict* (Geneva: Geneva Center for the Democratic Control of Armed Forces, 18 August 2009), http://www.humansecuritygateway.com/documents/DCAF_Peacekeepers_SexualViolence_ArmedConflict.pdf (accessed April 19, 2011); Amnesty International, “So does that mean I have rights?” Protecting the human rights of women and girls trafficked for forced prostitution in Kosovo (London, 2004), 1, <http://www.un-ngls.org/orf/Amnesty-EUR7001004.pdf> (accessed April 19, 2011).

68. Bannon, Frerks, and Bouta, *Gender, Conflict, and Development*, 36.

69. Amnesty International, So does that mean I have rights?, 1.

70. United States Department of State, *Trafficking in Persons Report 2010*, <http://www.state.gov/g/tip/rls/tiprpt/2010/142750.htm#> (accessed April 19, 2011).

71. Natsuko Fukue, “Japan Urged to Back Equality Push,” *Japan Times*, September 15, 2010, <http://search.japantimes.co.jp/cgi-bin/nn20100915f1.html> (accessed April 19, 2011).