Global MOWIP Report

Fit-for-the-Future Peace Operations: Advancing Gender Equality to Achieve Long-term and Sustainable Peace

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2022

Acknowledgements

Disclaimer

The views expressed in this report are those of the authors from Cornell University and DCAF based on the best available information they have. It does not necessarily reflect the views of Global Affairs Canada or the Norwegian Ministry of Foreign Affairs.

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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

AMS	Assessment for Mission Service
AMS-SAAT	AMS Selection Assistance and Assessment Team
AOC	Assessment of Operational Capability
A4P	Action for Peacekeeping
DPO	Department of Peace Operations
DPO-AAV	DPO Assessment and Advisory Visits
EU	European Union
FFF	Fact-finding Form
FPU	Formed Police Unit
GBV	Gender-based Violence
ILO	International Labour Organization
IPO	Individual Police Officer
MINUSCA	UN Multidimensional Integrated Stabilization Mission in the Central African Republic
MHPSS	Mental Health and Psychosocial Support Services
MOWIP	Measuring Opportunities for Women in Peace Operations
ORBAT	Order of Battle
OSCE	Organization for Security and Co-operation in Europe
PDV	Pre-deployment Visits
PO	Peace Operation
POC	Protection of Civilians
SEA	Sexual Exploitation and Abuse
TPCC	Troop- and Police-Contributing Country
UNIBAM	United Nations Infantry Battalion Manual
UNSCR	United Nations Security Council Resolution
WPS	Women, Peace and Security

GLOSSARY OF TERMS

Agency of Peacekeepers refers to the capacity and character of individual peacekeepers to take actions and make decisions under the remit of their day-to-day operational responsibilities and in line with peace operation mandates – discretionary (and authorized) individual decision-making practices.

Capacity refers to both capability – something that can be developed or improved – and competence – demonstrated knowledge and skills.

Character profile refers to the attitudes, assumptions, and approaches of individual peacekeepers as well as how these are reflected at the collective level (contingent, unit, and so on). This is called 'mindset' in the UN Infantry Battalion Manual.[1]

Contact, non-kinetic, or soft skills all refer to a set of non-combat skills associated with effective engagement with civilian populations. These include communication skills, multicultural awareness and knowledge, de-escalation, mediation, dialogue, diplomacy, and problem-solving among others.

Fit-for-the-future peace operations – refers to peace operations that are positioned to address 'protracted conflicts, elusive political solutions, increasingly dangerous environments, rising peace operations fatalities, and broad and complex mandates' (Action for Peacekeeping initiative).[2] They will have the capacity to leverage the most effective strategies to advance long-term and sustainable peace in an increasingly complex global environment – they will be fit for the future.

Gender bias is a term used to refer to the implicit (unconscious) and explicit (conscious) stereotypes and attitudes assigned to women and men that may or may not have any factual bearing on the group or individual. Implicit gender bias is particularly insidious, as stereotypes and attitudes are applied without conscious thinking, awareness, or intent. This means that an individual can hold a conscious commitment to equality while still being influenced by prevailing gender-based stereotypes and attitudes that shape and inform their thinking and behaviours. Implicit bias has been evidenced everywhere in the world it has been studied.[3]

International policy and practice community comprises the UN Department of Peace Operations (DPO) and UN agencies working in various capacities in peace operations contexts and also includes other multilateral actors working to resolve conflict and advance peace, for example the European Union (EU), the African Union (AU), and the Organization for Security and Co-operation in Europe (OSCE). The international policy community also includes member states of multilateral organizations along with international and national non-governmental organizations that contribute to and/or influence international policy and practice design and implementation.

Structure of peacekeeping refers to the recurrent pattern of policy and practices that together creates, reinforces, and supports the institutional culture or working environment of a peace operation.

Women's meaningful participation means ensuring that women have their needs met within institutions and when participating in missions; that women have access to the same opportunities, roles, and resources as men; and that women's skill sets and qualifications match their responsibilities and the expectations they face.[4]

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1   UN Infantry Battalion Manual (UNIBAM), 2nd edn. (UN DPO: 2020), p. ix, available at: peacekeeping.un.org/sites/default/files/3._military_-_1_united_nations_infantry_battalion_manual_unibam.pdf

2   Secretary-General's Initiative on Action for Peacekeeping available at: www.un.org/en/A4P

3   Kang, Jerry, 'Implicit Bias: A Primer for Courts', prepared for the National Campaign to Ensure the Racial and Ethnic Fairness of America's State Courts (2009); and Kang, Jerry, et al., 'Implicit Bias in the Courtroom', *UCLA Law Review*, Vol. 59: No. 5 (2012), pp. 1124-86.

4   Karim, Sabrina, *MOWIP Methodology: Measuring Opportunities for Women in Peace Operations* (October 2020), p. 16, available at: www.dcaf.ch/mowip-methodology

01

Executive Summary

Executive summary

Fit-for-the-future peace operations (POs) are those positioned to address 'protracted conflicts, elusive political solutions, increasingly dangerous environments, rising peace operations fatalities, and broad and complex mandates' (Action for Peacekeeping initiative).[5] 'Fit for the future' means that POs will have the capacity to leverage the most effective strategies to advance long-term and sustainable peace in an increasingly complex global environment.

Data from the **Measuring Opportunities for Women in Peace Operations** (MOWIP) methodology reinforces the prevailing evidence-based understanding that gender equality is an integral element of fit-for-the-future POs. Specifically, MOWIP data adds to a growing body of evidence that reveals a positive correlation between gender equality and long-term and sustainable peace, in contrast to the relationship between gender inequality and violence and conflict.

The MOWIP methodology was developed in partnership with Cornell University and practitioners in eight partner countries (Bangladesh, Ghana, Jordan, Mongolia, Norway, Senegal, Uruguay and Zambia), with financial support from Canada and the Norwegian Ministry of Foreign Affairs,[6] and it was developed under the auspices of the Elsie Initiative for Women in Peace Operations launched by Canada in 2017 with the aim of developing innovative measures to 'move from slow, incremental progress to transformational change regarding women's meaningful participation in peace operations'.[7] The MOWIP is a comprehensive assessment tool that draws on three complementary data-gathering instruments: a fact-finding form (FFF), an anonymous survey, and key decision-maker interviews. It aims to identify evidence-based strategies to increase women's meaningful participation[8] – rather than women's numerical representation – in POs, as a component of advancing gender equality in both the structure and operations of peacekeeping. The methodology evaluates data against a comprehensive set of indicators that measure barriers and opportunities across eight thematic and two cross-cutting issue areas.

Figure 1 The 10 issue areas measured by the MOWIP methodology

The MOWIP methodology has so far been piloted in four troop- and police-contributing countries (TPCCs) and six security institutions: the Ghana Armed Forces; the Senegal Police and Gendarmerie; the Uruguay Armed Forces and Police; and the Zambia Police Service. Three TPCCs are currently in the process of completing the MOWIP as part of the pilot phase of the Elsie Initiative: the Bangladesh Armed Forces; the Jordan Public Security Directorate; and the Norwegian Armed Forces. As of March 2022, the Côte d Ivoire National Police; the Armed Forces of Liberia; the Ministry of National Defence (Army and Airforce), Ministry of the Navy, and Ministry of Security and Citizen Protection of Mexico; the Niger Armed Forces, Gendarmerie and Police; the Sierra Leone Armed Forces and Police; the Togo Police and Armed Forces; and the Uganda Police Force have been awarded funding from the Elsie Initiative Fund to conduct MOWIP assessments.

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5   Secretary-General's Initiative on Action for Peacekeeping available at: www.un.org/en/A4P

6   Karim, *MOWIP Methodology* (October 2020), available at: www.dcaf.ch/mowip-methodology

7   The Elsie Initiative for Women in Peace Operations was launched at the UN Peacekeeping Defence Ministerial in Vancouver, Canada in 2020, available at: www.international.gc.ca/world-monde/issues_development-enjeux_developpement/gender_equality-egalite_des_genres/elsie_initiative-initiative_elsie.aspx?lang=eng

8   Women's meaningful participation is defined in the MOWIP methodology as ensuring that women have their needs met when participating in the institution and on missions; that women have access to the same opportunities, roles, and resources as men; and that women's skill sets and qualifications match their responsibilities and the expectations they face.

Consolidated MOWIP data presently includes surveys from 1,917 security personnel: 997 men and 920 women, and 876 deployed and 1,041 non-deployed; six institutional FFFs; and 95 key decision-maker interviews. This innovative and comparative data set is the first of its kind – it speaks to the perspectives, experiences, and realities of women and men, deployed and non-deployed, and leadership and rank and file. As such, the findings of the MOWIP methodology are uniquely positioned to identify barriers and opportunities to advance gender equality in POs.

MOWIP country reports (Ghana, Senegal, Uruguay, and Zambia) provide an overview and analysis of institutional findings. They contain context-specific and evidence-based recommendations to advance women's meaningful participation and gender equality that are adjusted to the institutional capacity and national appetite.

In contrast, *this* report, referred to as the **Global MOWIP**, presents the consolidated data from four countries with a focus on the implications for the international policy and practice arena.[9] The Global MOWIP aims to address the broader and more complex issues that go beyond the institutional framework of a single armed force, gendarmerie, or police force, and it contributes to a growing evidence base that reveals how gender equality is central to fit-for-the-future POs. This evidence is translated into international policy and practice insights that can be leveraged to contribute to the assessment, design, and implementation of fit-for-the-future POs. Indeed, consolidated MOWIP data reveals the importance of advancing long-term sustainable peace that is grounded in positive peace and human security. This fundamentally involves recognition that long-term sustainable peace is not merely the absence of armed conflict; rather, it reflects **the presence of equal safety, security, and livelihood for all people: women, men, girls, boys, and people of diverse sexual orientation and gender identity or expression.** As such, **gender equality is central to long-term and sustainable peace – and central to POs that are fit for the future.**

Four primary evidence-based findings have emerged with the greatest salience to the international policy and practice arena:

1	**2**	**3**	**4**
Evidence of the **IMPORTANCE OF CONTACT SKILLS IN POs**, also referred to as soft skills or non-kinetic skills, which include a range of communication and interpersonal skills – indicating a need to prioritize contact skills alongside combat skills for peacekeepers;	Evidence of how the **CHARACTER PROFILE OF PEACEKEEPERS** (their attitudes, assumptions, and approaches) **CORRELATE WITH THEIR BEHAVIOURS AND PRACTICES IN POs**, including adherence to existing UN policy and doctrine, and PO mandates – indicating a need to prioritize the character profile of peacekeepers alongside contact and combat skills;	Evidence that both **MEN AND WOMEN ARE EXPERIENCING SOCIAL EXCLUSION (HARASSING-TYPE BEHAVIOURS) IN POs** – indicating a need for a policy framework to address harassment and bullying; and	Evidence that both **MEN AND WOMEN IN POs HAVE INADEQUATE ACCESS TO MENTAL HEALTH AND PSYCHOSOCIAL SUPPORT SERVICES (MHPSS)** while in mission and during reintegration – indicating a need to strengthen MHPSS.

These four primary findings have intersecting and cascading implications. They can negatively reinforce each other, or, if addressed using an integrated and comprehensive approach, they can be transformed into complementary opportunities. Barriers to fit-for-the-future POs, gender equality, and women's meaningful participation in POs do not exist in individual silos; rather, they are intersecting and cascading. As such, policy and practice interventions will need to be integrated and coherent at the international level and work in combination with interventions at the national level. The international policy and practice community holds a unique leadership role, however, and thus is positioned to make transformative changes to POs, while also informing national policy interventions.

The Global MOWIP is intended to provide the necessary insights to guide transformative change. As such, it serves as a companion report to the country MOWIPs, which together provide a comprehensive base of evidence and insights to address the international *and* national policy and practice contexts.

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9   Data from country reports cannot be fully aggregated or used for direct comparisons between countries. Nonetheless, the data provides an initial evidence-base of insights into the kinds of barriers and opportunities international policy and practice can address to effectively advance gender equality as an integral component of long-term and sustainable peace.

02

Global MOWIP Overview

Global MOWIP overview

Who is it for and how can it be used effectively?

The Global MOWIP is intended for the **international policy and practice community**, which comprises the UN Department of Peace Operations (DPO) and UN agencies working in various capacities in PO contexts, and also includes other multilateral actors working to resolve conflict and advance peace, for example the European Union (EU), the African Union (AU), and the Organization for Security and Co-operation in Europe (OSCE). The international policy and practice community also includes member states of multilateral organizations along with international and national non-governmental organizations that contribute to and/or influence international policy and practice design and implementation.

The Global MOWIP is intended to identify and address the most salient barriers to fit-for-the-future POs specific to gender equality. The focus of the findings, analysis, and recommendations prioritizes the international policy and practice arena, while touching on the integrated interventions necessary at the national level. In this context, the recommendations are viewed as a critical starting place to:

- leverage direct changes to international PO policy and practice; and
- inform national approaches to deployment policies and practices from TPCCs.

As such, the findings presented also have implications at the national level for police, gendarmerie, and armed forces. Indeed, to ensure that international interventions are harmonized – and reinforced – national-level barriers will also need to be effectively addressed. The country reports offer tailored and context-specific findings and recommendations, and the Opportunities for Women in Peacekeeping: Policy Series offers general guidance for national and international contexts. The Global MOWIP, however, speaks directly to the international policy and practice arena and, as such, offers specific recommendations for this context and more general considerations and recommendations for the national context.

Box 1: DCAF's Elsie publications to date

As of April 2022, **country MOWIP reports** are available for Ghana, Senegal, Uruguay, and Zambia. As part of the *Opportunities for Women in Peacekeeping: Policy Series*, the following policy briefs are available:

- The Duty of Caring
- Caring for Carers in International Organisations
- Old Expectations, New Challenges: What we look for in a peacekeeper and why it matters
- Organizational Culture Reboot
- Saving the world, one gender training at a time
- Peace Operations Still Exclude Women, but A4P+ Can Change That

Resources available at
www.dcaf.ch/elsie-initiative

The MOWIP methodology – in brief

The **MOWIP methodology** is 'an innovative and comprehensive methodology for TPCCs to identify and assess barriers and opportunities to uniformed women's meaningful participation in peace operations'.[10] This hands-on resource is publicly available on the DCAF website along with templates and additional guidance to support implementation[11].

The MOWIP methodology has so far been piloted in four TPCCs and six security institutions: the Ghana Armed Forces; the Senegal Police and Gendarmerie; the Uruguay Armed Forces and Police; and the Zambia Police Service. Three TPCCs are currently in the process of completing the a MOWIP assessment as part of the pilot phase of the Elsie Initiative: the Bangladesh Armed Forces; the Jordan Public Security Directorate; and the Norwegian Armed Forces.

10   Karim, *MOWIP Methodology* (October 2020), available at: www.dcaf.ch/mowip-methodology
11   MOWIP Toolbox (DCAF: Geneva), available at www.dcaf.ch/mowip

Pilot assessments were intended to provide insights from different countries, regions, and continents in addition to a mix of military and police institutions. They also served to refine the MOWIP methodology for use beyond these countries. The MOWIP methodology, or a similar assessment, is also one of the core requirements for TPCCs to access the Elsie Initiative Fund, a UN Trust Fund[12] dedicated to addressing barriers that impede gender equality and women's participation in POs.

The methodology **involves three data collection tools**:

1. a 300 (+/-) question **survey** with men and women, previously deployed and non-deployed security institution personnel, to identify perceptions, experiences, and attitudes;
2. a comprehensive institutional **FFF** to identify numerical data, policy frameworks, and infrastructure; and
3. **key decision-maker interviews** to gain insights into leadership views and practices.

Box 2: MOWIP data collected to date

Consolidated MOWIP data is currently based on survey responses from a total of 1,917 uniformed security personnel: 997 men and 920 women; and 876 deployed and 1,041 non-deployed, in addition to six institutional FFFs, and 95 key decision-maker interviews.

These three tools are used to evaluate a comprehensive set of indicators that measure barriers and opportunities across eight thematic and two cross-cutting issue areas (see nos. 9 and 10 under 'Thematic and cross-cutting issue areas' below). Used together, these tools make it possible to triangulate and validate the information and findings, and have enabled the comprehensive, systematic, scientific collection of uniformed security personnel experiences related to the nature and meaningfulness of their participation as well as insights into whether and how policies and programmes to advance women's inclusion have been effective. It is worth highlighting that without comparing women's experiences with men's experiences, it is not possible to understand whether barriers to representation and participation are unique to women. And, indeed, the MOWIP found that while some barriers are specific to women, b**oth women and men are currently experiencing barriers**.

Thematic and cross-cutting issue areas:

1. **Eligible pool** – are there enough women in national institutions?
2. **Deployment criteria** – do criteria match the skills needed in POs?
3. **Deployment selection** – does everyone have a fair chance to deploy?
4. **Household constraints** – are there arrangements for families of deployed women?
5. **PO infrastructure** – are accommodation and equipment designed to meet women's needs?
6. **PO experiences** – do positive and negative experiences in peace operations affect women's deployment decisions?
7. **Career value** – do deployments advance women's careers?
8. **Top-down leadership** – do leaders at all levels support women's deployment?
9. **Gender roles** – do preconceived attitudes about women preclude their ability to deploy?
10. **Social exclusion** – are women treated as equal members of the team?

This comparative MOWIP data is positioned to contribute to creating fit-for-the-future POs by leveraging insights from peacekeepers – men and women – from two different continents and vastly different economic and socio-cultural contexts. It reveals from peacekeepers themselves, and from national-level decision-makers, what is working and what needs to work better – a reflection the international community would do well to consider as it develops and updates PO policies and practices.

MOWIP data can be used to advance the goals of the Action for Peacekeeping+ agenda (A4P+); the Women, Peace and Security (WPS) agenda; and the UN Uniformed Gender Parity Strategy.[13] While individual country data reveals the specific barriers present within a particular TPCC or security institution, the consolidated data identifies the barriers that represent systemic trends regardless of the country or security institution. As such, the consolidated MOWIP results illustrate the extent to which systemic inequality is impeding the possibility to advance long-term and sustainable peace and undermining progress on the A4P+ and WPS agendas. In other words, this data provides an **evidence base to position the goal of gender equality as central to sustainable peace.**

12   See the Elsie Initiative Fund website for more information on applying for funding using the MOWIP assessment, available at: elsiefund.org
13   Action for Peacekeeping, available at: peace operations.un.org/en/action-for-peace operations-a4p; Women, Peace, and Security Agenda, available at: www.unwomen.org/en/what-we-do/peace-and-security/global-norms-and-standards; and UN Uniformed Gender Parity Strategy, available at: www.un.org/gender; https://peace operations.un.org/en/uniformed-gender-parity-strategy-2018-2028-full-text

03

Introduction

Introduction

International commitments to equality and sustainable peace: fit-for-the-future peace operations

Box 3: A call to action

Can the current PO model deliver long-term and sustainable peace? Are POs fit for the future in an increasingly complex environment with 'protracted conflicts, elusive political solutions, increasingly dangerous environments, rising peace operations fatalities, and broad and complex mandates'? In order to respond to this, in 2018 the A4P initiative was adopted. Signatories from 154 member states revealed an identified need and collective demand to strengthen POs and respond to the challenges at hand. Member states mutually outlined 45 commitments across 8 priority areas.[14] This included an explicit commitment to '[increase] the number of civilian and uniformed women in POs at all levels and in key positions', anchored on existing commitments in the UN Gender Parity Strategy and WPS agenda.

Consolidated data from the MOWIP from six security institutions in four TPCCs provides insights into how the overall absence of gender equality represents barriers for women as well as men, and can contribute to impeding operational effectiveness and undermining PO mandates. These timely and innovative MOWIP findings can be leveraged to contribute to the transformational change and reform agendas for POs, from A4P+ to the WPS agenda and the UN Gender Parity Strategy.

In the past few years, high-level international policy efforts have been made to reinvigorate commitments to gender equality and sustainable peace. The launch of the A4P initiative in 2018, followed by the A4P+ agenda, is an example of targeted drives to mobilize stakeholders and leverage targets that can enable long-term sustainable peace. In addition, global efforts have been undertaken to strengthen and advance the WPS agenda.[15] These include the Elsie Initiative launched by Canada in 2017,[16] under the umbrella of which the MOWIP methodology was developed and piloted with financial support from Canada and the Norwegian Ministry of Foreign Affairs.[17]

Advancing long-term and sustainable peace is intrinsically linked to advancing gender equality. As such, the A4P+ strategically identifies the goals of the WPS agenda as one of eight thematic priorities. Under the WPS thematic area of improvement, the member states and the UN Secretariat collaboratively recommit to 'increasing the number of civilian and uniformed women in peace operations at all levels and in key positions', to 'ensuring full, equal, and meaningful participation of women in all stages of the peace process', and to 'systematically integrating a gender perspective into all stages of analysis, planning, implementation, and reporting'. These commitments underscore the importance of addressing and working concretely to advance gender equality in the context of POs. The importance of gender equality was highlighted by Jean-Pierre Lacroix, Under-Secretary-General for the DPO when the **DPO Gender Equality and Women, Peace and Security Resource Package** was launched in 2020. The resource articulates why and how 'DPO personnel in peace operations at headquarters, regional centres, and missions are *required to integrate gender equality* and the WPS mandates into all aspects of their work'.[18]

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14   The A4P initiative outlines eight priorities, each of which imply improved and more effective communications: 1) Politics – advance political solutions to conflict and enhance the political impact of peace operations, 2) Women, Peace, and Security – implement the WPS agenda, 3) Protection – strengthen the protection provided by peace operations, 4) Safety and Security – improve the safety of peacekeepers, 5) Performance and Account-ability – support effective performance and accountability by all peace operations, 6) Peacebuilding and Sustaining Peace – strengthen the impact of peace operations on sustaining peace, 7) Partnerships – improve peace operations partnerships to enhance collaboration and planning, 8) Conduct of Peacekeepers and Peace Operations – strengthen conduct of peace operations and personnel, available at: peace operations.un.org/en/action-for-peace operations-a4p (accessed 9 September 2021).

15   The Women, Peace and Security Agenda comprises ten UN Security Council Resolutions (UNSCRs) aimed at promoting gender equality and strength-ening women's participation, protection, and rights across the conflict cycle, from conflict prevention to post-conflict reconstruction. For a complete list of related UNSCRs, reviews and reports, see UN Women, 'Global Norms and Standards: Peace and Security', available at: www.unwomen.org/en/what-we-do/peace-and-security/global-norms-and-standards

16   The Elsie Initiative for Women in Peace Operations was launched at the UN Peacekeeping Defence Ministerial in Vancouver, Canada in 2017, available at: www.international.gc.ca/world-monde/issues_development-enjeux_developpement/gender_equality-egalite_des_genres/elsie_initiative-initia-tive_elsie.aspx?lang=eng

17   Karim, *MOWIP Methodology*, available at: www.dcaf.ch/mowip-methodology

18   UN DPO, *Gender Equality and Women, Peace and Security Resource Package* (2020), p. 4, available at: peacekeeping.un.org/en/gender-equali-

In addition to advancing WPS mandates, the A4P+ agenda also explicitly recognizes the most enduring challenge associated with POs: achieving long-term and sustainable peace. Yet, as the UN notes, 'peace operations is one of the most effective tools available to the United Nations in the promotion and maintenance of international peace and security.' Indeed, research has consistently shown that POs have generally been able to prevent conflict diffusion, reduce levels of violence, bring an end to armed conflict, and extend periods of post-conflict peace.[19] In other words, POs have been effective at containing conflict, ending conflict, and prolonging post-conflict conditions. What remains more elusive is the achievement of long-term and sustainable peace – a durable peace that, as the A4P+ agenda outlines, includes national reconciliation, the rule of law, human rights, and sustainable development.[20]

Long-term and sustainable peace: equal safety, security, and livelihood

Drawing on the **complementary concepts of positive peace[21] and human security,[22] sustainable peace can be understood through the presence of a set of positive development indicators and the absence of conflict drivers**. Positive development indicators include state, political, and economic stability; social and political equality (including gender equality); and the distribution of income, health, and education,[23] alongside the absence of violent conflict drivers such as political, social, and economic inequality and deprivation.[24] Positive peace is 'constructed daily, locally, and implies engagement' to advance the acceptance of the rights of others, equitable distribution of resources, high levels of human capital, good relations with neighbours, a well-functioning government, the free flow of information, a sound business environment, and low levels of corruption.[25] This framework is consistent with and complementary to the UN human security framework, which identifies seven key dimensions consistent with and complementary to those outlined under the umbrella of positive peace: community, economic, environmental, food, health, personal and political security. Human security is posited as a broader concept of security in a wide range of human communities alongside socio-economic and developmental concerns and political stability.[26] Thus, **long-term and sustainable peace is** more than the absence of armed conflict; rather, it reflects **the presence of equal safety, security, and livelihood for all people.** Equality is therefore central to long-term and sustainable peace.

In contrast, inequality, deprivation, and grievance are among the key drivers of conflict and violence.[27] Inequality can be understood as structural, asymmetric social relations of power among different groups

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19 Walter, F. Barbara, Lise M. Howard, and Virginia P. Fortna, The Astonishing Success of Peacekeeping: The UN Deserves More Support – and Less Scorn – From America, *Foreign Affairs* (29 November 2021); Walter, F. Barbara, Most People Think Peacekeeping Doesn't Work – They're Wrong, (World Bank: 2018); Fortna, Virginia P., 'Interstate Peacekeeping: Causal Mechanisms and Empirical Effects', *World Politics*, Vol. 56: No. 4 (2004), pp. 481-519; Fortna, *Does Peacekeeping Work? Shaping Belligerents' Choices after Civil War* (Princeton University Press, 2008); Fortna, 'Does Peacekeeping Keep Peace? International Intervention and the Duration of Peace after Civil War', *International Studies Quarterly* Vol. 48: No. 2 (2004), pp. 269-92; Beardsley, Kyle, 'Peacekeeping and the Contagion of Armed Conflict', *The Journal of Politics*, Vol. 73: No. 4 (2011), pp. 1051-64; Doyle, Michael W. and Nicholas Sambanis, 'International Peacebuilding: A Theoretical and Quantitative Analysis', *American Political Science Review*, Vol. 94: No. 4 (2000), pp. 779-801; Doyle and Sambanis, 'The UN Record on Peacekeeping Operations', *International Journal*, Vol. 62: No. 3 (2007), pp. 495-518; Joshi, Madhav, Sung Yong Lee, and Roger MacGinty, 'Built-in Safeguards and the Implementation of Civil War Peace Accords', *International Interactions*, Vol. 43: No. 6 (2017) pp. 994-1018; Hultman, Lisa, Jacob D. Kathman, and Megan Shannon, 'Beyond Keeping Peace: United Nations Effectiveness in the Midst of Fighting', *American Political Science Review*, Vol. 108: No. 4 (November 2014), pp. 737-53; Hultman, Kathman, and Shannon, 'United Nations Peacekeeping Dynamics and the Duration of Post-Civil Conflict Peace', *Conflict Management and Peace Science*, Vol. 33: No. 3 (2016), pp. 231-49; Hultman, Kathman, and Shannon, 'United Nations Peacekeeping and Civilian Protection in Civil War', *American Journal of Political Science*, Vol. 57: No. 4 (2013), pp. 875-91; and Fjelde, Hanne, Lisa Hultman, and Desirée Nilsson, 'Protection Through Presence: UN Peacekeeping and the Costs of Targeting Civilians', *International Organization*, Vol. 73: No. 1 (2019), pp. 102-131.

20 Secretary-General's Initiative on Action for Peacekeeping, 1 Politics, Enhance the Political Impact of Peacekeeping, available at: www.un.org/en/A4P

21 The term positive peace was introduced into academic literature by Johan Galtung, who defined peace in two distinct ways: negative peace, which refers to the absence of violence, and positive peace, which is a more lasting peace built on sustainable investments in economic development and institutions as well as on societal attitudes that foster peace. See positivepeace.org; and Galtung, Johan, 'Violence, Peace, and Peace Research', *Journal of Peace Research*, Vol. 6: No. 3 (1969), pp. 167-91.

22 Following World War II, the UN attempted to conceptualize a broader idea of security, which eventually established links between underdevelopment and security. The Report on Human Development of 1994 defined the concept of human security based on two principal aspects: 'It means, first, safety from such chronic threats as hunger, disease and repression. And second, it means protection from sudden and hurtful disruptions in the patterns of daily life – whether in homes, in jobs or in communities.' See UNDP, *Human Development Report: New Dimensions of Human Security*, (1994), available at: www.hdr.undp.org/en/content/human-development-report-1994.

23 See The World Bank, World Development Indicators, a compilation of relevant, high-quality, and internationally comparable statistics about global development and the fight against poverty, available at: datatopics.worldbank.org/world-development-indicators

24 Cederman, L., K Gleditsch, and H Buhaug, *Inequality, Grievances, and Civil War, Cambridge Studies in Contentious Politics* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2013), doi:10.1017/CBO9781139084161; and Visser, Hans et al., 'Planetary Security: In Search of Drivers of Violence and Conflict: Part II: Inferences through Machine Learning', Background Report (PBL Netherlands Environmental Assessment Agency, 2019).

25 Women, Peace and Security Agenda under the Lens of Care, (Swisspeace, 2021); and Global Peace Index : Measuring Peace in a Complex Word, (Institute for Economics and Peace, 2021).

26 Cockell, John G., 'Conceptualising Peacebuilding: Human Security and Sustainable Peace', in Pugh M. eds., *Regeneration of War-Torn Societies. Global Issues Series* (London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2000), pp. 15-34.

27 Of the eight drivers or 'predictors' of conflict and violence identified following a cross-section review of existing research, six are directly related to a lack of equality of rights, opportunities, and resources. See Visser, Hans et al., 'Planetary Security: In Search of Drivers of Violence and Conflict, Part II: Inferences through Machine Learning', Background Report (PBL Netherlands Environmental Assessment Agency, 2019), p. 7. www.pbl.nl/sites/default/files/downloads/pbl-2019-planetary-security-in-search-of-drivers-of-violence-and-conflict-part-ii-inferences-through-machine-learning-3405.pdf

that impede access to state power and political inclusion.[28] Inequality is both social and political. **The absence of social and political equality will consequently result in the unequal distribution of safety, security, and access to livelihood**. This is ultimately experienced as deprivation and discrimination and occurs when groups of people are deprived of the safety and security necessary for livelihood, and experience discrimination in their opportunities to access a livelihood. Inevitably, grievances occur that can stimulate demands for redress through violence and conflict. In other words, there is 'a causal pathway that connects inequalities with violent conflict through grievances'.[29] While research has found that economically discriminated groups are more likely to mobilize or protest,[30] it is the combination of socio-political inequality and economic discrimination that is more precisely linked to violence and conflict.[31]

Today, no matter what corner of the world you look to, inequality exists on a continuum based on gender, ethnicity/race, religion, socio-economic status, and other socio-demographic identity factors known as intersectionality.[32] Still, gender remains the most consistent indicator of whether an individual will enjoy de jure and de facto rights, and access to opportunities, resources, and services. Women and girls represent more than half of the world's population, making this locus of inequality profound in its scope. Nonetheless, gender inequality translates into de facto limits and disadvantages for both women and girls, and men and boys, even if women and girls may experience greater and more widespread disadvantages. This fundamentally means that gender inequality is itself a precursor to violence and conflict, and addressing it represents an integral component of long-term and sustainable peace.

Gender inequality is a driver for violence and conflict

Research has consistently identified that countries characterized by gender inequality are more likely to be involved in interstate disputes and intra-state conflict.[33] The larger the gender gap between the treatment of men and women in a society, the more likely a country is to be involved in intra- and interstate conflict, to be the first to resort to force in such conflicts, and to resort to higher levels of violence.[34] There are a number of complementary and nuanced ways to understand this correlation. Valerie Hudson and her colleagues on the WomanStats Project argue that 'what you do to your women you do to your nation-state', meaning that the inequality women and girls experience will be replicated more broadly across society. This occurs when discrimination, abuse, the use of violence, and the subjugation of individuals and groups are both socialized and normalized. Mark Weiner, Professor of Law at Rutgers Law School, asserts that '[t]here is no better training ground for political violence and instability than lived domestic terror, lived domestic corruption and exploitation, lived domestic autocracy'. In other words, gender inequality primes society for the tolerance if not the endorsement of violence and conflict.

Researchers also note the extent to which nationalism is rooted in gender inequality and used by states and groups to manipulate and motivate.[35] This includes the use of gendered language and gender-based stereotypes in nationalistic and in-group appeals to mobilize and unify as well as justifying the need for violence.[36] If women are expected to be child-bearers in contrast to men portrayed as soldiers, then men are responsible for preserving and protecting the very existence of their group alongside the socio-cultural specific representations of virtue associated with women in their group. As such, women and girls can be used as both a call to arms and a justification for the use of arms because of gender inequality and prevailing gender-based stereotypes.

28   Cederman, Gleditsch, and Buhaug, *Inequality, Grievances, and Civil War*, doi:10.1017/CBO9781139084161.

29   Ibid.

30   Lu, Lingyu and Cameron G. Thies, 'Economic Grievance and the Severity of Civil War', *Civil Wars*, Vol. 13: No. 3 (2011), pp. 215-31; Gurr T.R., 'Why Minorities Rebel: A Global Analysis of Communal Mobilization and Conflict since 1945', *International Political Science Review*, Vol. 14: No. 2 (1993), pp. 161-201; and Goldstone, Jack et al., 'A Global Model for Forecasting Political Instability', *American Journal of Political Science*, Vol. 54: No. 1 (2010), pp. 190-208.

31   Chiba, Daina and K. S. Gleditsch, 'The Shape of Things to Come? Expanding the Inequality and Grievance Model for Civil War Forecasts with Event Data', *Journal of Peace Research*, Vol. 54: No. 2 (2017), pp. 275-97; and Cederman, L. et al., *Inequality, Grievances, and Civil War*.

32   Intersectionality is defined as the complex, cumulative way in which the effects of multiple forms of discrimination (such as racism, sexism, and classism) combine, overlap, or intersect especially in the experiences of marginalized individuals or groups. Kimberlé Crenshaw, professor at the UCLA School of Law and Columbia Law School, introduced the theory of intersectionality (along with Critical Race Theory).

33   Cohen, Dara Kay and Sabrina M. Karim. 'Does More Equality for Women Mean Less War? Rethinking Sex and Gender Inequality and Political Violence', *International Organization* (2021), pp. 1-31; Hudson, Valerie M., Donna Lee Bowen, and Perpetua Lynne Nielsen, *The First Political Order: How Sex Shapes Governance and National Security Worldwide* (Columbia University Press, 2020); Sjoberg, Laura, *Gendering Global Conflict: Toward a Feminist Theory of War* (Columbia University Press, 2013); Hudson, Valerie M. et al., *Sex and World Peace* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2012); Melander, Erik, 'Gender Equality and Intrastate Armed Conflict', *International Studies Quarterly*, Vol. 49: No. 4 (2005), pp. 695-714; and Caprioli, Mary, 'Primed for Violence: The Role of Gender Inequality in Predicting Internal Conflict', *International Studies Quarterly*, Vol. 49: No. 2 (2005), pp. 161-78.

34   Hudson, V.M. et al., *Sex and World Peace*.

35   Sjoberg, L., *Gendering Global Conflict*.

36   Caprioli, M., 'Primed for Violence', *International Studies Quarterly*.

Tangible manifestations of gender inequality also drive, compound, and replicate violence and conflict. For example, a study from Syria found that deaths among boys outnumbered those among girls by two to one, and that older boys were consistently the most frequent victims of targeted sniper fire, execution, and torture.[37] Gender-based violence (GBV) such as this often leads to retaliation or motivates mobilization and armed response – whether pro-government, or with non-state armed actors. Similarly, research from South Sudan reveals that the tradition of bride price results in participation in violent cattle raids, which are perceived as a prerequisite to manhood and economically necessary in a context in which livelihoods are limited. This leads to and perpetuates conflict between communities, exacerbating violent cycles of abduction and revenge.[38]

If masculine identity is predicated on gender inequality – the lower status of women and girls – it can inform and shape decision-making and behaviours toward violence and conflict.[39] For example, a survey carried out in Thailand found that male political activists were least four times more likely to admit to having participated in political violence if they subscribed to patriarchal values and ideals of masculine toughness.[40]

Gender equality is a condition for peace

The good news is that the presence of higher levels of gender equality contributes to long-term sustainable peace. Gender equality is identified as a specific Sustainable Development Goal (SDG 5), as well as a 'catalytic policy intervention that triggers positive multiplier effects across the spectrum of development'.[41] Research broadly shows that gender equality is critical to achieving positive development, including democratic governance, economic growth, and labour productivity; reducing poverty; improving health and education; and addressing climate change.[42] These and other development indicators together make up the necessary conditions for long-term and sustainable peace (alongside the absence of drivers of violence and conflict). For example, the Gender Equality and Governance Index (GEGI) identified links between economic well-being, inclusive and diverse leadership, and gender equality on a global scale.[43] The top-ranking countries are established democracies, while two-thirds of the 50 lowest-ranking countries are authoritarian.[44] Similarly, the International Labour Organization (ILO) has asserted that advancing gender equality in the labour market could increase global employment by 189 million or 5.3% by 2025.[45] However, this possibility is mitigated by whether women and girls have access to opportunities for education. Indeed, education and literacy are positively correlated with intergenerational increases in economic productivity, higher earnings, and improved societal health and well-being. Advancing gender equality is also identified as one of the most cost-effective ways of fostering positive development,[46] and gender equality in the labour market and in the context of education leads to better health outcomes for men and women, including reductions in mortality, morbidity, alcohol consumption, mental health illness, and intimate partner violence.[47] Thus, the data shows that gender equality is not just a catalyst for development and sustainable peace, but is also integral to them. Gender equality is also critical to POs consistent with a vision of human security and positive peace that 'emphasizes care and social reproduction, human rights... .'[48] **It is perhaps not so surprising that equalizing the rights, opportunities, and resources available to half of the world's population would translate into improving the safety, security, and livelihood enjoyed across the globe.**

37   'Gender, Violence and Peace: a Post-2015 Development Agenda' (Collaborative product of Saferworld and Conciliation Resources, 2015), available at: www.files.ethz.ch/isn/176543/gender-violence-and-peace-briefing.pdf

38   Ibid.

39   Kronsell, Annica, *Gender, Sex and the Postnational Defense: Militarism and Peacekeeping* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2012). Her work identifies links between different types of masculinities and heterosexuality used to enhance combat effectiveness, including readiness to use violence. Kronsell also shows how increasing gender parity in the military is more achievable than increasing women's participation as a result of the culture of masculinity operating in military institutions.

40   Bjarnegård, Elin, Karen Brounéus, and Erik Melander, 'Honor and Political Violence: Micro-level Findings from a Survey in Thailand', *Journal of Peace Research*, Vol. 54: No. 6 (2017), pp. 748-61.

41   Dugarova, Esuna, 'Gender Equality as an Accelerator for Achieving the Sustainable Development Goals: A Discussion Paper', (United Nations Development Programme, 2018) p. 8.

42   See consolidated research and reports such as Dugarova, 'Gender Equality as an Accelerator'; Lopez-Claros, A., Amanda Ellis, and Ruth Halperin-Kaddari, 'The Gender Equality and Governance Index: Empowering Women for the Prosperity of Nations' (Global Governance Forum, 2020); Milner, Allison et al., 'Gender Equality and Health in High-Income Countries: A Systematic Review of Within-Country Indicators of Gender Equality in Relation to Health Outcomes', *Women's Health Reports*, Vol. 2: No. 1 (2021), pp.113-23; Ward, John et al., *Evidence for Action: Gender Equality and Economic Growth* (Chatham House and VividEconomics, 2010), available at: eige.europa.eu/resources/0910gender.pdf

43   Gender Equality and Governance Index, available at: globalgovernanceforum.org/wp-content/uploads/2020/11/Gender-Equality-and-Governance-Index-2020.5.pdf

44   Lopez-Claros, A. et al., The Gender Equality and Governance Index, p. 9.

45   International Labour Organization, *World Employment and Social Outlook: Trends for Women 2017* (Geneva: ILO, 2017).

46   Tembon, Mercy and Lucia Fort. eds., *Girl's Education in the 21st Century: Gender Equality, Empowerment and Economic Growth* (Washington DC: The World Bank, 2008).

47   Milner, Allison et al., 'Gender Equality and Health...', *Women's Health Reports*, Vol. 2: No. 1, pp. 1-11.

48   Cohn, Carol and Claire Duncanson, 'Whose Recovery? IFI Prescriptions for Postwar States', *Review of International Political Economy*, Vol. 27: No. 6, 2020, pp. 1214-34.

What this means for fit-for-the-future peace operations

Given the developmental conditions noted above that are necessary to achieve long-term and sustainable peace, POs must be envisioned and planned, in part, as an effort to **advance gender equality**. Indeed, research already indicates that POs can improve gender equality in host countries; however, these efforts are **impeded by gender inequality within the PO itself.**[49]

POs and peacekeepers themselves will need to have the **capacity and character profile**, therefore, to maintain ceasefires, support conflict resolution, and foster the developmental conditions necessary for equality and sustainable peace.

Box 4: Capacity	Box 5: Character Profile
CAPACITY refers to both **capability** – something that can be developed or improved – and **competence** demonstrated knowledge and skills.	CHARACTER PROFILE refers to the **attitudes, assumptions, and approaches** of individual peacekeepers as well as how these are reflected at the collective level (contingent, unit, and so on).

This translates into concurrently addressing the ways in which gender inequality acts as a driver of violence and conflict while also working to advance gender equality as central to safety, security, and livelihood. In this context, peacekeepers, at the individual and collective level, need the knowledge and skills alongside the right character profile to *counter gender inequality and advance gender equality* in their day-to-day operational work.

Indeed, even though gender equality and WPS mandates have existed within POs for at least two decades, including guidance such as the 2020 Gender Equality and Women, Peace and Security Resource Package,[50] there appears to be a considerable gap in the analysis and implementation. Consolidated MOWIP data suggests that one reason for this gap is that peacekeepers lack capacity in some skill areas alongside the type of character profile necessary to implement the WPS agenda and advance gender equality. This reveals a lack of adequate international (and national) policy and practice structures for guiding deployment, outlining selection criteria, and determining pre-deployment and in-mission training. The fresh insights revealed by the Global MOWIP can offer innovative guidance towards advancing gender equality and sustainable peace, and MOWIP data can be leveraged to shape and inform POs and contribute to ensuring that they are fit for the future – POs that centre gender equality as an integral component of achieving long-term and sustainable peace.

Box 6: How MOWIP data can inform fit-for-the-future POs

MOWIP data can be leveraged to shape and inform POs to ensure they are fit for the future – POs that centre gender equality as an integral component of achieving long-term and sustainable peace.

In practice, fit-for-the-future POs will operate according to the principles of gender equality – where men and women have equal access and support and are treated with equal dignity and respect. Moreover, fit-for-the-future POs will prioritize gender equality as a key component of planning and monitoring as well as direct service provision in the day-to-day operations of peacekeepers. Changes to international PO policy and practice will thus be required.

49   Karim, Sabrina and Kyle Beardsley, *Equal Opportunity Peacekeeping: Women, Peace, and Security in Post-conflict States* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2017).

50   UN DPO, *Gender Equality and Women, Peace and Security Resource Package* (2020).

04

Analytical framework applied to the MOWIP findings

Analytical framework applied to the MOWIP findings

Agency and structure: a framework to apply the Global MOWIP

The consolidated MOWIP data leads to the identification of a pattern of barriers and opportunities related to the agency of peacekeepers and the structure of POs. Agency and structure represent two interconnected concepts that have relevance for international PO policy frameworks and strategic and operational practices; therefore, they are used as the analytical framework to apply the MOWIP findings and identify international (and TPCC) policy and practice interventions aimed at achieving long-term and sustainable peace.

Structure of peace operations

Structure refers to the recurrent pattern of policy and practices that together creates, reinforces, and supports the institutional culture or working environment of a PO. It includes:

- **deployment structure** – whether personnel are deployed as part of a battalion, or formed police unit (FPU), or as an individual police officer (IPO), military observer, or staff officer;
- **policy (infra)structure** – mission mandates, agendas, guidelines, standard operating procedures, pre-deployment and in-mission training, recruitment and selection processes and criteria, and so on; and
- **physical (infra)structure** – the working and living accommodation for peacekeepers, support services and infrastructure, and so on.

Structure is a product of both policy (de jure) and practice (de facto). As such, structure can either undermine or facilitate agency – the capacity and character of peacekeepers to take actions and make decisions under the remit of their responsibilities – consistent with gender equality and sustainable peace. It can create the enabling conditions for a fit-for-purpose working environment – or not. The implications of international PO policy and practices are felt by TPCCs and can either foster or impede enabling conditions to:

- recruit, select, capacitate, and deploy peacekeepers based on a policy aim to reflect **diversity across rank, role, and unit**;
- recruit, select, capacitate, and deploy peacekeepers with:
  - the **full range of contact and combat skills** necessary to advance sustainable peace;
  - the individual **character profile anchored on equal access to safety and security, and livelihood for all people**; and
  - the **capability of undertaking actions and making decisions under the remit of their responsibility** that are in line with gender equality and WPS mandates and the goal of building sustainable peace.
- provide a **comprehensive duty of care (infra)structure for peacekeepers** – housing, mental/health care, equipment – that provides the necessary support for them to be successful in their work to advance gender equality and sustainable peace and thus takes into account gendered needs; and
- use deployment structures that are fit for the future and consistent with advancing gender equality; equal safety, security, and livelihood; and long-term and sustainable peace. This includes how many battalions are deployed and their Order of Battle (ORBAT), whether and how many FPUs are used, and the size and focus of individual deployments (military observers, staff officers, and IPOs).

International PO policy and practice has direct structural implications for how POs are envisioned, designed, and implemented. The structures represent both the foundation and the forward face of the PO. As such, they will either reinforce and complement or undermine and impede the advancement of in-mission gender equality, the WPS mandates, and the overarching goal of building sustainable peace.

Agency of peacekeepers

Agency refers to the capacity and character of individual peacekeepers to take actions and make decisions under the remit of their day-to-day operational responsibilities in line with PO mandates – discretionary (and authorized) individual decision-making practices. It has specific implications in the context of strategic and operational goals to advance gender equality and build sustainable peace, and it includes how international policy and practice incentivizes and supports international and member state recruitment, selection, deployment, and assignment in mission, as well as pre-deployment and in-mission training, development, mentoring, and performance assessment.

International policy and practice should aim to:

- encourage and support the recruitment, selection, training, and deployment of **peacekeepers with the capacity for agency** – peacekeepers who are willing and able to take actions and make decisions within the remit of their responsibilities;
- encourage, empower, and support the recruitment, selection, training, and deployment of peacekeepers with a **character profile that is consistent with gender equality, WPS mandates, and building sustainable peace**;
- prioritize the recruitment, selection, training, and deployment of peacekeepers with the **full range of contact and combat skills** necessary to advance gender equality and sustainable peace; and
- deploy and assign diverse peacekeepers **across rank, role, and unit**.

Individual peacekeepers should ideally arrive in mission with the skills, knowledge, and character profile necessary to advance gender equality and build sustainable peace at the day-to-day operational level. This includes their contact with and visibility by local populations, their efforts to collaborate with and hold accountable their international colleagues, and their willingness to adhere to and uphold UN and international policies and standards.

Such day-to-day work involves **contact, non-kinetic, or soft skills**[51] that comprise a range of communication and psycho-social skills such as listening, observation, effective communication, de-escalation, empathy, and multicultural awareness. Such skills can enable individuals and units to advance the spirit of the mandate, policies, and standards rather than seeing policy doctrine as a ceiling or barrier to advancing equal and sustainable peace at the day-to-day operational level. This is necessary if the aim is to empower peacekeepers, within the remit of their responsibilities and day-to-day operational work, to determine when to engage in conflict resolution, when to use force, when to work on inclusive community collaboration, and when to support mediation. Peacekeepers need to be able to know when and how to draw on contact skills in contrast to when and how to draw on combat skills within a mission mandate aimed at building sustainable peace. Peacekeepers are both the forward face of POs and a foremost line of contact with the national population.

Box 7: Contact, non-kinetic, or soft skills

Contact, non-kinetic, or soft skills all refer to a set of non-combat skills associated with communication and psycho-social skills such as listening, observation, effective communication, de-escalation, empathy, dialogue, mediation, multicultural awareness, and problem-solving.

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51   For example, contact, non-kinetic, or soft skills are identified in the 2019 UN policy on 'The Protection of Civilians in United Nations Peacekeeping', which identifies three mutually reinforcing tiers or approaches that are intended to be used at the strategic, operational, and tactical levels. Tier I: protection through dialogue and engagement includes 'active, structured, and regular dialogue with perpetrators or potential perpetrators of violence against civilians; conflict resolution and mediation between parties to the conflict; advocating with the host government, its security institutions, and other relevant actors to intervene to protect civilians; local conflict resolution and social cohesion activities; strategic communication; investigation; advocacy; reconciliation initiatives; reporting on human rights and protection concerns; and other initiatives which seek to protect civilians through communications, dialogue, and direct or indirect engagement', p. 10.

05

Primary MOWIP Findings

Primary MOWIP findings

The four most salient MOWIP findings for the international policy and practice arena are presented in Figure 2. These key findings also have specific relevance to agency and structure, and they fit into four areas of international policy and practice:

MOWIP Findings	International Policy and Practice Recommendations:
Deployment Criteria and Deployment Selection	**Update deployment criteria to include contact skills.** Contact and combat skills together make up the needed capacity profile of a peacekeeper.
Gender Roles	**Recruit, select, and develop peacekeeping personnel based on a dual capacity and character profile.** Select for the attitudes, assumptions, and approaches of individual peacekeepers consistent with gender equality and sustainable peace.
Social Exclusion	**Strengthen harassment and bullying response and prevention mechanisms for POs (between peacekeepers and international staff).**
Peace Operation Infrastructure and Experiences	**Strengthen the availability of and access to mental health and psychosocial support services infrastructure.**

Figure 2 MOWIP findings and their international policy and practice implications

This section of the report continues with an overview of relevant MOWIP thematic research topics in relation to each of the policy and practice findings and implications listed in Figure 2. The overview explains how the MOWIP methodology and related assessments achieved these findings – what did the methodology aim to identify and what conceptual framework did it use?

For each key MOWIP research finding, its policy and practice implications are presented, analysed, and discussed. The implications for both structure and agency are provided in the form of recommendations.

Notably, the findings and recommendations in this section are interdependent – they reinforce and complement each other. Also, varying degrees of interdependence exist between the international policy and practice arena and the TPCC policy and practice arena. Although the focus of the Global MOWIP is aimed at the international community, analysis and recommendations will be suitable at the national level even if that is not the focus of this report.

POLICY RECOMMENDATION 1

Update deployment criteria to include contact skills

The MOWIP methodology uses **deployment criteria** to identify and measure the skills and criteria necessary and prioritized for deployment based on UN requirements. It further examines whether it is men or women who are more likely to have these skills, and if the requirements favour men or women for deployment. *Necessary skills* are identified by those who have deployed as peacekeepers. In contrast, *prioritized skills* and criteria are those that are required by the UN or even the TPCC. The question is, are the skill sets identified by peacekeepers as critical to PO success reflected in the existing UN and TPCC criteria? Additionally, based on the current criteria, is it men or women who are more likely to be equipped with those skill sets, experience, or training? If the skills that are necessary do not match the skills that are prioritized, then peacekeepers will not be positioned to fulfil the PO mandate or advance sustainable peace. Moreover, if either men or women are associated with a particular cluster of skills that are not prioritized for POs, then by definition those individuals will be less eligible for deployment.

What the MOWIP data reveals

EVIDENCE-BASED FINDING

Previously deployed uniformed men and women identified communication skills and working with international personnel as the two most necessary skills for successful POs, with combat skills as the third most necessary. UN-prioritized skills and criteria do not include communication and multicultural skills but do require the demonstrated ability to drive a 4x4 and handle a small arm (combat).[52]

Among those **deployed to POs**, MOWIP survey data identified the following rankings of the most necessary peacekeeping skills:

RANKED #1: **Communication, listening, and interpersonal skill**s were identified by 48% of deployed personnel (police and military) as necessary: 44% men and 52% of women.

RANKED #2: **Working with international personnel** was identified by 45% of deployed personnel (police and military) as a necessary skill: 46% of men and 43% of women.

RANKED #3: **Combat** was identified by 41% of deployed personnel (police and military) as a necessary skill: 40% of men and 41% of women.

RANKED #4: **Speaking the English language** was identified by 33% of deployed personnel (police and military) as a necessary skill: 35% of men and 31% of women.

RANKED #5: **Speaking the local language** was identified by 26% of deployed personnel (police and military) as a necessary skill: 22% of men and 31% of women.

RANKED #6: Working with local women and local men was identified by 18% of deployed personnel (police and military) as a necessary skill: 12% and 22% of men and 26% and 12% of women respectively.

RANKED #7: **Driving skills and computer skills** were identified by 16% of deployed personnel (police and military) as necessary skills: 17% and 13% of men and 15% and 20% women respectively.

RANKED #8: **Speaking the French language** was identified by 10% of deployed personnel (police and military) as a necessary skill: 8% of men and 12% of women.

This MOWIP data offers a critical insight into the assessment of experienced peacekeepers and their evaluation of the skills and knowledge necessary for successful POs. This clearly includes a **combination of contact and combat skills**.

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52   The presentation of data is limited to 'yes' and 'no' responses from previously deployed personnel. 'I don't know' and 'I don't want to answer' responses have been excluded in the presentation of the data, including the total percentage calculation. In addition, the category 'not having sex with locals' was omitted from the data set as it is understood less as a skill, and more as a reflection of values and/or willingness/commitment to UN policy on sexual exploitation and abuse.

Analysis

The identification of communication skills, by experienced peacekeepers, as the foremost skill set necessary for POs reveals the importance of 'contact, soft, or non-kinetic' skills. They refer to a range of skills associated with communication, cross-cultural knowledge and awareness, conflict resolution, de-escalation, mediation, and problem-solving. Such skills are the bedrock of building sustainable peace and the advancement of gender equality and equal access to safety, security, and livelihood. Moreover, these skills are required for one of the primary mandates of POs – the protection of civilians (POC), which identifies dialogue and engagement as the first tier of action.[53] Fit-for-the-future POs require peacekeepers to be able to understand and communicate with other cultures in the context of international security actors and local civilian populations.[54] Indeed, PO mandates routinely require a range of non-kinetic competences or contact skills such as liaising, negotiating, preventing and de-escalating conflict, facilitating the (re)establishment of the rule of law, protecting civilian personnel, and supporting democratic principles of governance.[55] While contact skills might presently be associated with individual deployments – military observers, staff officers, and police officers – contact skills are equally important for military troops and FPUs. Indeed, military troops and FPUs may have more contact with the local population than do individual deployments, who are typically unarmed and thus more limited in their movement off base.

Consistent with this, a survey of 3,505 Swedish peacekeepers (military troops) in Bosnia in 1997 identified the qualities of the 'ideal' UN soldier:

Not a Rambo, flexible, humble, adaptable, able to resist frustration, tolerant, able to show feelings, group orientated, patient, staying power, manage stress, self-confidence, tough, obstinate, able to listen, tolerates provocation, impartial, and diplomatic.[56]

While combat and operational-tactical skills are critically important in POs, particularly for military troops, these skill sets alone cannot and will not achieve sustainable peace. The design of POs and the selection, training, and deployment of peacekeepers must reflect the goal of building sustainable peace – **prioritizing contact skills alongside combat skills**.

Women may be more likely than men to have communication and interpersonal skills. As such, identifying communication skills as an equal priority to combat skills could enable more women to deploy on POs. It is important to note, however, that communication and interpersonal skills are not a 'natural' strength of women – but, rather, a result of socio-cultural conditions in which women continue to need to prioritize the development of these skills in their professional and personal lives to maintain their own safety, security, and livelihood.

Recommendations for Structure

International policy and practice should aim to:

- establish deployment criteria that are fit for the future and reflect all the skills and knowledge needed in POs. This involves **equally prioritizing a range of contact and combat skill sets** necessary to advance gender equality and WPS mandates and build sustainable peace. Deployment criteria should therefore reflect a range of contact skills, including communication, listening, empathy, working in a multicultural environment, de-escalation and mediation techniques, and problem-solving; and

- provide training in both contact and combat skill areas, including in testing and assessment, pre-deployment training, and in-mission training. It may be necessary to target women for combat skills training, while men are targeted for contact skills training – but this should be determined at the national context based on objective assessment data.

53   UN DPO, *The Protection of Civilians in United Nations Peacekeeping*, Policy (2019), available at: peacekeeping.un.org/sites/default/files/poc_policy_2019_.pdf

54   G.J. Hofstede, Pederson, P.B., and Hofstede, G., Exploring Culture: Exercises, Stories and Synthetic Cultures (Boston: Intercultural Press, 2002), in Kvarving, Lena, *Gender Perspectives in the Armed Forces and Military Operations: An Uphill Battle*. Diss. No. 755 (2019).

55   Woodward, R. and C. Duncanson, 'An Introduction to Gender and the Military', in Woodward, R. and Duncanson, C. eds., *The Palgrave International Handbook of Gender and the Military* (London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2017).

56   Johansson, Eva, *In a Blue Beret: Four Swedish UN Battalions in Bosnia*, LI, 'R' Series. R:1 (1997).

International policy and practice should aim to:

- encourage and support the development of contact skills, alongside combat skills, for all deployments. This includes:

  - prioritizing contact skills within pre-deployment training;
  - assessing contact skills alongside combat skills as a part of qualification screening processes (for example, Assessment for Mission Service (AMS), Selection Assistance and Assessment Team (AMS-SAAT), Assessment of Operational Capability (AOC), DPO Assessment and Advisory Visits (AAV), and Pre-deployment Visits (PDV));
  - emphasizing contact skills and critical thinking/problem-solving in in-mission training; and
  - supporting TPCCs to design and institutionalize contact skills training (especially targeted for peacekeepers).

Capacitating peacekeepers with the necessary skills to undertake their PO mandate is a fundamental component of advancing the agency of peacekeepers. If some peacekeepers lack contact skill sets, while others lack combat skill sets, there is a risk that those peacekeepers are not empowered to make decisions and take actions under the remit of their responsibilities and in line with gender equality and sustainable peace. Moreover, a lack of full capacity among peacekeepers may reflect insufficient, weak, or failing structures (policy and practice). Finally, the advancement of equality and sustainable peace requires contact skills, including the knowledge and ability to effectively interact with local communities in order to support a spirit of community development, foster equality and inclusion, and promote problem-solving.

POLICY RECOMMENDATION 2

Recruit, select, and develop peacekeeping personnel based on a dual capacity and character profile

The MOWIP methodology looks at prevailing beliefs about men's and women's roles among uniformed security personnel – or **gender roles**. Specifically, two types of beliefs are evaluated: beliefs about the roles that men and women should play in the institution and in the larger society (*gender-based stereotypes*); and the *gender protection norm*, or the idea that women need to be protected even though they are members of the security institution. The extent to which the rank, roles, and units to which women are assigned or selected are informed by either gender-based stereotypes or the gender protection norm can have cascading effects for women and men, for efforts to advance gender equality, and for the selection and deployment of peacekeepers.

EVIDENCE-BASED FINDING: MOWIP data reveals a link between in-mission conduct that stands in direct contravention to PO mandates and policies and peacekeepers (men and women) who believe in rigid gender roles and/or a specific form of masculinity.[57]

- Personnel who held rigid gender roles were significantly:

  - **less likely to view misconduct as serious, including sexual exploitation and abuse (SEA), bribery, drink-driving, and using violence against civilians; and**
  - **less likely to say they would report these forms of misconduct.**

(All of the above forms of misconduct represent a breach of the UN Standards of Conduct.)

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57   Huber, Laura, Sabrina Karim, and Lindsey Pruett, 'The Commando Effect: The Impact of Gender on Misconduct among Security Force Personnel using Experimental Survey Evidence from Four Countries.' Working Paper. Courtesy of authors (2021).

Box 8: Rigid gender roles

The term **rigid gender role** is used in this instance to refer to individuals who do not accept gender non-conformity wherein men must be masculine and women must be feminine. These beliefs include stereotypical roles in the workplace and home, as well as behaviours and characteristics associated with masculinity and femininity. [58]

- Personnel who reported a belief in a version of masculinity that privileges social respect, physical strength, and sexual potency[59] were overwhelmingly more likely **to engage in violent, escalatory behaviour** – and less likely to de-escalate as required by PO mandates.

  - According to a statistical analysis of the MOWIP data, uniformed security personnel with the strongest masculine beliefs are likely to engage in about twice as many escalatory behaviours when compared with security force personnel with the weakest masculine beliefs.[60]

This finding includes both men and women, deployed and non-deployed uniformed security personnel, and illustrates another important point, that simply being a man or a woman does not make a peacekeeper more or less likely to de-escalate security situations, identify SEA as a serious form of misconduct, and/or report colleagues who engage in SEA. Rather, this points to the critical importance of the character profile of men and women as a formative component of shaping their behaviours and practices in mission.

Analysis

This is arguably one of the most profound findings from the consolidated MOWIP data. It directly links gender inequality attitudes and beliefs of peacekeepers to conflict escalation and acceptance of sexual- and gender-based exploitation, among other forms of misconduct, in POs. Moreover, this finding is not a stand-alone data point, but adds to a growing body of research correlating gender inequality attitudes with conflict escalation and the use of violence.

The consolidated MOWIP data presented above reveals that the character profile (attitudes, assumptions, and approaches) of peacekeepers can directly inform how they perceive misconduct, whether they are likely to escalate conflict in mission, and/or whether they have a willingness to report the misconduct of other peacekeepers. Escalating conflict and failing to report misconduct are in direct contravention to PO mandates and/or international policy frameworks. Therefore, when recruiting, selecting, and deploying peacekeepers, those responsible should take into account the character profile of peacekeepers alongside their knowledge and skills. This is necessary if POs aim to be fit for the future – to be able to advance gender equality, WPS mandates, and long-term sustainable peace.

Notably, the importance of developing the right character profile or 'mindset' has been identified in PO doctrine (UN Infantry Battalion Manual [UNIBAM], 2020):

Peace operations units must maintain a proactive mindset focused on mandate implementation, force protection and the Protection of Civilians (POC). Mindset is the established set of attitudes, assumptions and methods held by an individual or a unit. ... The UN mindset needs to be developed through pre-deployment and in mission training, and encompasses leadership, operational behaviour, posture, footprint and threat assessment. ... The presence, posture and profile of UN military forces will influence how the Mission is perceived by the local population. A continued and visible presence during UN Peacekeeping stability operations is required to protect and build the confidence of the local population. This presence assists in creating an environment for the local population to conduct daily activities free from threats.[61]

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58   Ibid. A belief in rigid gender roles included adherence to gender stereotypes and traditional gender roles about women. The research used a *Gender Roles Scale*.

59   This is the definition of 'toxic masculinity' used in the research as outlined in Ibid.

60   Huber, Karim, and Pruett. 'The Commando Effect: The Impact of Gender on Misconduct among Security Force Personnel using Experimental Survey Evidence from Four Countries.' Working Paper.

61   UN Infantry Battalion Manual (UNIBAM), 2nd edn. (UN DPO, 2020), p. ix, available at: peacekeeping.un.org/sites/default/files/3._military_-_1_united_nations_infantry_battalion_manual_unibam.pdf

It is difficult to imagine being able to successfully achieve this goal with peacekeepers who escalate conflict and are either willing to engage in misconduct or turn a blind eye to misconduct. SEA and violence against civilians can significantly reduce trust in POs among local populations as well as among the international community at large. Conflict resolution, de-escalation, mediation, and authentic engagement based on mutual respect and trust are foundational to achieving the goals outlined in the UNIBAM. Moreover, it is critical that all peacekeepers – men and women – have a character profile consistent with the goals associated with the A4P+ agenda and long-term sustainable peace based on equal security, safety, and livelihood. This fundamentally requires that peacekeepers are committed to upholding and adhering to the prohibition against SEA as well as other forms of misconduct and refrain from escalatory practices.

Yet it is important to highlight that the UNIBAM is specific to UN military operations and does not address recruitment and selection of peacekeepers – the focus is on 'developing' the right character or mindset through pre-deployment and in-mission training and the support and guidance of leadership. While leadership and training represent key components of developing the right character profile, the recruitment and selection of peacekeepers with the capacity for development is arguably foundational to success. In other words, TPCCs need to recruit and select peacekeepers with the **right character profile** as much as it is necessary to recruit and select peacekeepers with the **right knowledge and skills**. This includes building the capacity and character profile of peacekeepers to draw on a range of contact skills and thus their ability to advance gender equality and sustainable peace. The contributions of peacekeepers with the right character profile and skills (contact and combat) can be amplified through proportional representation across rank, role, and unit – or limited because of a lack of proportional representation.

As such, it is critical that the UN and TPCCs identify the desired character profile of peacekeepers as a priority for recruitment and selection as well as an aim of training and professional development.

Recommendations for Structure

International policy and practice should aim to:

- develop a character profile assessment tool that aims to identify the attitudes, assumptions, and approaches of uniformed security personnel in relation to UN and PO values and mandates. This tool should specifically incorporate questions in relation to beliefs about gender roles and masculinity – opinions on gender equality, including women in leadership and/or combat roles, support for or a tolerance of the use of violence against civilians and/or colleagues, and sexual assault and harassment. If the ultimate goal of POs is to build long-term sustainable peace, then it is necessary to recognize that a fit-for-the-future PO force will necessarily come with the **specific knowledge, skills, and character profile** to support and undertake this effort. **Prioritizing contact and combat skills alongside a character profile** aligned with the values and goals of long-term sustainable peace is a necessary factor;

- **reward actions that reflect the desired character profile and contact skills of peacekeepers** – award medals and/or commendations to those who use conflict resolution and problem- solving and to those who engage in civilian support, protection, and care;

- ensure that recruitment and selection practices, both at UN level for individual uniformed personnel, and at TPCC level for personnel who are part of a contingent, apply the full range of deployment criteria; and that pre-deployment and in-mission training aims to **advance both the character profile and the capacity of peacekeepers** in line with gender equality and sustainable peace; and

- require TPCCs to report the results of screening for misconduct (prior to deployment) including sexual and gender-based harassment and other forms of harassment and bullying, domestic violence, child abuse, and/or SEA.

International policy and practice should aim to:

- develop deployment criteria outlining the character profile necessary to uphold the attitude, assumptions, and approaches of the PO.

  - Support peacekeepers to have the agency – capacity and character – to address and express concerns about workplace conduct and behaviours that undermine the goals of long-term sustainable peace based on equal security, safety, and livelihood. This includes accessible and known complaints mechanisms – both formal and informal.

- support TPCC efforts to recruit, select, train, and deploy peacekeepers with both the capacity and character profile necessary to make decisions and take actions consistent with gender equality, WPS mandates, and long-term sustainable peace.

POLICY RECOMMENDATION 3

Strengthen harassment and bullying response and prevention mechanisms for POs (between peacekeepers and international staff).

The MOWIP methodology measures the degree to which cohesion and group identity are based on creating an in-group by excluding those who do not look like or behave like the in-group – also called **social exclusion**. Military, gendarmerie, and police institutions may develop in-group/out-group mentalities that are harmful for women, especially as women are more likely to be in the out-group.[62] This exclusion can manifest as sexual and gender-based harassment, bullying, and hazing within security institutions. It can also mean that the in-group members engage in behaviours and practices that only they would wish to participate in and may specifically alienate the out-group or even create a hostile work environment – for example, groups of uniformed security personnel visiting a brothel.

What the MOWIP data reveals

EVIDENCE-BASED FINDING: In-mission harassing-type behaviours are a problem for women and men, but more often for women. [63]

MOWIP data reveals that both women and men experience harassing jokes and inappropriate comments in mission. [64]

- 22% of men and 28% of women reported witnessing or experiencing jokes about physical appearance.
- 17% of men and 27% of women reported witnessing or experiencing jokes about sexual orientation.
- 14% of men and 25% of women reported witnessing or experiencing jokes about women.
- 14% of men and 16% of women reported witnessing or experiencing jokes about age.
- 14% of men and 13% of women reported witnessing or experiencing jokes about race.
- 10% of those deployed reported witnessing or experiencing jokes about other countries.
- 9% of men and 7% of women reported witnessing or experiencing jokes about men.

Based on security personnel survey responses, **only 41% of those deployed expressed the belief that all people are respected in POs** – 45% of men and 37% of women.

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62   Karim, *MOWIP Methodology*, p.35.

63   The presentation of data is limited to 'yes' and 'no' responses. 'I don't know' and 'I don't want to answer' responses have been excluded in the presentation of the data, including the total percentage calculation.

64   The MOWIP methodology does not ask specific questions about sexual harassment or similarly serious types of harassment and misconduct for ethical reasons (to avoid broaching potentially sensitive subjects or re-traumatizing victims/survivors). Instead, proxies are used including jokes about specific topics or sending/receiving offensive messages or photos by phone or email.

Analysis

This data reveals that harassing-type jokes and/or inappropriate comments are not uncommon in the PO environment between peacekeepers. This is further evidenced with the data point from deployed peacekeepers showing that there is **not** a widespread belief that all people are respected in POs. While both men and women report witnessing or experiencing jokes based on gender, nationality, age, physical appearance, and other categories, women are consistently more likely to report such jokes. This is a sign of both social exclusion and gender-based harassment, and it illustrates how jokes are used to alienate, ostracize, and exclude specific groups and individuals as well as those who would stand with them. In other words, while jokes specifically targeting women would likely make women feel uncomfortable, there will inevitably be men who are also uncomfortable with jokes about women. A military woman deployed to the UN Multidimensional Integrated Stabilization Mission in the Central African Republic (MINUSCA) reflected: [65]

> *Despite the fact that I am used to the dynamics of a male-dominated environment through my national defence force, the sexism, shaming, and harassment of military women I witnessed and experienced in-mission went beyond any of my expectations. [While] some colleagues were very supportive, …I witnessed multiple cases of inappropriate behaviour that made me feel more unsafe within the 'walls' of the mission than outside.*

This finding also highlights the importance of the character profile of peacekeepers and as such sheds light on a potentially uncomfortable reality – peacekeepers may not consistently have the attitudes, assumptions, and approaches, or the character profile, necessary to advance long-term sustainable peace. Not only are these peacekeepers a potential risk to the local population and to achieving the mission mandate, but they also represent a risk to a healthy and conducive working environment. According to one group of leading researchers on this topic, workplace harassment and bullying is a 'more crippling and devastating problem for employees than all other kinds of work-related stress put together'. [66] This data is consistent with and complementary to the previous data, linking rigid gender roles and a specific masculine ideal with a willingness to escalate conflict and acceptance of SEA and other forms of misconduct in POs. It is further evidence of the extent to which a character profile has multiple and cascading implications for PO workplace environments as well as the operational effectiveness of POs.

Data shows that both men and women are experiencing or witnessing harassment and/or bullying-type jokes in mission. This kind of behaviour undermines trust, cooperation, and social cohesion, and thus it also undermines mission effectiveness. The fact that peacekeepers are reporting harassing-type behaviours further indicates that this kind of misconduct is presently not well regulated in POs between peacekeepers. Presently, two policies regulate this kind of behaviour in POs: the 'Directive on Sexual Harassment in United Nations Peacekeeping and Other Field Missions for Military Members of National Contingents, Military Observers and Civilian Police Officers'[67] which regulates sexual harassment between peacekeepers, and the Secretary-General's bulletin 'Addressing discrimination, harassment, including sexual harassment, and abuse of authority' (ST/SGB/2019/8)[68] between international staff.

There are two apparent gaps. The second policy does not apply to peacekeepers, but only to international staff – those employed directly by the UN. And the first policy, which applies exclusively to peacekeepers, only addresses sexual harassment defined as:

…any unwelcome sexual advance, request for sexual favours or other verbal or physical conduct of a sexual nature…[69]

65   Vermeij, Lotte, 'Woman First, Soldier Second: Taboos and Stigmas Facing Military Women in UN Peace Operations', (International Peace Institute, October 2020).

66   S. Einarsen et al., 'The Concept of Bullying at Work: The European Tradition', in Einarsen et al., *Bullying and Emotional Abuse in the Workplace: International Perspectives in Research and Practice Understanding Stress and Bullying in New Zealand Workplaces*, (London: Taylor & Francis, 2009), pp. 3-30.

67   UN DPO, 'Directive on Sexual Harassment in United Nations Peacekeeping and Other Field Missions for Military Members of National Contingents, Military Observers and Civilian Police Officers' (2003a), available at: police.un.org/en/directive-sexual-harassment-united-nations-peacekeeping-and-other-field-missions-military-members-of

68   UN ST/SGB/2019/8, available at: documents-dds-ny.un.org/doc/UNDOC/GEN/N19/274/41/PDF/N1927441.pdf?OpenElement

69   UN DPO, 'Directive on Sexual Harassment in United Nations Peacekeeping and Other Field Missions for Military Members of National Contingents, Military Observers and Civilian Police Officers' (2003), p. 3.

This means that the policy framework regulating conduct between peacekeepers does not cover other types of harassing- and bullying-type behaviour of a non-sexual nature. Yet, the examples of jokes and harassing-type behaviour reported by deployed peacekeepers appear to be more gender- and other identity-based rather than of a 'sexual nature'. It is critical that all forms of harassment and bullying are clearly identified as forms of misconduct in a PO and that policy mechanisms provide for both the prevention of and response to such misconduct. Identity-based harassment constitutes a form of bias that can implicitly or explicitly inform decision-making and behaviour.

Calling attention to bias signals that the behaviour is unacceptable, reinforces egalitarian norms, and may reduce discriminatory attitudes and behaviours. In comparison, ignoring bias conveys tacit approval and may reinforce prejudice and encourage future discrimination.[70]

Altogether, harassment and bullying behaviours impede gender equality and WPS mandates and represent a significant barrier to building sustainable peace. Building sustainable peace will remain elusive as long as individuals and groups are targeted for harassment or treated with less respect. Building sustainable peace requires that those participating in the building are not themselves engaged in counterproductive and harmful conduct towards their colleagues or host-country nationals.

Recommendations for Structure

International policy and practice should aim to:

- design and implement a policy framework to prevent and respond to harassment and bullying in POs between peacekeepers and international staff. A policy regulating respectful, equal, and inclusive conduct between peacekeepers and other international staff would ideally include both a formal reporting mechanism as well as an informal mechanism.[71] An informal reporting mechanism can increase reporting by providing personnel with an opportunity to report conduct that has not escalated so far, occurred so often, or continued for so long that it meets a policy standard of severity, frequency, and duration. As such, an informal reporting mechanism can enable early detection of harassing- or bullying-type behaviours. Similarly, informal reporting can provide the opportunity for informal intervention. For example, an identified person of trust could note with the individual in question that their behaviour or comment was unwanted and unwelcome, while eliminating the need to prove whether the behaviour meets a policy definition of harassment or bullying. Finally, a comprehensive policy framework will also include prevention efforts – actions and systems aimed at both creating awareness and building the skill of personnel to interrupt harassing and bullying behaviours. A comprehensive policy to prevent and respond to harassment and bullying would ideally include:

  - prevention efforts including **bystander intervention programmes** in mission and/or in the context of pre-deployment training, and outreach and awareness raising;
  - formal and informal reporting mechanisms that together enable early detection of harassing/bullying-type behaviours;
  - appointment of persons of trust who can serve as a resource for and support to personnel with questions, concerns, and informal complaints; and
  - supervisor/command obligation to:

    - encourage respectful, professional, and inclusive behaviour (participation, collaboration, consultation)
    - discourage jokes, comments, or behaviours that undermine inclusion (bystander intervention).

- require TPCCs to have their own domestic policies (national and/or institutional) on SEA, harassment (including sexual and gender-based harassment), bullying, and hazing that conform with minimum standards outlined by the UN.

70   Mallett, Robyn K. and Margo J. Monteith, *Confronting Prejudice and Discrimination: The Science of Changing Minds and Behaviors* (London, UK/San Diego, US: Academic Press/Elsevier Inc., 2019), pp. 1–371.

71   For an example, see p. 5 of Directive on Sexual Harassment in United Nations Peacekeeping, available at: police.un.org/en/directive-sexual-harass-ment-united-nations-peacekeeping-and-other-field-missions-military-members-of

International policy and practice should aim to:

- support TPCC efforts to design and implement national and/or institutional policy mechanisms to prevent and respond to harassment (including sexual harassment), bullying, and hazing including:

  - supporting peacekeepers to have the agency – capacity and character – to address and express concerns about workplace conduct and behaviours that undermine the goals of long-term sustainable peace based on equal security, safety, and livelihood. This includes accessible and known complaints mechanisms – both formal and informal;

- support and institutionalize strategies to encourage, support, and foster bystander intervention[72] that will address behaviours and comments that could be understood as derogatory, unwanted and unwelcome, and based on gender stereotypes (or nationality, race, religion, age, physical appearance, sexual orientation, and so on) and, as such, impede women's ability and/or willingness to participate in roles or units contrary to prevailing gender norms (for example, combat/infantry roles and units) or men's ability and/or willingness to participate in roles or units contrary to prevailing gender norms (for example, service support roles);

- hold leadership to account for failure to effectively:

  - uphold and adhere to gender-equal attitudes and values as demonstrated by behaviours and practices;

  - encourage respectful, professional, and inclusive behaviour (participation, collaboration, and consultation); and

  - discourage jokes, comments, or behaviours that undermine respectful, professional, and inclusive behaviour (bystander intervention for leadership).

POLICY RECOMMENDATION 4

Strengthen the availability of and access to mental health and psychosocial support services infrastructure

The MOWIP methodology looks at **PO infrastructure** to assess the degree to which the TPCC can provide the equipment, infrastructure, and services necessary to meet women's and men's needs on missions. While the UN provides some equipment, most of the infrastructure and equipment are provided by the TPCC. Nonetheless, the UN plays a critical role in outlining the equipment, infrastructure, and services TPCCs are required to provide during POs (undertaken through the Memorandum of Understanding [MoU] process) as well as monitoring to ensure that equipment, infrastructure, and services meet required standards. Their role should ensure that infrastructure enables the availability of and access to important services, such as physical and mental health care.

PO experiences are collected to measure the degree to which individuals' experiences in mission or because of deployment affect their desire to deploy again and whether their experience influences others when making decisions to deploy. Women and men who have negative experiences in mission or because of deployment may be unlikely to redeploy and may discourage others from deploying. Because the eligible pool of women across rank, role, and unit is already more limited, there is the potential for negative experiences to have a cascading negative effect on women's willingness to deploy or redeploy.

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72   The Bystander Intervention Training (BIT) at UC San Diego uses a framework that promotes *acting ethically*. This includes teaching bystanders to ask themselves a series of ethical test questions: 1) Is what I am seeing undermining honesty, trustworthiness, respect, responsibility, or fairness? (values test), 2) Is what I am seeing a violation of standards, rules, codes, or laws? (standards test), and 3) If others saw what I am seeing, would it (or my inaction) be approved or condemned? (exposure test). The 'testing' process is followed by teaching bystanders how to act ethically using an action approach framework: 1) Interrupt – is there a way that I can interrupt the unethical behavior in progress or interrupt the situation so an unethical action doesn't occur? 2) Direct – can I direct the actors to an alternative ethical action instead of unethical ones? 3) Engage – would it be useful to engage others in the situation to help me resolve the situation ethically? and 4) Authorities - do I need to act by reporting this to the relevant authorities? See academicintegrity.org/blog/80-bystander-intervention-training-bit. See also article from US Army Benelux, www.army.mil/article/219828/be_an_active_bystander_in_preventing_sexual_assault

EVIDENCE-BASED FINDING: Both men and women experience inadequate or even no access to mental health care in mission, while both men and women report experiencing a variety of problems in mission and during reintegration into their home institutions after deployment.[73]

29% of men and 32% of women reported no access or inadequate access to mental health care while engaged in POs, even though both men and women reported experiencing a variety of problems:

- 47% reported experiencing problems with **homesickness**: 46% of men and 49% of women.
- 28% reported experiencing **feeling unsaf**e: 31% of men and 18% of women.
- 16% reported experiencing **relationship problems**: 5% of men and 6% of women.
- 14% reported experiencing **problems with locals**: 17% of men and 8% of women.
- 8% reported experiencing **discomfort** in the job: 10% of men and 4% of women.
- 7% reported experiencing **problems with people from other countries**: 8% of men and 5% of women.

44% of surveyed men and women reported experiencing a problem on returning home after deployment:

- 12% of men and 19% of women experienced **divorce** during or after deployment.
- 11% of men and 17% of women experienced problems with **cheating**.
- 11% of men and 14% of women experienced **family** problems.
- 9% of men and 11% of women experienced **physical health** problems.
- 6% of men and 7% of women experienced **mental health problems**.
- 6% of men and women experienced problems in their relationship with **friends**.
- 5% of men and women experienced **financial** problems.
- 3% of men and 5% women experienced **stigma and rumours**.

Analysis

These findings reveal something obvious but often overlooked about POs: they are inherently stressful and can have a negative mental health impact on personnel. Mental health consequences can result in a negative impact on in-mission performance (and safety) as well as on successful reintegration following a PO.

Peacekeepers are expected to perform incredibly difficult work – to prevent conflict diffusion, reduce levels of violence, extend periods of post-conflict peace, and protect civilian populations. All of this is done in a conflict zone, where personnel are separated from their primary support systems – family and community. Moreover, peacekeepers are often operating in entirely new cultural contexts and expected to work effectively with an array of international actors and colleagues, all from different backgrounds themselves.

Nearly a third of men and women reported having no access or inadequate access to MHPSS. At the same time, both men and women reported problems with physical and mental health specifically, as well as a host of other problems (feeling unsafe, discomfort on the job, and problems with colleagues and locals), while engaged in POs. This means that peacekeepers are operating in mission while needing help with their mental health and are ultimately returning from mission with these mental health needs being unmet.

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73   The presentation of data is limited to 'yes' and 'no' responses. 'I don't know' and 'I don't want to answer' responses have been excluded in the presentation of the data, including the total percentage calculation. These responses are also likely to be underestimated and people are less likely to admit problems. As a result, the true percentages are likely to be higher than reported here.

In addition, both deployed men and women reported problems transitioning home after deployment, with women disproportionately reporting problems. For example, a comparatively high rate of personnel overall reported problems with cheating and divorce, with significantly more women reporting these problems. This may be linked to a prevailing gender-based stereotype that men are less likely to be faithful – and less likely to be expected to be faithful, but more likely to expect faithfulness from their female partner. This phenomenon represents a negative experience for men and women, but disproportionately for women. If women experience their partner/spouse cheating while they are deployed or transitioning back from deployment, or they experience divorce because of deployment, their willingness to redeploy, or other women's willingness to deploy for the first time, could be negatively impacted. This is particularly true given that women are more likely to have responsibility for any children they share with a partner but less likely to have the same income level. As such, women might be more averse to deploy if they believe it could be a risk to their household and income. Moreover, women may be more likely to experience family and social stigma because of divorce. Altogether, these experiences can erode women's interest in PO deployment.

These findings **emphasize both the need for and importance of MHPSS** in mission and in the context of post-deployment reintegration, including services for family members. Supporting the physical and mental health of uniformed security personnel is clearly integral to successful POs. At best, personnel who are stressed and have little or no support will not be in a position to perform to the best of their ability. At worst, personnel may experience significant and unresolved trauma that may also result in consequences for their physical health. These personnel are more likely to be at greater risk of having accidents or mishaps in a context in which the threat of conflict is often present. Stressed or burned-out personnel may not be able to perform their duties, and, as such, can put others at risk – both civilians and colleagues. These translate into negative experiences which can have an impact on peacekeepers' willingness to redeploy as well as how they talk about their experience with potential peacekeepers. Altogether, this evidence signals the importance of MHPSS in a PO environment.

Recommendations for Structure

International policy and practice should aim to:

- provide increased MHPSS to peacekeepers during deployment and upon return from deployment (including services to family members). These services could include:
  - comprehensive psycho-social briefing prior to deployment, also provided to the family of the deployed peacekeeper; and
  - an exit procedure aimed at facilitating follow-up access to MHPSS.

Recommendations for Agency

International policy and practice should aim to:

- encourage and support TPCC efforts to consistently provide MHPSS to returning peacekeepers. This could include identifying the concrete and gender-disaggregated needs of peacekeepers, following in-mission exit procedures to reintegrate into civilian life with their family and community, and providing support to family members during reintegration.

06

Additional implications for the international and national contexts

Additional implications for the international and national contexts

Increasing the proportional representation of women across rank, role, and unit

The MOWIP methodology examines whether there are enough women eligible to deploy to meet the UN Uniformed Gender Parity Strategy targets.[74] The **eligible pool** of uniformed women security personnel includes identifying the total number of women within the security institution, as well as their representation across rank, role, and unit. If there are insufficient numbers of women within the security institution to begin with, then deploying more women to meet the UN Uniformed Gender Parity Strategy targets will be a numerical challenge. Similarly, if women are not represented across rank, role, and unit, then their eligibility for deployment will be limited to a smaller number of positions whether in military troops and FPUs or as individual deployments.

A combination of qualitative and quantitative MOWIP data generally found that women are not proportionately distributed across rank, role, and unit within TPCCs, nor in POs themselves. However, the quantitative data collected is not comparable between the rank, role, and unit held during the time of the survey and the rank, role, and unit held at the time of deployment. Nonetheless, qualitative MOWIP is consistent with an observable reality – that women are not proportionately distributed across rank, role and unit within TPCCs or in POs. Indeed, this is the very premise for the UN Gender Strong Unit – designed to incentivize TPCCs to deploy and integrate more women into FPUs and/or military contingents, with women integrated **horizontally and vertically throughout the unit across all roles and ranks**.[75]

A lack of proportional representation across rank, role, and unit:

- limits the eligible pool of women able to deploy; and
- limits women's full and equal participation in POs and thus their ability to influence planning and decision-making and have the same level of contact with the local population.

Qualitative MOWIP data found that women within armed forces are over-represented within combat support and combat service support units. Within these units, women are over-represented in administration and logistics – cooking and serving, in particular. This is true even though roles also include information technology, public relations, medical, education, military police, and signalling and communications.

In the context of police institutions, women are less likely to have experience in operational units including investigations, crime scene response/management, risk reduction/crime prevention, munitions/explosives, and crowd control/riot response.

It therefore appears that women and men continue to largely serve in gender-stereotypical units and roles within police and military institutions and in mission – with women serving in administrative, logistical, and care roles (including humanitarian work and services for women and children) and men serving in combat and operational-tactical roles (infantry/cavalry and special weapons and tactical units).[76]

It is critical that international policy and practice makes every effort to prevent gender-based stereotypes from reinforcing the attitude or belief that women are not well suited for combat, operational, or tactical roles and that men are not well suited for administrative, logistical, or care roles. Institutional decision-making and individual self-selection may be informed by implicit biases based on prevailing gender-based stereotypes and attitudes, which can translate into biased selection, training, and assignment practices within the institution and in POs. Advancing the proportional representation of women and men across rank, role, and unit is a key element of combating the gender-based stereotypes that serve as a foundation for implicit and explicit biases.

74   The UN Gender Parity Strategy goals: 30% of Individual Police Officers are women, 25% of Military Observers and Staff Officers are women, 20% of Formed Police Units and 15% of Military Contingents are women. See UN DPO, 'Uniformed Gender Parity Strategy 2018-2028', available at: peacekeeping.un.org/sites/default/files/uniformed-gender-parity-2018-2028.pdf

75   The Elsie Trust Fund provides financial incentives for TPCCs to create gender-strong units. See The Elsie Initiative Fund, 'Funding Types', available at: elsiefund.org/funding-types

76   Qualitative data findings supporting this conclusion are also identified in Vermeij, Lotte, 'Woman First, Soldier Second,' (International Peace Institute); and Kumalo, Liezelle, 'Perceptions and Lived Realities of Women Police Officers in UN Peace Operations', Issue Brief (International Peace Institute, June 2021).

Box 9: Gender bias

Gender bias is a term used to refer to the implicit (unconscious) and explicit (conscious) stereotypes and attitudes assigned to women and men that may or may not have any factual bearing on the group or individual. Implicit gender bias is particularly insidious, as stereotypes and attitudes are applied without conscious thinking, awareness, or intent. This means that an individual can hold a conscious commitment to equality while still being influenced by prevailing gender-based stereotypes and attitudes that shape and inform their thinking and behaviours. Implicit bias has been evidenced everywhere in the world it has been studied.[77]

It may also be that efforts to increase the numerical representation of women in POs sometimes draw on prevailing notations about gender-stereotypical benefits of women peacekeepers.[78] This too can limit the scope of women's full and equal participation. For example, if women are uniquely associated with the natural ability to work with local women and children, to respond to sexual and gender-based violence (SGBV), and to engage in humanitarian work, this can further reinforce gender-based institutional decision-making and individual self-selection – and amplify the impact of bias.[79] In addition, to the extent that women's participation is associated with the expressed hope that their presence will reduce the incidence and prevalence of SEA in mission, women, rather than all peacekeepers, can find themselves unfairly positioned as responsible for upholding SEA and other similar policies on misconduct directed at local populations.

Moreover, continuing to assign women to administrative and support units and roles reinforces the specific gender-based stereotype that women are neither willing nor capable of doing the 'hard' and 'dangerous' work associated with security provision and enforcement. Rather, the work women undertake is more typically understood as 'easy' and 'safe' – their role is to support and help.[80] Altogether this can signal that women are only as useful as their 'gender role' – rather than women being useful as competent, capable peacekeepers with individual character and agency.[81] As such, women may be expected to constantly prove their competence, even above and beyond what is required in order to work outside of a gender-based stereotypical unit or role – while men may be assumed to be competent.[82]

When women are assigned to units or roles generally perceived as easier (due to risk, working conditions, or physical requirements), the responsibility for security, enforcement, and protection is centred exclusively with men. This is itself a consequence of gender inequality. This boosts socio-cultural pressure on men to put their life and limb on the line to 'protect' others, and to view women as needing protection – which also contributes to the gender protection norm.[83] This inequality can lead to resentment among men towards women and, in turn, can create a risk for sexual and gender-based harassment and bullying directed at women. Similarly, men may also be targeted for doing work perceived as easier, or even feminine. However, men will not be targeted as a group, but rather as individuals who are not satisfactorily conforming to a specific masculine norm. Notably, reinforcing the assignment of men and women to roles and units based on (rigid) gender roles can reinforce a belief in such roles – which is linked to minimizing various forms of misconduct and a willingness to escalate violence.

Even though the consolidated MOWIP data is limited to qualitative data, opportunities exist, nonetheless, to improve the proportional representation of women across rank, role, and unit.

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77 Kang, 'Implicit Bias: A Primer for Court'; Kang, 'Implicit Bias in the Courtroom', pp. 1124-86.

78 For example, this page on 'Women in Peacekeeping' details why it is important to have women peacekeepers, including women's role of working with women and children. See peacekeeping.un.org/en/women-peacekeeping

79 Karim and Beardsley, *Equal Opportunity Peacekeeping*; Karim, Sabrina, 'Reevaluating Peacekeeping Effectiveness: Does Gender Neutrality Inhibit Progress?', *International Interactions*, Vol. 43: No. 5 (2017), pp. 822-47.

80 Karim and Beardsley. *Equal Opportunity Peacekeeping*; Karim, 'Reevaluating Peacekeeping Effectiveness'.

81 Qualitative evidence suggests that deployed women are confronted by stereotypes that 'may lead to them being assigned tasks seen as more "feminine" such as community engagement'. Such stereotypes can also lead to the assumption that the presence of women will 'help missions better prevent, respond to, and reduce sexual exploitation and abuse by male peacekeepers' – which adds to the burden of responsibilities of women peacekeepers. See Vermeij, 'Woman First, Soldier Second', International Peace Institute.

82 For example, research on gender bias found that '[w]omen attorneys may be treated with a presumption of incompetence that is only overcome by a flawless performance while male counterparts have the advantage of a presumption of competence that is only lost after a number of significant mistakes'. Soll, Kathleen L., 'Gender Bias Task Forces: How They Have Fulfilled Their Mandate and Recommendations for Change,' 2 S. Cal. Reev. L. & Women's Stud (1992-93), p. 637, available at: heinonline.org/HOL/LandingPage?handle=hein.journals/scws2&div=26&id=&page=

83 Gender protection norm refers to 'the idea that women need to be protected even though they are members of the security institution'. 'Women are not likely to be deployed to dangerous missions or locations. Female personnel are consistently deployed to the safest missions, partly because societies that strongly support women's rights can be less resilient to female military casualties. Moreover, decision-makers may want to prevent female personnel from being exposed to or at risk of SGBV.' Karim, Sabrina et al., *MOWIP Methodology* (Geneva: DCAF, 2020), p. 34. See Karim and Beardsley, *Equal Opportunity Peacekeeping*.

Recommendations for structure

International policy and practice could already:

- encourage the distribution of women and men across rank, role, and unit within POs. This means that rather than have overall quotas for the deployment of women, **targeted quotas specific to rank, role, and unit would be more effective**, and should include women in non-traditional roles, *as well as men in non-traditional roles*. Advancing gender equality importantly requires that inequality is addressed for both men and women;
- design and institutionalize **pre-deployment and in-mission cross-training and in-mission cross-assignment aimed at increasing the scope of roles and units that men and women are assigned to** (who may otherwise be assigned to roles or within units identified by the ORBAT based on their security institution role/unit); and
- **collect data (UN) on the rank, role, and unit of all uniformed security personnel** – in-mission rank, role, and unit as well as TPCC rank, role, and unit for those who deploy.

Recommendations for agency

Building, supporting, and empowering the agency of peacekeepers starts at the institutional level with TPCCs. In order for men and women to be proportionately distributed across rank, role, and unit within POs, they must first be distributed within the national institution. This will require addressing the implicit and explicit gender-based stereotypes that result not only in women and men self-selecting for gender-stereotypical roles and units but also in mid- to top-level leadership supporting and reinforcing these stereotypes and attitudes with policy and decision-making (particularly related to recruitment, training, and assignment).

International policy and practice could already incentivize and support such efforts within TPCCs by:

- **addressing gender-based stereotypes in mission rhetoric and materials as well as avoiding the tokenization of women**. This includes the routine association of women in POs in relation to the WPS agenda, working on GBV, with children, and in humanitarian efforts; and the routine association of men with combat and operational-tactical work. Women, like men, should be represented undertaking the full range of contact and combat skills necessary for POs. Women, like men, should be represented for their contributions and the work they are doing, rather than on the basis of their gender.

Box 10: Promising Practice Example

Cross-training and cross-working can provide an opportunity for both women and men to develop their skills and experience in a non-traditional role and unit. For example, in June 2017 the Commander of Ghanbatt 84, who was deployed to the United Nations Interim Force in Lebanon (UNIFIL) mission, designed and implemented an impromptu cross-training and cross-working programme. This was needed because of international pressure to deploy more women overall, and thus a portion of the female soldiers arrived in mission without the requisite skills/roles identified by the ORBAT. The cross-training and cross-working programme included capacitating female soldiers as drivers, guards, operations assistants, patrol commanders and cooks; and capacitating male soldiers to serve as cooks and waiters. A critically important feature of this impromptu programme was that it addressed both men and women who were not proportionately represented across role.[84]

84   Ghana Armed Forces, *MOWIP Report* (Geneva: DCAF, 2020), available at: www.dcaf.ch/ghana-armed-forces-mowip-report-2020

07

Applying the agency and structure analysis

Applying the agency and structure analysis

The agency and structure framework identified through the consolidated MOWIP data may point to the benefit of an overall review of international policy and practice, for example an examination of the extent to which group (contingent and unit) deployment structures are designed and used with gender equality and sustainable peace in mind. If advancing equal safety, security, and livelihood is key to achieving long-term sustainable peace, then it begs an important question – what are the best deployment structures and models for doing this? Military troops and FPUs represent the forward face of a mission – they are the most visible, have most contact with the local population, and are most responsible for preventing conflict diffusion, reducing levels of violence, and protecting civilian populations. In other words, who does what matters at the level of operational effectiveness and in terms of modelling democratic principles in line with equal safety, security, and livelihood. As such, it may also be worth examining the use of FPUs and asking the question: **are POs facilitating the militarization of the police from TPCCs and modelling the militarization of the police in POs**? Indeed, a growing body of research shows that militarization is in opposition to gender equality.[85]

The militarization of the police is defined as a process in which police forces increasingly draw from and pattern themselves on military models.[86] Such police forces institutionalize the use of military weapons and tactics. They tend to have a hierarchical structure, with a centralized command and control and mission-specific units. While domestic oversight for militarized police can be undertaken by civilians, it is also common to see the military as part of the command and oversight structure. In contrast, non-militarized and democratic police will steer clear of heavy weaponry and equipment in recognition that policing is a community service and that trust and confidence between the police and the community are critical to their work.[87]

To the extent that FPUs are used for specialized interventions, as some female FPUs have been, there is arguably value in using this deployment structure to advance gender equality and build sustainable peace.[88] However, according to preliminary statistical analyses of consolidated MOWIP data, **uniformed security personnel who have been trained and deployed within an FPU are significantly less likely to believe in respect for civilian rights compared with uniformed security personnel who have not been trained and deployed with an FPU.**[89] This data was based on survey responses to the following questions:

1. In your opinion, in a UN peace operation, is attacking local insurgents aggressively using force the best way to defeat insurgents in the country?
2. In your opinion, for a UN peace operation to be successful, is it essential that there are zero civilian casualties or injuries during any operation?
3. In your opinion, is the need to treat the population in the host country with respect and dignity during UN peace operations an obstacle to fulfil mission mandates?
4. In your opinion, do local civilians have the right to complain about the activities of UN peace operations?

Indeed, standing up a traditional FPU requires heavy military equipment and a centralized command structure alongside special weapons and tactical training. TPCCs are required to have two full sets of equipment, armoured vehicles, and specially trained police to enable seamless rotation in and out of POs. That means the TPCC can use the equipment and personnel domestically as well as in PO contexts. To the extent that FPUs are trained and equipped like military units, it may be worth examining the rationale and purpose of FPUs in POs to determine whether this deployment structure continues to be in line with advancing long-term and sustainable peace.

85 Elveren, Adem Yavuz and Valentine M. Moghadam, 'Militarization and Gender Inequality: Exploring the Impact', *Journal of Women, Politics & Policy* (2022); Karim, Sabrina, 'Militarized Policing Is a Global Problem With US Roots', World Politics Review (2021), available at: www.worldpoliticsreview. com/articles/30125/militarized-policing-is-a-global-problem-with-u-s-roots; and Kronsell A., 'Sexed Bodies and Military Masculinities: Gender Path Dependence in EU's Common Security and Defense Policy', *Men and Masculinities*, Vol. 19: No. 3 (2016), pp. 311–36.

86 Kraska, Peter B., 'Militarization and Policing—Its Relevance to 21st Century Police', *Policing: A Journal of Policy and Practice*, Vol. 1: No. 4 (2007), pp. 501–13.

87 Karim, 'Militarized Policing', available at: www.worldpoliticsreview.com/articles/30125/militarized-policing-is-a-global-problem-with-u-s-roots

88 Pruitt, Lesley J., *The Women in Blue Helmets* (University of California Press, 2016).

89 Izadi, Roya et al., 'Bringing Peace Home: Peace Operations as a Socializing Factor for Restraint', Working Paper (2022).

Other areas of international policy and practice could, undoubtedly, benefit from inquiry and examination. A high-level policy review that applies the agency and structure framework could support the identification of approaches that are fit for the future. This could include assessing the extent to which international policy and practice is:

1. **Strengthening the agency of peacekeepers** – do international (and TPCC) policies and practices ensure that peacekeepers – men and women – have the capacity (capability and competence) and the character to act autonomously (discretionary decision-making) to meaningfully participate in advancing gender equality and building sustainable peace?

2. **Advancing an equal opportunity structure of POs** – is the recurrent pattern of international policy and practice (that together forms a structure or pattern) inclusive and designed to create and maintain enabling conditions for the deployment of peacekeepers – men and women – who have the capacity and the character to advance gender equality and sustainable peace?

08

Conclusion

Conclusion

Fit-for-the future POs are those that have the capacity to leverage the most effective strategies to advance long-term and sustainable peace. MOWIP findings add to a growing body of evidence that reveals how gender equality is an integral component of fit-for-the-future peace operations. The structure of peacekeeping and the agency of peacekeepers, which together make up the policy, practice, and organizational culture of POs, are in need of transformational change if they are to achieve gender-equal peace in host countries and communities. Indeed, in the absence of international policy frameworks that identify the right skills and knowledge (capacity), along with the necessary attitudes, assumptions, and approaches (character profile), there is little assurance that peacekeepers, including leadership, and POs will have what it takes to be effective. MOWIP data importantly reveals how the wrong character profile and lack of capacity can impede gender equality, undermine PO mandates, and thus fail to deliver sustainable peace.

The international (and national) policy and practice structures of peacekeeping that determine deployment structures, outline selection criteria and pre-deployment/in-mission training and regulate conduct in POs would benefit from a critical review and analysis. In addition, there is a need to design and implement efforts, actions, and approaches to identify individuals with the agency necessary to advance gender equality and sustainable peace. This principally involves recognizing that the character profile of peacekeepers can either advance or undermine POs.

The MOWIP findings reveal several challenges that require urgent attention, as they represent a barrier to advancing long-term and sustainable peace founded on equal safety, security, and livelihood. As enumerated previously, this has specific implications for PO policy and practice originating at both the international and TPCC level.

Fit-for-the-future POs will require continued inquiry, analysis, and, indeed, critique. The global environment is changing more rapidly than ever: geo-political power shifts, significant changes in the availability of key resources, and regular advances in science and technology. Moreover, commitments to peace and democracy are increasingly being questioned by individual states or regional groups of states, including challenges to democracy itself from countries that have previously been vocal stalwarts, as well as efforts to undermine the effectiveness of global multilateral efforts. Altogether this translates into an even greater demand for evidence-based, coherent, and comprehensive responses to complex intra-state conflicts. The consolidated MOWIP findings represent an evidence base that can provide important insights into the design and implementation of fit-for-the-future POs. The Global MOWIP is a call to action to international policymakers to make the transformational changes needed to advance fit-for-the-future POs.

09

Annex

Consolidated recommendations

1 UPDATE DEPLOYMENT CRITERIA TO INCLUDE CONTACT SKILLS

Evidence

> Experienced peacekeepers identify communication skills and working with international personnel as the foremost skills needed for deployment.

Recommendations to **advance an equal opportunity structure of POs**.

- Establish deployment criteria that are fit for the future and reflect all the skills and knowledge needed in POs. This involves **equally prioritizing a range of contact and combat skill sets** necessary to advance gender equality and WPS mandates and build sustainable peace. Deployment criteria should therefore reflect a range of contact skills, including communication, listening, empathy, working in a multicultural environment, de-escalation and mediation techniques, and problem-solving.
- Provide training in both contact and combat skill areas, including in testing and assessment, pre-deployment training, and in-mission training. It may be necessary to target women for combat skills training, while men are targeted for contact skills training – but this should be determined at the national context based on objective assessment data.

Recommendations to **strengthen the agency of peacekeepers**.

- Encourage and support the development of contact skills, alongside combat skills, for all deployments. This includes:

  - prioritizing contact skills within pre-deployment training;
  - assessing contact skills alongside combat skills as a part of qualification screening processes (for example, Assessment for Mission Service (AMS), Selection Assistance and Assessment Team (AMS-SAAT), Assessment of Operational Capability (AOC), DPO Assessment and Advisory Visits (AAV), and Pre-deployment Visits (PDV));
  - emphasizing contact skills and critical thinking/problem-solving in in-mission training; and
  - supporting TPCCs to design and institutionalize contact skills training (especially targeted for peacekeepers).

2 RECRUIT, SELECT, AND DEVELOP PEACEKEEPING PERSONNEL BASED ON A DUAL CAPACITY AND CHARACTER PROFILE

Evidence

Uniformed security personnel who hold a belief in rigid gender roles and/or a specific version of masculinity are more likely to escalate violence in mission, and less likely to identify SEA as a problem, or to report SEA and other forms of misconduct such as drink-driving, bribery, and violence against civilians. Both men and women report harassing-type behaviours in mission.

Recommendations to **advance an equal opportunity structure of POs.**

- Develop a character profile assessment tool that aims to identify the attitudes, assumptions, and approaches of uniformed security personnel in relation to UN and PO values and mandates. This tool should specifically incorporate questions in relation to beliefs about gender roles and masculinity – opinions on gender equality, including women in leadership and/or combat roles, support for or a tolerance of the use of violence against civilians and/or colleagues, and sexual assault and harassment. If the ultimate goal of POs is to build long-term sustainable peace, then it is necessary to recognize that a fit-for-the-future PO force will necessarily come with the **specific knowledge, skills, and character profile** to support and undertake this effort. **Prioritizing contact and combat skills alongside a character profile** aligned with the values and goals of long-term sustainable peace is a necessary factor.

- **Reward actions that reflect the desired character profile and contact skills of peacekeepers** – award medals and/or commendations to those who use conflict resolution and problem-solving and to those who engage in civilian support, protection, and care.

- Ensure that recruitment and selection practices, both at UN level for individual uniformed personnel, and at TPCC level for personnel who are part of a contingent, apply the full range of deployment criteria; and that pre-deployment and in-mission training aims to **advance both the character profile and the capacity of peacekeepers** in line with gender equality and sustainable peace.

- Require TPCCs to report the results of screening for misconduct (prior to deployment) including sexual and gender-based harassment and other forms of harassment and bullying, domestic violence, child abuse, and/or SEA.

Recommendations to **strengthen the agency of peacekeepers**.

- Develop deployment criteria outlining the character profile necessary to uphold the attitude, assumptions, and approaches of the PO.

  - Support peacekeepers to have the agency – capacity and character – to address and express concerns about workplace conduct and behaviours that undermine the goals of long-term sustainable peace based on equal security, safety, and livelihood. This includes accessible and known complaints mechanisms – both formal and informal.

- Support TPCC efforts to recruit, select, train, and deploy peacekeepers with both the capacity and character profile necessary to make decisions and take actions consistent with gender equality, WPS mandates, and long-term sustainable peace.

3 STRENGTHEN HARASSMENT AND BULLYING RESPONSE AND PREVENTION MECHANISMS FOR POs (BETWEEN PEACEKEEPERS AND INTERNATIONAL STAFF)

Evidence

> Both men and women report harassing/bullying-type behaviours in mission, many of which are gender- or identity-based.

Recommendations to **advance an equal opportunity structure of POs**.

- Design and implement a policy framework to prevent and respond to harassment and bullying in POs between and among peacekeepers and other international staff. The current articulation for harassment in mission is limited to sexual harassment. A policy regulating respectful, equal, and inclusive conduct between peacekeepers and other international staff would ideally include both a formal reporting mechanism as well as an informal mechanism.[90] An informal reporting mechanism can increase reporting by providing personnel with an opportunity to report conduct that has not escalated so far, occurred so often, or continued for so long that it meets a standard of severity, frequency, and duration. As such, an informal reporting mechanism can enable early detection of harassing- or bullying-type behaviours. Similarly, informal reporting can provide the opportunity for informal intervention. For example, an identified person of trust could note with the individual in question that their behaviour or comment was unwanted and unwelcome, while eliminating the need to prove whether the behaviour meets a policy definition of harassment or bullying. Finally, a comprehensive policy framework will also include prevention efforts – actions and systems aimed at both creating awareness and building the skill of personnel to interrupt harassing and bullying behaviours. A comprehensive policy to prevent and respond to harassment and bullying would ideally include:

  - prevention efforts including **bystander intervention programmes** in mission and/or in the context of pre-deployment training, and outreach and awareness raising;
  - formal and informal reporting mechanisms that together enable early detection of harassing/bullying-type behaviours;
  - appointment of persons of trust who can serve as a resource for and support to personnel with questions, concerns, and informal complaints; and
  - supervisor/command obligation to:
    - encourage respectful, professional, and inclusive behaviour (participation, collaboration, consultation)
    - discourage jokes, comments, or behaviours that undermine inclusion (bystander intervention).

- Require TPCCs to have their own domestic policies (national and/or institutional) on SEA, harassment (including sexual and gender-based harassment), bullying, and hazing that conform with minimum standards outlined by the UN.

Recommendations to **strengthen the agency of peacekeepers**.

- Support TPCC efforts to design and implement national and/or institutional policy mechanisms to prevent and respond to harassment (including sexual harassment), bullying, and hazing including:
  - supporting peacekeepers to have the agency – capacity and character – to address and express concerns about workplace conduct and behaviours that undermine the goals of long-term sustainable peace based on equal security, safety, and livelihood. This includes accessible and known complaints mechanisms – both formal and informal.

90   For an example, see 'Directive on Sexual Harassment in United Nations Peacekeeping and Other Field Missions for Military Members of National Contingents, Military Observers and Civilian Police Officers', p. 5.

- Support and institutionalize strategies to encourage, support, and foster bystander intervention[91] that will address behaviours and comments that could be understood as derogatory, unwanted and unwelcome, and based on gender stereotypes (or nationality, race, religion, age, physical appearance, sexual orientation, and so on) and, as such, impede women's ability and/or willingness to participate in roles or units contrary to prevailing gender norms (for example, combat/infantry roles and units) or men's ability and/or willingness to participate in roles or units contrary to prevailing gender norms (for example, service support roles).

- Hold leadership to account for failure to effectively:
  - uphold and adhere to gender-equal attitudes and values as demonstrated by behaviours and practices;
  - encourage respectful, professional, and inclusive behaviour (participation, collaboration, and consultation); and
  - discourage jokes, comments or behaviours that undermine respectful, professional, and inclusive behaviour (bystander intervention for leadership).

4 STRENGTHEN THE AVAILABILITY OF AND ACCESS TO MENTAL HEALTH AND PSYCHOSOCIAL SUPPORT SERVICES INFRASTRUCTURE

Evidence

Both men and women reported a lack of access to mental health services or a lack of adequate services. Both men and women report problems on return from deployment, while women report significantly less formal support.

Recommendations to **advance an equal opportunity structure of POs**.

- Provide increased MHPSS to peacekeepers during deployment and care upon return from deployment (including services to family members), which could include:
  - psycho-social briefing and/or testing prior to deployment, also provided to the family of the deployed peacekeeper; and
  - an exit procedure aimed at facilitating follow-up access to mental health resources and other referrals.

Recommendations to **strengthen the agency of peacekeepers**.

- Support TPCC efforts to consistently provide MHPSS to returning peacekeepers. This could include identifying the concrete and gender-disaggregated needs of peacekeepers, following in-mission exit procedures to reintegrate into civilian life with their family and community, and providing support to family members during reintegration.

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91 See article from US Army Benelux, available at: www.army.mil/article/219828/be_an_active_bystander_in_preventing_sexual_assault (accessed 22 Sept 2020) and Bystander Intervention Training 'Quick Supplemental', available at: www.google.com/search?q=US+military+bystander+intervention&oq=US+military+bystander+intervention+&aqs=chrome..69i57.6828j0j7&sourceid=chrome&ie=UTF-8#

5 STRENGTHEN EFFORTS TO DIVERSIFY THE PROPORTIONAL REPRESENTATION OF WOMEN ACROSS RANK, ROLE, AND UNIT IN POs

Evidence

Qualitative data indicates that women are not proportionately represented across rank, role, or unit within POs.

Recommendations to **advance an equal opportunity structure of POs**.

- Encourage the distribution of women and men across rank, role, and unit within POs. This means that rather than have overall quotas for the deployment of women, **targeted quotas specific to rank, role, and unit would be more effective**, and should include women in non-traditional roles, *as well as men in non-traditional roles*. Advancing gender equality importantly requires that inequality is addressed for both men and women.
- Design and institutionalize **pre-deployment and in-mission cross-training and in-mission cross-assignment aimed at increasing the scope of roles and units that men and women are assigned to** (who may otherwise be assigned to roles or within units identified by the ORBAT based on their security institution role/unit).
- **Collect data (UN) on the rank, role, and unit of all uniformed security personnel** – in-mission rank, role, and unit as well as TPCC rank, role, and unit for those who deploy.

Recommendations to **strengthen the agency of peacekeepers**.

- **Address gender-based stereotypes in mission rhetoric and materials and avoid the tokenization of women**. This includes the routine association of women in POs in relation to the WPS agenda, working on GBV, with children and in humanitarian efforts; and the routine association of men with combat and operational-tactical work. Women, like men, should be represented undertaking the full range of contact and combat skills necessary for POs. Women, like men, should be represented for their contributions and the work they are doin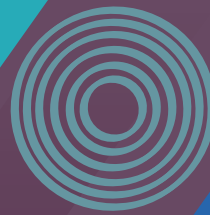g, rather than on the basis of their gender.