Do Women Matter in Women in Police, Military

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Cette auteure documente et analyse l'impact de la présence des femmes l'intérieur des forces policières, militaires et civiles sur les éléments pacificateurs. Elle a trouvé que les dirigeantes pacifistes et conscientisées aux genres ne sont pas assez nombreuses pour changer les structures mâles des opérations pour la paix. Néanmoins leur présence affecte positivement les interactions dans la population locale et les perceptions envers les processus de paix.

For over 50 years UN peacekeeping has been a means of international intervention in armed conflict. Yet, few women participated in designing or carrying out these operations.

Women peacekeepers and gender-aware leaders are not sufficient to change the male-dominated structure of peacekeeping. Even so, their presence positively affects aspects of local populations interactions and perceptions towards peacekeeping operations. In this paper I evaluate some roles, influences and consequences of women's participation in United Nations (UN) peacekeeping operations. I examine these characteristics within police, military and civilian components. For over 50 years UN peacekeeping has been a means of international intervention in armed conflict. Yet, few women participated in designing or carrying out these operations. Although the UN can request, Member States ultimately decide who to send for police, military, and government peacekeeping assignments. The UN did not issue specific requests for women peacekeepers until 1994, corresponding with a high demand for peacekeepers—78,500 in 1993, 76,500 in 1994, and 68,900 in 1995 (Kaufholz; Renner). When the call did go out, Member States largely ignored it (Helland, Karame, Kristensen and Skjelsbaek).

Between 1957 and 1989, Jill Beilstein concluded that 20 women served as UN peacekeepers out of 26,250 troops. For the same time period, William Durch and Michael Renner record 426,600 peacekeepers. Regardless of the source, the inclusion of women peacekeepers is rare. In 1993, in 11 of the 15 ongoing peacekeeping operations, women represented 33 percent of all civilian staff (Beilstein), with the percentage of women in civilian police and military unknown because of lack of record keeping. At the end of 2000, women constituted 25 percent of the 38,900 peacekeepers active as professional staff, 51 percent of general service staff, 15 percent of field staff, 26 percent of local staff, three percent of military personnel, and four percent of civilian police personnel (UN DPKO).

Table 1, "Women in Active United Nations Peacekeeping Operations," provides the percentage of women all UN peacekeeping operations as of Spring 2001. Of the peacekeeping operations for which data are available (13 of 16), women represent a small percentage of personnel in these peacekeeping operations and constitute fewer than ten percent in over half of the operations. In particular, women represent a small proportion of military and civilian police personnel. Never did they exceed six percent of military personnel or 16 percent of civilian police, representing five percent or less in five of the six operations using civilian police. Women range from zero to 36 percent of professional staff in any given peacekeeping operation. However, women compose the greatest proportion of non-professional civilian positions. These positions provide administrative and operational assistance to civilian professional staff positions, which deal with substantive administrative and political aspects of the peacekeeping operation.

While data are available on the number and sex of civilian, police, and military personnel within UN peacekeeping, no comparable data exist on civilian personnel sent by intergovernmental, international, regional, national or nongovernmental organizations. Nor are there published statistics on the private security companies, foreign government representatives, or contract personnel in the host nation (Feinstein International Famine Center and International Alert; Nakano and Seiple). More information is needed about these groups and their interaction with local populations to understand the dynamics of peacekeeping operations and post-conflict reconstruction.

Peacekeeping? and Civilian Peacekeeping

Women and UN Civilian Police

During the conflict, the local, national, or military police forces may have repeatedly violated human rights and thus been feared and reviled by local populations. Consequently, the task of UN civilian police (CIVPOL) is not only to provide security at numerous levels but also to help establish the local population's trust in the police as an institution. At a minimum, the role of CIVPOL is to document and attempt to prevent abusive and unlawful behavior. When called on, CIVPOL must be available to help strengthen the rule of law, in conjunction with international and national judicial, penal, and human rights experts. CIVPOL's responsibilities increasingly include restructuring and supporting national police and judicial systems in accordance with international standards of criminal justice, human rights, and democracy, a task with profound short- and long-term implications (Panel on the United Nations Peace Operation).

Historically, CIVPOL contingents included very few women police officers. In 1993, women represented one percent of CIVPOL personnel (Beilstein) and by the end of 2000 made up four percent. Given these low percentages, it is worth noting that CIVPOL is among the few departments within the United Nations that actively recruits women for peacekeeping and has done so for years.

Why are there so few women in CIVPOL? Few countries send women for CIVPOL duties, in part because in most Member States where women are in the police forces, they typically serve as desk officers and traffic police; exceptions include Norway, Sweden, Canada, Great Britain, and the United States (Fitzsimmons). The percentage of women drops considerably when looking at any country's military police (Enloe 2000). In countries where women make up a significant portion of the national police force, they rarely constitute a significant presence in peacekeeping operations. Studies also indicate that gender influences participation in CIVPOL. For example, studies in Canada find that because of the gendered-distribution of household labor, women police officers are less likely to request postings with CIVPOL police because of the length of time required away from their families (Mazurana and Piza-Lopez).

Only a few attempt to analyze the role of gender in CIVPOL operations, but their findings indicate that gender affects policing (Fitzsimmons; Olsson 1999). International studies on women and policing find that,

> Women police officers use force less frequently than their male counterparts, are less authoritarian when interacting with citizens and lower-ranking officers, have better communication and negotiation skills, and are more likely than male officers to diffuse potentially violent situations. (Fitzsimmons 270)

With regard to the need to address gender-based violence in conflict and post-conflict situations, studies found that

> women police officers respond more effectively to violence committed against women, and are more likely to take action against domestic abuse. (Fitzsimmons 271)

Also compared to their male colleagues, women police officers have significantly lower rates of complaints of misconduct, improper use of force, or inappropriate use of weapons. In operations in Namibia the United Nations Transitional Assistance Group (UNTAG), the United Nations Observer Mission in South Africa (UNMOSA), and the United Nations Assistance Mission in Rwanda (UNAMIR), local women reported finding it easier to approach female peacekeepers to address a problem, especially regarding gender-based violence. Within the context of peacekeeping, studies on South Africa and Haiti support these results for women as peacekeepers and as members of the new police forces (Fitzsimmons).

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Table 1
Women in Active United Nations Peacekeeping Operations (Average Percentage Per Year)

Peacekeeping Operation[a]	Year[b]		Professional Staff[c] (%)		General Service[d] (%)		Field Service[e] (%)	
	Local Staff[f] (%)	Military Personnel[g] (%)		Civilian Police[h] (%)		Women Overall[i] (%)		
MINURSO	1997	20	34	9	21	3	0	10
	1998	15	35	15	19	2	0	10
	1999	16	35	16	19	3	8	13
	2000	19	28	23	21	3	12	15
UNAMSIL	1998	20	80	5	45	4	0	18
	1999	20	40	15	22	2	0	13
	2000	18	59	21	30	1	—	6
	2001	19	63	21	20	1	0	2
UNDOF	1997	0	—	20	22	3	—	5
	1998	3	79	13	24	2	—	5
	1999	18	84	16	21	4	—	5
	2000	0	100	22	15	3	—	5
	2001	0	88	24	14	4	—	6
UNFICYP	1997	—	—	23	29	3	15	6
	1998	27	100	14	32	2	16	8
	1999	36	100	5	29	5	14	9
	2000	32	100	11	30	3	11	8
	2001	30	100	4	31	2	6	- -
UNIFIL	1998	13	51	6	13	4	—	7
	1999	17	83	13	14	2	—	3
	2000	15	90	12	14	2	—	3
UNIKOM	1998	15	70	14	18	0.3	—	3
	1999	10	56	8	20	0.3	—	4
	2000	13	48	17	20	0.4	—	4
	2001	10	57	19	21	0.4	—	4
UNMIBH	1998	32	55	8	49	0	3	21
	1999	34	55	10	52	6	4	24
	2000	32	65	12	53	3	5	26
	2001	30	63	14	52	0	5	25
UNMIK	1999	24	48	14	7	0	2	16
	2000	27	50	4	26	0	3	20
	2001	30	55	15	31	0	4	21
UNMOGIP	1998	0	—	24	4	0	—	5
	1999	0	—	17	11	0	—	7
	2000	0	—	16	11	0	—	7
	2001	0	—	16	12	0	—	8
UNMOP	1998	50	100	0	40	0	—	11
	2000	0	100	0	50	0	—	11
UNOMIG	1998	22	64	3	40	1	—	20
	1999	34	57	2	35	1	—	19
	2000	23	70	9	31	1	—	19
	2001	20	83	10	29	1	—	19
UNTAET	2000	24	54	21	13	3	3	6
	2001	28	59	27	11	3	4	7
UNTSO	1998	0	85	6	15	1	—	8
	1999	12	93	5	15	1	—	8
	2000	21	100	11	18	3	—	11
	2001	20	100	10	15	5	—	11

Source: Data presented is calculated from data compiled by the United Nations Department of Peacekeeping Operations (DPKO) and provided to the author. DPKO sex-disaggregated data are based on field reports from all on-gowing United Nations peacekeeping operations. All years for which sex-disaggregated data exist for particular peacekeeping operations are included.

[a]United Nations Mission for the Referendum in Western Sahara (MINURSO), April 1991-present; United Nations Mission in Sierra Leone (UNAMSIL), October 1999-present; United Nations Disengagement Observation Force (UNDOF), June 1974-present; United Nations Peacekeeping Force in Cyprus (UNFICYP), March 1964-present; United Nations Interim Force in Lebanon (UNIFIL), March 1978-present; United Nations Iraq-Kuwait Observation Mission (UNIKOM), April 1991-present; United Nations Mission in Bosnia and Herzegovina (UNMIBH), December 1995-present; United Nations Interim Administration Mission in Kosovo (UNMIK), June 1999-present; United Nations Military Observer Group in India and Pakistan (UNMOGIP), January 1949-present; United Nations Mission of Observers in Prevlaka (UNMOP), January 1996-present; United Nations Observer Mission in Georgia (UNOMIG), August 1993-present; United Nations Transitional Administration in East Timor (UNTAET), October 1999-present; United Nations Truce Supervision Organization (UNTSO), June 1948-present. No data are presently available for United Nations Organization Mission in the Democratic Republic of the Congo (MONUC), the United Nations Miss ion in Ethiopia and Eritrea (UNMEE), or the upcoming mission in Afghanistan.

[b]The percentages of women peacekeepers given represent an average of data from all reports from the particular peacekeeping operation for the given year.

[c]Positions with United Nations peacekeeping operations fall under two categories: professional and non-professional. Professional Staff are those people who deal with higher substantive issues related to administrative and political matters, including finance, transport, operations, political affairs, human rights, humanitarian affairs, public information, civil affairs, and child protection. Professionals must hold a master's degree or higher.

[d]Non-professional positions are held by those people who provide assistance to Professional Staff and include General Service and Field Service personnel. General Service includes all administrative and operational assistance within the peacekeeping operation, including assistance regarding transport, finance, personnel, etc.

[e]Field Service positions are similar to General Service in that they are nonprofessional positions that provide administrative and operational assistance in the field.

[f]Military Personnel include all United Nations Headquarters military staff, troops, and military observers active within the peacekeeping operation.

[g]Civilian Police includes all international civilian police active within the peacekeeping operation.

[h]Women as a percentage of the total staff of the peacekeeping operation.

Leaders aware of gender issues within policing in peacekeeping operations reached similar conclusions. Although some leaders involved in UN peacekeeping—Elizabeth Rehn during her tenure as Special Representative for the Secretary-General to the United Nations Mission in Bosnia and Herzegovina (UNMIBH) and Angela King as head of mission during United Nations Observer Mission to South Africa (UNOMSA)—have noted that women in CIVPOL improved interactions with local populations, particularly local women, such gender-aware leadership does not guarantee greater participation by women (Olsson 1999).

The majority of peacekeeping operations lack gender-aware leadership and none have mainstreamed gender perspectives. For example, even though it was headed by a gender-aware Special Representative to the Secretary-General and women represented 30-50 percent of the civilian component, the operation to Namibia (UNTAG) had very low numbers of women police officers and none of the CIVPOL personnel had specialized knowledge about violence against women and gender-based violence (Olsson 2001). Of the five peacekeeping operations operating in 2001 that featured systematic and widespread use of gender-based sexual and physical abuse of women and girls as a weapon of war—United Nations Mission in Bosnia and Herzegovina (UNMIBH), UN Interim Administration Mission in Kosovo (UNMIK), UN Mission in Sierra Leone (UNAMSIL), and UN Transitional Administration in East Timor (UNTAET), UN Organization Mission in Democratic Republic of Congo (MONUC)—the numbers of women CIVPOL were low (see Table 1). Moreover in Sierra Leone, where gender-based attacks were central to the conflict, neither UNAMSIL police nor military forces received training on women's rights or violence against women before deployment (Human Rights Watch).

Gender appears to play a prominent role in police peacekeeping personnel interaction with the local population. In a positive vein, reports from Namibia (UNTAG), South Africa (UNMOSA) and Rwanda (UNAMIR) found that the local populations were more comfortable working with civilian police teams comprised of both men and women. In all of these operations, women police peacekeepers were seen by locals as less threatening, more willing to listen, and better able to diffuse potentially violent situations (Helland *et al.*; Olsson 1999, 2001).

Yet gender can also have negative impacts, including a role in the sexual and physical abuse, torture, and murder of local civilians (Fetherston 1995, 1998; Mazurana and McKay; Whitworth 1998). In Cambodia local women's organizations lodged numerous complaints against male UN Transitional Authority (UNTAC) civilian police and military peacekeepers including sexual harassment, sexual abuse, and protested the dramatic increases in prostitution (including child prostitution) and HIV/AIDS among local populations. For a time, the majority of people seeking hospital assistance were children, victims of sexual assault by UN peacekeepers. The response from UNTAC's leadership was to warn peacekeepers to be more discrete, including removing their UN uniforms and parking their vehicles away from the massage parlors and brothels. The other response was to order an additional 800,000 condoms; the force totaled 23,000 (Whitworth 1998).

Reconstructing national police forces is among the most crucial tasks of CIVPOL. Yet training and reconstruction of the police has often failed to challenge their male-centered identity and ideology. Those countries that do consider issues relating to gender and women mainly focus on recruiting a small percentage of women to those forces. Adding women into otherwise male-dominated institutions is not sufficient. In El Salvador, for example, where CIVPOL help re-establish the police, the percentage of women police officers has declined from eight to fewer than six percent. Although women account for seven percent of the new police force in Haiti, male officers often refuse to patrol with them and routinely withhold sources or leads that might contribute to the effectiveness of the women officers' cases (Fitzsimmons). Thus,

> "gendered policing" must change more than just the gender composition of the police forces. It must also reform the way police departments, as institutions, treat women officers and victims of crimes against women. These reforms must alter the "male" identity of the police institution. (Fitzsimmons 269)

Women and Military Peacekeeping

Military personnel make up the majority of most peacekeeping operations. The foremost role of the military is to provide security—for the military component itself, other contingents of the peacekeeping operation, local government officials, and civilians. The military plays a lead role in supervision and enforcement of ceasefires, regroupment and disarmament of forces, destruction of weapons, and demining. Increasingly, militaries participate in protection, such as the safe return of refugees and internally displaced persons and the distribution and provision of humanitarian assistance.

Military components within peacekeeping missions are predominately composed of men who hold nearly all senior military posts in peacekeeping operations. No military woman has ever held a senior command post in a UN operation. DPKO, the department that coordinates the UN military response, currently has no military women in its upper-level decision-making ranks.[1] The absence of military women in senior DPKO positions prevents them from being involved in the highest levels of UN

peacekeeping planning (Leijenaar).

Percentages of women are the lowest within military components of peacekeeping. Between 1957 and 1989, women represented less then 0.1 percent of military personnel in UN operations (Beilstein; Olsson 1999). In 2000, women were 2.6 percent of all military personnel (DPKO). Today, the percentages of women in military components remains low and current operations show little increase (see Table 1).

In all of these operations, women police peacekeepers were seen by locals as less threatening, more willing to listen, and better able to diffuse potentially violent situations.

There are a number of reasons for women's minimal representation. First, few women are in national militaries and all military units are sent directly from contributing Member States. Even so, the proportion of women sent for peacekeeping is routinely less than that within national militaries. For example, women represent 12 percent of the national armed forces in the United States and Canada, but only eight percent and five percent respectively of their military peacekeeping forces (Enloe 2000).

Second are military restrictions on positions that women can hold, especially related to combat roles; it is often stated by military officials within peacekeeping operations that the most effective military peacekeeper is a combat soldier. In addition, various national militaries are in different stages of recruiting and integrating women into military forces and there is uneven attention to aspects of gender equality within various militaries. Among NATO peacekeeping contributors, Denmark, Hungary, Norway, Spain, Turkey, and the United States gender equality is addressed to some extent; in Belgium, Finland, Great Britain, Greece, Luxemburg, Netherlands, Poland, and Portugal, it is not (Helland *et al.*). The absence or poor application of such policies influences peacekeeping operations. In some instances, the presence of women is deemed irrelevant. For example, when asked how many women were in the NATO-led operation in Bosnia-Herzegovina Stabilization Force (SFOR) officials responded, "For us, gender integration is not an issue for peacekeeping, and therefore the stats are not kept" (Cockburn and Hubic 113). At times, misperceptions of the roles of women in military positions in other countries may block women's assignments women officers (Helland *et al.*; Mazurana and Piza-Lopez).

Importantly, there are no research findings that suggest that the presence of military women has been detrimental to any peacekeeping operation. However, because the numbers of military women are so low within peacekeeping operations and because only a few studies have addressed this issue, the evidence of the benefits of women military peacekeepers is limited (Olsson and Tryggestad). Nonetheless, according to members of a much-heralded, mixed male and female infantry rifle company from Ghana stationed in Rwanda (UNAMIR) and outside observers, women refugees preferred to talk with the women soldiers about problems they were having (Beilstein). Importantly, there is no evidence that female military peacekeepers have physically abused members of the local population e.g., supported or participated in sexual harassment, rape, prostitution, or sexual slavery.

There is a strong perception among some women and men that the presence of women in military units is a sign of equality that may help to improve the status of women within the host nation. This can produce interesting interpretations, such as women's choices to serve in militaries argued as expressions of their human rights and equating women's equality with non-discrimination in and equal access to their choice of weapons. Various proponents of increasing women in military peacekeeping rely on notions of women's inherent, unique sensitivities and approaches to conflict (Beilstein; Cockburn and Hubic; Corcoran; Helland *et al.*; Leijenaar; Stiehm).

Perceptions of equality aside, demonstrations of it carry more weight. A variety of women's civic organizations in Bosnia-Herzegovina said that they would like to see greater numbers of women military peacekeepers, including those in command. They felt the presence of such women and the respect they would be shown by their male colleagues would help women in the community achieve greater levels of respect from the military peacekeepers and their own communities (Cockburn and Hubic).

Yet, the presence of women in military units does not guarantee that local women's concerns will be considered. For instance, though women's organizations in Bosnia tried to work with a woman commanding officer in a military peacekeeping unit, she showed no interest in addressing women's issues (Cockburn and Hubic). Nor is the presence of women peacekeepers a guarantor of peacekeepers' improved treatment of local women. For instance, the forms of sexual slavery and human trafficking that UN and NATO male peacekeeping personnel have been involved in does not appear stymied by the presence of women in military roles in those operations (Cockburn and Zarkov; Mazurana and Piza-Lopez).

Women's presence in militaries may help to solidify the male-centered culture if women take on feminine

roles and are instructed to dress and behave in more feminine ways, thus heightening particular male-based occupations and roles (e.g., Enloe 1988, 1993, 2000). Parallels exist within peacekeeping, where women military peacekeepers are praised for their ability to work with local women to prepare food dishes, or where their presence is wrongly assumed to deter their male colleagues from abusing women and girls in the host nations. Consequently, the encouragement of women into the military as a means of achieving gender equality in the operation and the host society is a contested notion (Cock; Cockburn and Zarkov; Enloe 1988, 1993, 2000; Klein; Mazurana and Piza Lopez; Woolf).

Military peacekeeping forces are partly successful when they are able to provide secure environments that enable civilians to rebuild their lives and societies. For example, individual women and women's civil organizations in Bosnia, East Timor, and Sierra Leone have benefited from security provided by peacekeepers within the UN Protection Force (UNPROR), IFOR, SFOR, UNTAET, and UNAMISL (Cockburn and Zarkov; Mydans). In turn, local women's groups have also assisted peacekeeping forces, such as in Bosnia where peacekeeping troops worked with local women in gathering illegally held weapons from ex-combatants in their homes and communities. The military and women's groups have also collaborated on education programs, such as educating children about avoiding landmines (Cockburn and Hubic). Additionally, Cambodian women reported that UNTAC personnel supported women's groups working towards democratization and sustainable peace. The peacekeepers were also credited with helping to spur the development of new women's, peace, and human rights NGOs within Cambodia, which local women then used to lobby for strong gender-equity positions within the new Cambodian constitution (Whitworth 2001).

Alternatively, the disregard and further marginalization of local peacebuilding efforts and women's organizations by peacekeeping operations has hindered the development of democratic and stable societies, and undermined the chances for sustainable peace (e.g., Anderlini; Corrin; Mazurana; Mazurana and Piza-Lopez; Mazurana and McKay). Indeed, the overall absence of a gender perspective by the majority of contributing militaries in peacekeeping operations weakens their ability to fully carry out their work. To illustrate, most forces receive no briefings or trainings on the gendered causes and consequences of the armed conflict, have little understanding of gender-based violence during the conflict and in the post-conflict period, have few or no regulations about prostitution, and poor or no demonstrated policies about sexual health, including HIV/AIDS (Cockburn and Hubic; Mazurana and Piza-Lopez). Finally, the vast majority of complaints of sexual and physical assault and sexual harassment are leveled against male military peacekeepers (Corcoran; Fetherston 1995; Finn; Mazurana and Piza-Lopez; Olsson 1999; Reuters; United Nations; Whitworth 1998).

Women and Civilians in Peacekeeping

Civilians play increasingly numerous roles in UN peacekeeping operations, among them staffing and running interim transitional governments, working within humanitarian and human rights departments and organizations, rebuilding infrastructure, and serving as election monitors. In the history of United Nations peacekeeping, only four women have held leadership and command positions, all are civilians.[2]

Peacekeeping operations largely or exclusively composed of civilians were among the most successful UN peacekeeping operations and tended to have strong human rights monitoring mandates, including the International Civilian Mission in Haiti (MICIVIH), the UN Verification Mission in Guatemala (MINUGUA), and the UN Observer Mission in South Africa (UNMOSA). For example, in MICIVIH and MINUGUA, many of the women in the peacekeeping operation were lawyers who had extensive knowledge of indigenous issues and worked well with the local human rights organizations in those countries, the majority of which were created and staffed by local women (Helland *et al.*). Success is defined as the ability of the operation to meet its mandate, contribute to peaceful resolution of external disputes, promote rights education, provide assistance in enabling civil society to develop, and empower the local community in ways that help local people reconstruct their lives and society. Successful operations also include those in which local populations reported largely positive interactions with peacekeepers (Hudson; Mazurana and Piza-Lopez).

These successful operations all had substantial numbers of civilian women personnel (37-53 percent) in key positions (Helland *et al.*; Olsson n.d., 1999). In such peacekeeping operations, women have served in CIVPOL, as legal, political and human rights advisors, election monitors and administrators. They played key roles in promoting reconciliation and shifts towards democracy, repatriation and humanitarian assistance.

Since 1997, the civilian humanitarian component of peacekeeping operations has been coordinated by the Office for the Coordination of Humanitarian Affairs (OCHA) which oversees and coordinates the UN civilian humanitarian response to peacekeeping. In 1998, women held 35 percent of the decision-making positions in OCHA (Olsson 1999). The civilian side of peacekeeping currently has three women in senior decision-making positions,[3] and all have demonstrated support for gender informed policies and programs.

But having women leaders that support gender-aware policies and

programs is not sufficient for the implementation of those policies and programs. The majority of senior staff in the UN emergency or humanitarian divisions are men. At times, there is a distinctly non-gender-aware culture in the sections within these divisions that deal with interventions in emergency situations, most notably those covering transport, communications, logistics, water, electricity, and supplies (Cockburn and Zarkov; Mazurana; Williams). This often leads to clashes within the organizations. For example, conflicts occur about program priorities, such as giving adequate space on transport planes for reproductive health kits for women and girls as well as food supplies, or providing equal space to supplementary and therapeutic food for infants and their mothers as well as to "real" food bags for adults.

Conclusion

Based on these observations it is apparent that women have a number of effects on peacekeeping operations. However, the inclusion of women within peacekeeping does not appear to change those institutions' fundamental male structures or cultures. Nevertheless, the inclusion of women within these structures may at times redirect those institutions' emphasis to other areas. Perhaps more importantly, it may alter the perception and willingness to engage with peace-keepers on the part of elements of the local population, most notably local women. Nonetheless, these results are inadequate for the critiques that feminists have leveled against peacekeeping and demonstrate that many of the issues raised by feminists will not be addressed by greater inclusion of women or occasional gender-aware leadership within peacekeeping.

A more comprehensive treatment of the material herein can be found in Dyan Mazurana with Eugenia Piza-Lopex's Gender Mainstreaming in Peace Support Operations: Moving Beyond Rhetoric to Practice *(London: International Alert, 2002).*

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[1]Prior to 2002, one military woman was present in these ranks and it was under her guidance that DPKO conducted its current gender and peacekeeping initiative (Mazurana; Mazurana and Piza-Lopez).

[2]Margaret Joan Anstee, United Nations Angola Verification Mission (UNAVEMII) 1992-1993; Angela King, United Nations Observer Mission South Africa (UNOMSA) 1992-1994; Elizabeth Rehn, United Nations Mission in Bosnia and Herzegovina (UNMIBH) 1995-2001; and Ann Hercus, United Nations Peacekeeping Force in Cyprus (UNFICYP) 1998-1999

[3]Sadako Ogata, High Commissioner for Refugees, Carol Bellamy, Executive Director for the United Nations Children's Fund, and Nasif Sadik, Executive Director for United Nations Population Fund. Mary Robinson just stepped down as High Commissioner for Human Rights.

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