Advancing United Nation's Gender Mainstreaming: Female Peacekeepers in Haiti and Liberia

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Acronyms

All-Female Formed Police Unit	FFPU
Comprehensive Peace Agreement	CPA
Department of Police Operations	DPO
Educational Support Program	ESP
Formed Police Unit	FPU
Gender Development Index	GDI
Gender Inequality Index	GII
Gender Parity Index	GPI
Haitian National Police	HNP
Liberia National Police	LNP
Peacekeeping Operation	PKO
Sexual Exploitation and Abuse	SEA
United National Mission in Liberia	UNMIL
United Nations	UN
United Nations Police Unit	UNPOL
United Nations Stabilization Mission in Haiti	MINUSTAH

Abstract

The United Nations (UN) is making efforts to implement a gender mainstreaming perspective throughout its organization, specifically including women in the peace processes. One aspect of this is increasing the number of female peacekeepers. To determine the success of these efforts, this paper explores whether the lives of women and girls were improved during UN peacekeeping missions in Haiti and Liberia. Using women's and girls' participation in education, law enforcement, and politics, as well as the Gender Development Index and the Gender Inequality Index, this paper finds that including women in peacekeeping roles adds a new dimension of skills and insights that result in greater mission success. The UN had better outcomes in Liberia than Haiti. This was achieved in part due to the work of its Indian all-female Formed Police Unit (FFPU), which was able to remain engaged longer in Liberia than the Bangladesh FFPU in Haiti. The Indian unit flourished because it had 1) attainable goals, 2) consecutive deployments that were able to build off the success of their predecessors, and 3) basic government institutions and infrastructure with the support of its host-country female leadership. Including women peacekeepers enhances the UN's gender mainstreaming efforts and produces meaningful results that benefit not only women and girls but also the entire population.

"It's a simple equation - women's meaningful participation in conflict prevention and peacekeeping make our missions more effective and efficient" Jean-Pierre Lacroix, Under-Secretary-General for United Nations Peace Operations.

Introduction

Violent conflict disproportionately affects women and girls because it exacerbates pre-existing gender inequalities and discrimination. Yet, women are largely overlooked and ignored when it comes to conflict prevention, peacebuilding, and restitution. Male leadership often fails to recognize how peacekeeping efforts will affect women and underestimates and disregards how critical women are to peace process success.

This oversight happens at all levels. The United Nations (UN), the largest international institution, is making efforts to increase women's inclusion in peace processes by implementing a gender mainstreaming perspective throughout their organization and especially in their peacekeeping missions. Gender mainstreaming is the process of understanding the implications for men and women of any planned action, program, policy, or legislation in all areas and levels.

Implementing gender mainstreaming is difficult. To determine whether the UN's gender mainstreaming has been successful in peacekeeping missions, this paper will analyze the lives of women and girls before and after the deployment of UN Peacekeepers in Haiti and Liberia. After looking at how the UN implemented gender mainstreaming in each mission, this paper will examine the number of women and girls participating in education, law enforcement, and politics, as well as the Gender Development Index (GDI) and the Gender Inequality Index (GII) to see whether the organization's efforts were successful and produced meaningful, lasting results.

Methodology

The aim of this paper is to determine whether the UN's emphasis on gender mainstreaming in peacekeeping missions has been successful. To do this, I will analyze case studies of the UN peacekeeping missions in Haiti and Liberia and will explore whether the lives of local women and girls in each of these communities improved after the completion of the mission. I will be looking at the number of women and girls in education, law enforcement, and politics as well as the Gender Development Index (GDI) and the Gender Inequality Index (GII) before and after the UN mission to determine whether gender mainstreaming was beneficial or not to the local women and girls.

Liberia and Haiti have similar mission types, which makes them suitable to compare and analyze their success in promoting gender mainstreaming. They are both conducted under Chapter VII: Action with Respect to Threats to Peace, Breaches of the Peace, and Acts of Aggression of the Charter of the United Nations. They were deployed at similar time periods: Haiti from 2004 until 2017 and Liberia from 2003 until 2018. In addition, both missions had an FFPU deployed. Liberia welcomed, from India, the first FFPU in the history of the United Nations. Haiti welcomed an FFPU from Bangladesh.

I am interested in this topic because women and girls are disproportionately affected by violence yet play a woefully inadequate role. No one is better positioned than women themselves to understand both the struggles women face and how to fix them, or the untapped potential of females. Therefore, I suggest it is crucial to study the effectiveness of including women in all aspects of the UN peace process.

Background

Women's Participation in Conflict Prevention and Resolution

Historically, women have been excluded from UN conflict prevention and resolution. From 1992 until 2011, women represented less than four percent of signatories to peace agreements and nine percent of negotiators.[1] Between 1957 and 1989, only 20 women served as UN peacekeepers. Despite the efforts of the UN to include more women, today women make up just five percent of all uniformed personnel in the field.[2]

Extensive research shows women's participation in conflict prevention and resolution significantly increases the likelihood of peace. In terms of peace negotiations, two studies found that the substantial inclusion of women in peace negotiations makes agreements 64 percent more likely to succeed and 35 percent more likely to last at least fifteen years. A qualitative review of 40 peace and constitution-drafting negotiations since 1990 found that participants were more likely to agree to talks and reach agreements when women's groups strongly influence efforts to obtain peace. [3]

According to Sahana Dharmapuri in *Just Add Women and Stir?* women enhance peacekeeping operations (PKOs) in three key ways: improved information gathering, enhanced credibility, and better force protection.[4] According to a number of global studies, female PKO officers, compared to their male colleagues, have significantly lower rates of complaints of

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[1] Bigio, Jamille, and Rachel Vogelstein. "How Women's Participation in Conflict Prevention and Resolution Advances U.S. Interests." Council on Foreign Relations. Council on Foreign Relations Press, October 2016. 1. https://www.cfr.org/report/how-womens-participation-conflict-prevention-and-resolutionadvances-us-interests.

[2] Kas, Chandrima, and Kelli Meyer. "Milestone in UN Peacekeeping: Women Take the Lead in Cyprus." Web log. *United Nations Foundation* (blog). United Nations Foundation, February 7, 2019. https://unfoundation.org/blog/post/milestone-un-peacekeeping-women-take-lead-cyprus/.

[3] Bigio, "How Women's Participation in Conflict Prevention and Resolution Advances U.S. Interests,"1-3.

[4] Dharmapuri, Sahana. 2011. "Just Add Women and Stir?" *Parameters*, March 22. https://search.ebscohost.com/login.aspx?direct=true&db=edsbro&AN=edsbro.A26742079&site=eds-live

misconduct, improper use of force, and inappropriate weapons use. They are also often able to better defuse potentially violent situations without force when compared to their male colleagues. These studies found female police to be less authoritarian with lower-ranking officers and citizens and respond more effectively to violence committed against women, including domestic abuse claims. A specific example of the added benefit of having female officers is that they have greater access to "woman-only" areas of the host communities, which frequently results in intelligence collection, including the discovery of hidden improvised explosive devices. [5]

In 2000, the UN conducted a global study, *Mainstreaming a Gender Perspective in Multidimensional Peace Operations*, of missions in Bosnia, Cambodia, El Salvador, Namibia, and South Africa. The study found that women's presence broadens the repertoire of skills in a mission, makes male peacekeepers more reflective and responsible, and improves access and support for local women who feel more able to confide in female peacekeepers.[6] In addition, the study found higher success rates of those missions with greater percentages of females, such as Namibia (40 percent women) and Africa (50 percent women), and that local women were more likely to join peace committees if at least 30 percent of mission personnel were female.[7]

Some researchers credit women's central roles in families and communities as giving them a special vantage point "to recognize unusual patterns of behavior and signs of impending conflicts, such as arms mobilization and weapons caching."[8] For example, in Kosovo women were the first to show concern that young men were obtaining weapons and heading into the hills

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[5] Anderholt, Charlotte. "Female participation in formed police units." *A Report on the Integration* (2012).
[6] Ibid, 61.
[7] Bridges, Donna, and Debbie Horsfall. "Increasing operational effectiveness in UN peacekeeping: Toward a gender-balanced force." *Armed Forces & Society* 36, no. 1 (2009): 120-130.
[8] Bigio, "How Women's Participation in Conflict Prevention and Resolution Advances U.S. Interests," 3.

to train; however, there was no reporting system to make use of their insight. Women are also the first to face the backlash of extremism. Restricting women's rights often indicates the rise of extremist groups, e.g., the Taliban in Afghanistan and Boko Haram in Nigeria. Others explain that women's collaborative approach that includes perspectives from different cultures and religions increases the chances for successful negotiations.[9]

According to empirical evidence collected by international donors, such as the World Bank, "gender blindness" is a central factor contributing to failed peace and security operations. Gender blindness – "not paying attention to the different needs, interests, and roles of the various actors in a society" – can lead to increased instability and violence.[10]

Resolution 1325

On October 31, 2000, the United Nations Security Council adopted Resolution 1325 on women, peace, and security, the first of its kind to recognize the disproportionate and unique impact armed conflict has on women and girls and highlighted the importance of including women as active agents in peace and security.[11]

Based on the four pillars of prevention, participation, protection, and relief and recovery, the resolution emphasizes the importance of women's inclusion and involvement in "the prevention and resolution of conflicts, peace negotiations, peace-building, peacekeeping, humanitarian response and in post-conflict reconstruction."[12] It explains how women must participate in all sectors of the UN peace and security efforts to achieve success. The Resolution

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[9] Ibid.

[10] Dharmapuri, "Just Add Women and Stir?" 62.

[11] DPKO/DFS Gender Unit. *United Nations Peacekeeping*. New York City, NY: DPKO/DFS Gender Unit, n.d. https://peacekeeping.un.org/sites/default/files/dpko_brochure2_0.pdf.

[12] Security Council Resolution 1325, *Landmark Resolution on Women, Peace, and Security,* S/RES/1325 (2000), available from https://documents-dds-ny.un.org/doc/UNDOC/GEN/N00/720/18/PDF/N0072018.pdf?OpenElement

also emphasizes the need to properly train both men and women on gender issues. The final

element of the Resolution calls for "special measures to protect women and girls from gender-

based violence, particularly rape and other forms of sexual abuse, in situations of armed

conflict."[13]

Since 2000 and Resolution 1325, the UN Security Council has adopted eight resolutions

recognizing women's roles and experiences in conflict, peace, and security, and is working

towards the UN's goals of gender equality, non-discrimination, and respecting all human

rights.[14] Adopted by the UN Security Council on August 28, 2020, Resolution 2538 recognizes

the indispensable role of female peacekeepers to increase the effectiveness of peacekeeping

operations and calls upon all Member States and the United Nations Secretariat to increase

female peacekeeper participation. It states greater gender balance contributes to greater mission

credibility, more effective community engagement, and enhanced protection responses.[15]

Impact of Sexual Exploitation and Abuse (SEA)

UN peacekeeper missions have been accused of SEA of community members. The first

allegations arose in the UN Mission in Cambodia in 1993, followed by reports from Bosnia and

Herzegovina, Haiti, the Democratic Republic of Congo, East Timor, Sierra Leone, and Libera. It

was not until 2003 that the UN announced its zero-tolerance policy that forbade peacekeepers

from exchanging anything including money, food, or help for sex. In 2005, the Department of

Peacekeeping Operations (DPO) established its Conduct and Discipline Team, which trained

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[13] Ibid.

[14] DPKO/DFS Gender Unit. *United Nations Peacekeeping.*

[15] Security Council Resolution 2538, *Resolution 2538 (2020),* S/RES/2538 (2020), available from
https://digitallibrary.un.org/record/3878808?ln=en

peacekeepers about the new zero-tolerance policy, how to enforce it, and how to conduct investigations that violated it. The UN did not start collecting data on SEA until 2006.[16]

Despite the UN's zero-tolerance policy and its clear messaging condemning SEA, human rights violations continue. The UN defines sexual exploitation as "any actual or attempted abuse of a position of vulnerability, differential power, or trust, for sexual purposes, including, but not limited to, profiting monetarily, socially or politically from the sexual exploitation of another."[17] Sexual abuse is defined as "the actual or threatened physical intrusion of a sexual nature, whether by force or under unequal or coercive conditions."[18]

SEA by peacekeepers is a human rights violation that leaves already vulnerable individuals physically and mentally traumatized, undermines the mission, decreases legitimacy, and creates mistrust between the local community and peacekeepers. SEA significantly hampers Resolution 1325 goals because it damages gender equality progress in the communities and threatens women's and girls' safety while perpetuating patriarchal structures in the local communities. Nordås & Rustad (2013) find that SEA is most common "in situations with lower levels of battle-related deaths, in larger operations, in more recent operations, the less developed the country hosting the mission, and in operations where the conflict involved high levels of sexual violence."[19] A study of UN missions between 2009 and 2013 compared the number of females in each mission to the number of SEA allegations reported and found that missions with more female peacekeepers had fewer SEA allegations.[20]

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[16] DPKO/DFS Gender Unit. *United Nations Peacekeeping.*
[17] Ibid, 101.
[18] Ibid, 101.
[19] Ibid, 101.
[20] Ibid, 101.

There is no evidence that a female peacekeeper has ever engaged in SEA in a UN mission; however, that does not mean co-ed female peacekeepers are more inclined to report or stop SEA as commonly presumed. According to Julia Bleckner's study *From Rhetoric to Reality: A Pragmatic Analysis of the Integration of Women into UN Peacekeeping Operations,* women from all-female units have a greater awareness of SEA, a sense of responsibility to address such issues, and more experience doing so than women in co-ed units. Approximately 25 percent of male participants and 25 percent of female participants in co-ed units felt it was their responsibility to address problems related to female locals during their deployment; while 100 percent of women from all-female units felt it was their responsibility.[21]

For instance, a woman from the 2010 Haiti FFPU explained: "Especially for me, I feel I have the responsibility for women more than men. I have it for all, but especially for women." Another woman from the same unit explained: "I have overall duties as a police officer [...] but as a lady, I have some extra duties [...] If women have problems, we can understand. The Haitian women felt like they could tell us anything, come to us for anything, help in a way men cannot."[22] In contrast, a woman from the co-ed unit in East Timor in 2009 explained: "Some women came about domestic violence. This is not our duty. Local ladies came to me and asked me to help them with domestic violence. I told them to go to the police station [...] We just control law and order."[23]

The gap between the level of responsibility of women in co-ed units versus FFPUs shows female peacekeepers do not inherently feel responsible to address SEA. Therefore, the

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[21] Bleckner, Julia. 2013. "From Rhetoric to Reality: A Pragmatic Analysis of the Integration of Women into UN Peacekeeping Operations." *Journal of International Peacekeeping* 17 (3–4): 337–60. https://search.ebscohost.com/login.aspx?direct=true&db=edshol&AN=edshol.hein.intyb.inpeace0017.19&site=eds-live. 337-347.

[22] Ibid, 351.

[23] Ibid, 352.

assumption that women will inherently be aware and feel responsible to report and address SEA in UN missions can be dangerous because deploying women to UN missions is insufficient to stop SEA. Conversely, it could be that women in co-ed units who represent less than 50 percent of the unit might be more influenced by the unit's ethos and understanding of its mission and adapt to the predominantly male perspective to ensure professional success and career advancement.

Still, female peacekeepers do serve as deterrents for sexual violence as well as reassurance for victims who may be afraid of male soldiers that have undermined the mission's good intentions in the past. They also convey confidence that the organization is a safe place where women should feel comfortable rather than ashamed to come forward.[24]

Glossary

Gender Balance

The degree to which women and men hold the full range of positions. The UN has a goal of attaining a 50-50 balance in all professional posts. [25]

Gender Equality

Equal rights, responsibilities, and opportunities for women and men. It is a precondition and indicator of sustainable development.[26]

Gender Perspective

Implementing a gender perspective in peace and security operations illuminates the different threats men and women face, provides a sociocultural lens on power relations including

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[24] United Nations Mission in Liberia. Rep. *Gender Mainstreaming in Peacekeeping Operations Liberia 2003-2009 Best Practices Report*. 42

[25] DPKO, UN. "Mainstreaming a gender perspective in multidimensional peace operations." *New York* (2000): 41.6.

[26] Ibid, 6.

race, class, poverty level, age, and ethnicity, and identifies the different priorities and abilities men and women contribute to advancing peace efforts.[27] A gender perspective increases stability and prevents violence because it consults various individuals to understand the challenges of everyone involved. In addition to a successful outcome, the goal is to also end the negative effects of gender inequality.[28]

Gender Mainstreaming

Gender mainstreaming is the process of understanding the implications for men and women of any planned action, program, policy, or legislation in all areas and levels.[29] It is not just about women's rights but is also concerned with how gender affects "security, reform, reconstruction and, ultimately, the stability of peace in conflict environments."[30] The goal is to achieve gender equality.

Peacekeeping

Peacekeeping has evolved from military personnel monitoring and observing to multidimensional missions with increased responsibilities. Under Chapter VI of the UN Charter, classical peacekeeping "typically used military forces to monitor agreements between two, or more, warring political entities. The presence of UN forces was consented to; UN forces were strictly impartial, and they did not use force except in self-defense and as a last resort."[31] However, after the Cold War, peacekeeping expanded in function and complexity. Peacekeeping

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[27] Dharmapuri, Sahana. 2011. "Just Add Women and Stir?" *Parameters*, March 22. https://search.ebscohost.com/login.aspx?direct=true&db=edsbro&AN=edsbro.A2674207 9&site=eds-live.

[28] DPKO/DFS Gender Unit . *United Nations Peacekeeping*. New York City, NY: DPKO/DFS Gender Unit, n.d. https://peacekeeping.un.org/sites/default/files/dpko_brochure2_0.pdf.

[29] Dharmapuri, "Just Add Women and Stir?" 58.

[30] Anderholt, Charlotte. "Female participation in formed police units." *A Report on the Integration* (2012).11.

[31] DPKO, UN. "Mainstreaming a gender perspective in multidimensional peace operations." 7.

missions today include protecting fair elections, providing humanitarian relief, demining, aiding refugees, and protecting human rights.[32]

Formed Police Units (FPU)

Formed Police Units (FPUs) are produced by United Nations Member States and are deployable as trained and equipped, cohesive, and fully self-sustained units. They are often more heavily armed than regular UN police units and are "intended to respond to a wide range of contingencies spanning the spectrum of peace operations, especially in high-risk environments."[33] In contrast to a standard United Nations Police unit (UNPOL) where members are recruited individually and often deployed individually, FPUs are recruited from single-member states and have trained together to create cohesive units of 120-140 officers. The responsibilities of FPUs often include riot control, crowd management at public assemblies, and public safety assurance during potentially contentious events such as elections. They are also tasked with protecting UN personnel and assisting local and UNPOL police with difficult operations.[34]

Sexual Exploitation and Abuse (SEA)

The UN defines sexual exploitation as "any actual or attempted abuse of a position of vulnerability, differential power, or trust, for sexual purposes, including, but not limited to, profiting monetarily, socially or politically from the sexual exploitation of another" and sexual abuse as "the actual or threatened physical intrusion of a sexual nature, whether by force or under unequal or coercive conditions."[35]

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[32] Ibid, 3.

[33] Anderholt, Charlotte. "Female participation in formed police units." *2.*

[34] Ibid, 2-3.

[35] Karim, Sabrina, and Kyle Beardsley. "Explaining Sexual Exploitation and Abuse in Peacekeeping Missions." *Journal of Peace Research* 53, no. 1 (2016): 100–115.https://doi.org/10.1177/0022343315615506. 101.

Haiti Case Study

Historical Background

Between the Caribbean Sea and the North Atlantic Ocean, the Republic of Haiti shares the island of Hispaniola with the Dominican Republic. As of 2021, Haiti's population stands at 11.5 million, with 50.7 percent being female and 49 percent male.[36] The main languages are Creole and French and the main religion is Christianity.[37]

Haiti's struggle for democracy began in the 1980s after adopting a new constitution that ensured the country would never allow another dictatorship. The mass movement towards a pro-democratic government started when Haitians grew tired of the previous dictatorship, the Duvalier regime, which created a cycle of poverty, underrepresentation, inequality, and exploitation. Although the new constitution, written in 1986, prioritized social reforms and called for parliamentary democracy, Haiti did not have the political infrastructure to support the numerous new rules, procedures, and frameworks necessary to transfer from a dictatorship to a representative democracy. As a result, the transitional government that followed soon crumbled.[38]

On September 29, 1991, the chief of police led a coup d'état against President Jean-Bertran Aristide who initially won over the Haitian people with his lower-middle-class background and commitment to the poor. Unfortunately, he promised too much and delivered too little. His presidency saw political violence, angry mobs, and opposition from all sides for

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[36] World Bank. "Population, Total." Data. Accessed December 21, 2022. https://data.worldbank.org/indicator/SP.POP.TOTL.

[37] BBC. "Haiti Country Profile." BBC News. BBC, July 7, 2021. https://www.bbc.com/news/world-latin-america-19548810.

[38] Cabrera Figueroa, Mariana. "Peacekeeping in Haiti: Successes and Failures." The Pardee Atlas Journal of Global Studies. Frederick S. Pardee School of Global Studies. Accessed 2022. https://sites.bu.edu/pardeeatlas/back2school/peacekeeping-in-haiti-successes-and-failures/.

everything from his military and police reforms to his economic policies. French, American, and Venezuelan powers assisted Aristide's departure from Haiti. He returned three years later to run for office in 2001 and won again but had to flee from another coup d'état in 2004.[39]

United Nations Intervention

The ongoing political and economic turmoil and resulting human suffering quickly drew international attention. On June 1, 2004, the UN Security Council passed Resolution 1542 under Chapter VII of the Charter of the United Nations and The United Nations Stabilization Mission in Haiti (MINUSTAH).[40] MINUSTAH was the first multidimensional operation deployed in Haiti. It was based on three main pillars: creating a stable and safe environment, guaranteeing due political process in the country, and protecting human rights. The mission can be divided into three phases: (1) from 2004 to 2006, the mission focused on restoring stability and creating an environment that allowed for smooth elections; (2) from 2006 to 2010, it focused on security sector reform which involved dealing with gangs in the slums of Port-au-Prince; and (3) after the 2010 earthquake, the mission shifted its focus to recovery and reconstruction programs.[41]

Introduction of the Bangladeshi All-Female Formed Police Unit (FFPU)

Despite the UN's efforts in gender mainstreaming, throughout its 14 years, MINUSTAH only had one woman, Ms. Sandra Honore, serve as Special Representative of the Secretary-General from 2013 until 2017. In addition, the female peacekeepers deployed in MINUSTAH

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[39] Ibid.

[40] Ibid.

[41] Braga, Anne Caroline Charles. "Women in Peace Operations: Female Representation within MINUSTAH's Uniformed Personnel." Dissertation, University of Pretoria, 2020.

only reached an overall average of six percent, which is far from the percentage needed to prompt change.[42]

However, on June 1, 2010, Bangladesh sent its first FFPU consisting of 110 female officers to support MINUSTAH after the earthquake.[43] The female officers were expected to provide humanitarian help and community policing as well as provide primary education and healthcare, raise awareness of AIDS, and help prevent the spread of HIV and violence against women.[44] Commander of the Bangladeshi FFPU, Khanam Rocktar, said "Sometimes distressed people among the women feel it easier to talk to women. Women have some kind of natural qualities. It is to help distressed people. I think that might be the Haitian people as well as the UN."[45]

On their arrival, it was clear the unit lacked proper training to perform as an anti-riot force. To remedy this, the FFPU was given additional training in courses created by the DPO and UN Women (the UN entity dedicated to gender equality and women's empowerment).

The courses were designed to provide the officers with the necessary knowledge to perform effectively and increase the number of deployable female officers on short notice. In addition to learning the concepts and policies of peace operations, the female officers gained unique training on "communication techniques, civil-military coordination, early warning signs of sexual violence, knowledge about the consequences of violence against women, how to operate in mixed military teams, community outreach and expectations management, gender-

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[42] Ibid, 80.

[43] PeaceWomen. "Haiti: Female Contingent." Women's International League for Peace and Freedom, February 3, 2015. https://www.peacewomen.org/content/haiti-female-contingent.

[44] Kumar, Anand. "Bangladeshi Women in UN Peacekeeping." *Journal of Defence Studies* 16, no. 3 (2022): 191-208.

[45] PeaceWomen. "Haiti: Female Contingent."

responsive peacekeeping, intelligence gathering and service referrals for female survivors."[46] This training allowed the female unit to take a more active role in the mission and in aiding the community.

Interviews with the Bangladeshi female officers discovered that the local community, particularly women and children, were more comfortable approaching the FFPU than male officers. They believed they were better equipped to support victims of sexual violence and thought of themselves as role models for the local women and girls.[47]

On the other hand, they also believed the local communities simply saw them as uniformed soldiers and would primarily ask them for food and supplies. In addition, oftentimes the language barrier limited interactions and effective communication. Language challenges proved that interaction between peacekeepers and local communities is not simply dependent on gender.[48]

Impact of Sexual Exploitation and Abuse (SEA)

Despite the addition of the Bangladeshi FFPU, MINUSTAH still had an unacceptable record of SEA. A leaked report placed MINUSTAH as one of the UN missions with the largest number of SEA allegations, not to mention the number of unreported incidents, against UN personnel.[49] Oftentimes UN peacekeepers would offer money or food in exchange for sexual favors. Many of these victims were left pregnant and with no help in raising the child.[50]

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[46] Braga, Anne Caroline Charles. "Women in Peace Operations: Female Representation within MINUSTAH's Uniformed Personnel."

[47] Ibid, 85.

[48] Ibid, 85.

[49] Braga, Anne Caroline Charles. "Women in Peace Operations: Female Representation within MINUSTAH's Uniformed Personnel." 77.

[50] Cabrera Figueroa, Mariana. "Peacekeeping in Haiti: Successes and Failures."

The report offered several reasons for the increased risk of SEA in MINUSTAH including (1) many peacekeepers felt they were on "vacation" during their deployment in Haiti; (2) personnel in the mission discrediting the local's claims of SEA. The peacekeepers promised anything from food or financial support to marriage to the women and girls who engaged in reported "consensual" sexual relations.[51]

Yet, MINUSTAH did try to do its part to reduce SEA. It established a database to collect and track cases of sexual and gender-based violence and created reception areas for victims in 13 Haitian National Police (HNP) stations in the metropolitan area and in three of the most at-risk camps.[52] In 2004, MINUSTAH organized a sensitization session on violence against women for 242 officers of HNP, including 39 female officers, as well as for representatives of civil society organizations, including 148 women and 62 men.[53] In 2005, MINUSTAH started a pilot project at one police station that aimed to improve facilities in police stations to receive female victims of violence who came forward to file a complaint.[54] It also provided technical support to the Haitian Ministry of Women's Affairs and Women's Rights as they drafted a bill to prevent violence against women.[55]

MINUSTAH was a member of Table de Concertation Nationale pour la Prévention des Violences Spécifiques Faites aux Femmes et Leur Prise en Charge (National Round Table on the Prevention of Violence against Women and on their Protection) led by the Ministry of Women's

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[51] Braga, Anne Caroline Charles. "Women in Peace Operations: Female Representation within MINUSTAH's Uniformed Personnel." 77.

[52] United Nations Security Council, 2011. "Report of the Secretary-General on the United Nations Stabilization Mission in Haiti." August 25, 2011, S/2011/540.

[53] United Nations Security Council, 2009a. "Report of the Secretary-General on the United Nations Stabilization Mission in Haiti." September 1, 2009, S/2009/439

[54] United Nations Security Council, 2005a. "Report of the Secretary-General on the United Nations Stabilization Mission in Haiti." May 13, 2005, S/2005/313.

[55] United Nations Security Council, 2011. "Report of the Secretary-General on the United Nations Stabilization Mission in Haiti." S/2011/540.

Affairs and Rights and continued to support the implementation of the National Plan of Action to combat violence against women.[56]

It also contributed to the United Nations Inter-Agency National Plan on Sexual Violence against Women, which "emphasizes the need to strengthen coordinated actions of prevention and support to victims of gender-based violence, including sexual violence, under the leadership of the Ministry for the Status of Women."[57] In February 2005, this campaign held a workshop to define a national strategy to combat violence against women, with an emphasis on sexual violence. As a result, a poster campaign reinforcing that SEA was prohibited started in all the Mission's offices, and the new staff members received training on the UN's policies regarding SEA.[58]

Data is lacking on whether MINUSTAH's efforts were maintained over the last decade, but the Secretary General's 8 October 2022 report indicates insufficient resources continue to plague Haiti's efforts to protect its vulnerable population. The report cited a "lack of effective coordination among relevant" HNP units investigating sexual violence crimes. The report highlighted the HNP Unit against Sexual Crimes, the Brigade for the Protection of Minors, and the Anti-Kidnapping Cell, citing "significant operational logistical and resource shortfalls."[59]

[56] United Nations Security Council, 2006a. "Report of the Secretary-General on the United Nations Stabilization Mission in Haiti." S/2006/1003.

[57] United Nations Security Council, 2004a. "Interim Report of the Secretary-General on the United Nations Stabilization Mission in Haiti." August 30, 2004, S/2004/698.

[58] United Nations Security Council, 2005a. "Report of the Secretary-General on the United Nations Stabilization Mission in Haiti." May 13, 2005, S/2005/313.

[59] United Nations Security Council, "Letter dated 8 October 2022 from the Secretary-General addressed to the President of the Security Council." October 8, 2022. , S/2022/747.

Reforming the Haitian National Police (HNP) and Women's Inclusion

A crucial element of MINUSTAH was assisting the transitional government in monitoring, restructuring, and reforming the HNP to be consistent with democratic policing standards. This included "vetting and certification of its personnel, advising on its reorganization and training, including gender training, as well as monitoring/mentoring members of the Haitian National Police."[60]

With the help of the United States and the Organization of American States, MINUSTAH civilian police began vetting HNP applicants in 2004. From June to August 2004, 3,803 applicants, including 121 women, were vetted and accepted into the new HNP recruitment program and began their six-month training on August 23, 2004. MINUSTAH helped HNP create this training program to ensure it followed international policing and human rights standards.[61]

The HNP made efforts to combat discrimination against women within the institution by establishing gender focal points throughout the country. In 2006, 6.5 percent of officers and 12 percent of employees of the HNP were women.[62] In August 2007, the HNP, with the support of MINUSTAH, held a registration exercise to encourage women to join the police service. Thousands of women applied for the 150 open spots.[63] Collaborating again in 2008, HNP and MINUSTAH began an information campaign in schools to raise children's awareness of

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[60] Security Council Resolution 1542, *Resolution 1542 (2004),* S/RES/1542 (2004), available from file:///Users/patron/Downloads/S_RES_1542(2004)-EN.pdf

[61] United Nations Security Council, 2004a. "Interim Report of the Secretary-General on the United Nations Stabilization Mission in Haiti." S/2004/698.

[62] United Nations Security Council, 2006a. "Report of the Secretary-General on the United Nations Stabilization Mission in Haiti." December 19, 2006, S/2006/1003.

[63] United Nations Security Council, 2007a. "Report of the Secretary-General on the United Nations Stabilization Mission in Haiti." August 22, 2007, S/2007/503.

women's rights and punishable crimes under the Penal Code including rape and domestic violence.[64]

As of October 2022, women make up 1,567 of 14,161 officers in the HNP. In other words, women's HNP participation today is approximately 11 percent of the HNP, indicating no substantial progress since 2008. Additionally, the ratio of police officers to the population is 1.06 police officers per 1,000 inhabitants, which is considered "well below the United Nations-suggested international ratio of 2.2 per 1,000."[65]

Women's Participation in Education

MINUSTAH's unacceptable record of sexual and gender-based violence not only degrades the mission's credibility but also has long-lasting and detrimental effects on the vulnerable population it was meant to protect. For example, these crimes affect the population's educational attainment. Many of these women left with "peacekeeping" babies did not have the support or resources to educate themselves or their children.

Little data is available from the World Bank about educational attainment in Haiti, perhaps a result of the lack of infrastructure and overall chaos in the country. However, the World Bank does have data on literacy rates of females ages 15 and up. From 2003 to 2016, the percentage of women who were literate increased by three percent from 55 to 58 percent.[66] In

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[64] United Nations Security Council, 2008a. "Report of the Secretary-General on the United Nations Stabilization Mission in Haiti." August 27, 2007, S/2008/586.

[65] United Nations Security Council, "Letter dated 8 October 2022 from the Secretary-General addressed to the President of the Security Council." October 8, 2022. , S/2022/747.

[66] World Bank. "Literacy Rate, Adult Female (% of Females Ages 15 and above) - Haiti." Data. Accessed December 21, 2022. https://data.worldbank.org/indicator/SE.ADT.LITR.FE.ZS?locations=HT.

comparison, the literacy rate for females ages 15 and up in the world increased by five percent from 77 in 2003 to 82 percent in 2016.[67]

Women's Political Participation

In 2004, MINUSTAH began supporting the Provisional Electoral Council and reaching out to political and non-governmental organizations to promote women's participation in political life and throughout the electoral process. They also reached out to civil society groups to initiate conversations on the special concerns of women and children in disarmament, demobilization, and reintegration efforts as well as the restructuring of the judiciary and corrections systems. [68] The mission continued to promote female participation in the electoral process in 2005 when they organized a five-day training session entitled "Women and Leadership" for potential female candidates in the forthcoming. In addition, on August 25, 2005, MINUSTAH collaborated with a local non-governmental organization, to launch a weekly radio program that raised awareness of female candidates as well as female voters.[69]

In June 2008, MINUSTAH conducted several regional workshops to identify obstacles to women's participation in politics.[70] In 2009, the mission had training sessions on leadership and women's political participation for 44 leaders, including three men and five of the seven women who were running for seats in the Senate. Sensitization sessions on voter education were also carried out for 360 representatives of women's civil society organizations, including 288 women

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[67] World Bank. "Literacy Rate, Adult Female (% of Females Ages 15 and above)." Data. Accessed December 22, 2022. https://data.worldbank.org/indicator/SE.ADT.LITR.FE.ZS.

[68] United Nations Security Council, 2004a. "Interim Report of the Secretary-General on the United Nations Stabilization Mission in Haiti." S/2004/698.

[69] United Nations Security Council, 2005b. "Report of the Secretary-General on the United Nations Stabilization Mission in Haiti." October 6, 2005, S/2005/631.

[70] United Nations Security Council, 2008a. "Report of the Secretary-General on the United Nations Stabilization Mission in Haiti." August 27, 2007, S/2008/586.

and 72 men in Cap-Haïtien, les Cayes, Gonaïves, Jérémie, Jacmel, Port-de-Paix, Fort-Liberté and Miragoâne through the Mission-supported multimedia centers.[71]

Despite MINUSTAH's efforts, the number of females in Haiti's national parliament remains low, a consistent trend since before MINUSTAH's deployment. In 2004, the year MINUSTAH was deployed, women held only four percent of seats in the national parliament, compared to the world average of 16 percent. In 2017, the final year of MINUSTAH, women only held three percent of seats, compared to the world average of 24 percent.[72] So while the world's average improved by eight percent, Haiti's average worsened by one percent.

Without representation in parliament, it is extremely difficult for women to influence policy and in turn for the country to have a democracy that represents the best interests of its entire population. The World Bank states the effort to increase women's participation is about more than gender equality; it is "also about using women's resources and potential to determine political and development priorities that benefit societies and the global community."[73] In other words, increasing and diversifying the talent pool creates better outcomes for everyone.

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[71] United Nations Security Council, 2009a. "Report of the Secretary-General on the United Nations Stabilization Mission in Haiti." September 1, 2009, S/2009/439

[72] World Bank. "Proportion of Seats Held by Women in National Parliaments (%)." Data. Accessed December 22, 2022. https://data.worldbank.org/indicator/SG.GEN.PARL.ZS.

[73] World Bank. "Proportion of Seats Held by Women in National Parliaments (%) - Haiti." Data. Accessed December 22, 2022. https://data.worldbank.org/indicator/SG.GEN.PARL.ZS?locations=HT.

Liberia Case Study

Historical Background

Founded in 1847 by freed American slaves, Liberia sits in Western Africa, bordering the North Atlantic Ocean, between Cote d'Ivoire and Sierra Leone. As of 2020, Liberia's population stands at 5.05 million, with 49.7 percent female, and 50.3 percent male. There are 16 major ethnic groups and over 20 indigenous languages commonly used. It is a presidential representative democratic republic with a multi-party system.[74]

For 14 years, from 1989 until 2003, a violent civil war devastated Liberia killing over two hundred thousand people and displacing one-third of the country's population.[75] Liberian security forces degenerated into looting gangs and death squads, brutally repressing the population. The community feared and loathed law enforcement in Liberia.[76]

A culture of impunity and violence against women became normalized. Women and girls across the country suffered sexual violence, exploitation, and abuse that further exacerbated the already troubling inequalities they faced before the war.[77] Estimates indicate up to one-third of Liberian women were raped during the conflict.[78] Additionally, women lost access to infrastructure systems, economic assets, and education. The declining stability and security that

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[74] UN Women. Rep. *Liberia Country Gender Equality Profile*. UN Women, 2021.

[75] Bigio, "How Women's Participation in Conflict Prevention and Resolution Advances U.S. Interests," 15.

[76] Kember, Olivia F. "The Impact of the Indian Formed Police Unit in the United Nations Mission in Liberia: A Thesis ..." Dissertation, Georgetown University, 2010. 25.

[77] United Nations Mission in Liberia. Rep. *Gender Mainstreaming in Peacekeeping Operations Liberia 2003-2009 Best Practices Report*. Accra, Ghana: United Nations Mission in Liberia (UNMIL) in cooperation with Kofi Annan International Peacekeeping Training Centre (KAIPTC) and German Development Cooperation, 2010. https://www.resdal.org/facebook/UNMIL_Gender_Mainstreaming_in_PKO_in_Liberia-Best.pdf. 7

[78] Kember, "The Impact of the Indian Formed Police Unit in the United Nations Mission in Liberia: A Thesis ..." 3.

led to Liberia's economic crisis further exacerbated Liberian women's struggle for independence and human rights.[79]

United Nations Intervention

The United Nations Security Council through Resolution 1509 (2003), under Chapter VII of the Charter of the United Nations, established the United National Mission in Liberia (UNMIL) in 2003 to help maintain law and order in Liberia.[80] UNMIL consisted of 15,000 UN military personnel, including 250 military observers, 160 staff officers, and 1,115 civilian police officers. The UNMIL mandate consisted of three key goals 1) support the Implementation of the Ceasefire Agreement; 2) provide support for Humanitarian and Human Rights Assistance; and 3) support Security Reform through the Comprehensive Peace Agreement (CPA). Security Council Resolution 1509 also incorporated Resolution 1325 which stressed: "the importance of a gender perspective and women's participation in peacekeeping operations and post-conflict peacebuilding."[81]

Comprehensive Peace Agreement (CPA)

Liberian women played an extremely active role in gaining peace for their country even before the introduction of the UN's FFPU. In 1993, the Liberian Women's Initiative was formed. The group brought together women at home and abroad to protest for peace negotiations.[82] In

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[79] United Nations Mission in Liberia. Rep. *Gender Mainstreaming in Peacekeeping Operations Liberia 2003-2009 Best Practices Report*. 3

[80] Security Council Resolution 1509 (2003), *Resolution 1509(2003),* S/RES/1509 (2003), available from https://digitallibrary.un.org/record/502506?ln=en

[81] United Nations Mission in Liberia. Rep. *Gender Mainstreaming in Peacekeeping Operations Liberia 2003-2009 Best Practices Report*. 1

[82] Ibid, 20.

February of 1994, the group blocked the Roberts International Airport, preventing warring factions from landing in order to pressure them into peace talks.[83] In 2001, the Mano River Women Peace Network and the Women in Peacebuilding Network, which was the primary coordinator of the Mass Action for Peace campaign, were formed. In 2003, Nobel Peace Prize Winner Leymah Gbowee and a group of Liberians launched the Women of Liberia Mass Action for Peace.[84] The group brought women of all different ethnic and class backgrounds together in a national nonviolent campaign for peace. They forced formal talks, held individuals accountable for negotiated agreements, and mobilized national support for their cause. After pressuring President Taylor to participate in peace talks in Accra, Ghana, the women staged a sit-in and refused to leave until a resolution was agreed upon; the talks culminated in the 2003 CPA.[85]

These women's groups were essential to the CPA yet there were no women signatories or mediators. Seventeen percent of the witnesses were women and, unfortunately, no data available on the number of women on the negotiating team.[86] Despite this lack of representation, the CPA did reflect women's involvement because it set quotas for members of the Transitional Legislative Assembly to be women and provisions for gender balance in elective and non-elective posts.[87]

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[83] Global Network of Women Peacebuilders. Rep. *Security Council Resolution 1325: Civil Society Monitoring Report 2011 Liberia*. Global Network of Women Peacebuilders, 2011. http://www.peacewomen.org/sites/default/files/GNWP_Monitoring_Liberia.pdf.

[84] United Nations Mission in Liberia. Rep. *Gender Mainstreaming in Peacekeeping Operations Liberia 2003-2009 Best Practices Report*. 30.

[85] Bigio, "How Women's Participation in Conflict Prevention and Resolution Advances U.S. Interests," 15.

[86] Global Network of Women Peacebuilders. Rep. *Security Council Resolution 1325: Civil Society Monitoring Report 2011 Liberia*. Global Network of Women Peacebuilders, 2011.

[87] United Nations Mission in Liberia. Rep. *Gender Mainstreaming in Peacekeeping Operations Liberia 2003-2009 Best Practices Report*. 4

Introduction of the Indian All-Female Formed Police Unit (FFPU)

In 2007, the first FFPU joined the United Nations Peacekeeping efforts in Liberia. Composed of 105 women from the Rapid Action Force battalions of India's paramilitary Central Reserve Police force, the FFPU inspired a sense of security and opportunity for not only the women and girls of Liberia but also men and boys.[88]

Stationed in Congo Town, a suburb of Liberia's capital city of Monrovia, this FFPU comprised diverse women between the ages of 27 and 45, many married with children. Their main responsibility was to protect UN staff within the country. For instance, they served as "guards for UN and local authorities (including President Ellen Johnson Sirleaf), providing security at local events, riot control, conducting night patrols in and around Monrovia, and assisting in building the capacity of local security institutions."[89]

However, the unit also implemented several community outreach projects and became role models for many Liberian women and girls. The FFPU taught self-defense and dance classes and provided medical services to orphanages and schools and provided first-aid classes to women in the community. Research has shown providing medical care and healthcare alongside military operations has helped win over local support for keeping the peace. By providing free medical services and clean drinking water, the FFPU created a sense of calm and reduced poverty-motivated crimes. UNMIL's Senior General Adviser, Carole Doucet said "the new and important best practice in the case of the all-female Indian FPU is the capacity of a women-only

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[88] Kember, "The Impact of the Indian Formed Police Unit in the United Nations Mission in Liberia: A Thesis ..." 27.

[89] United Nations Mission in Liberia. Rep. *Gender Mainstreaming in Peacekeeping Operations Liberia 2003-2009 Best Practices Report*. 40

force to effectively implement formal security provision tasks while providing positive role modeling to citizens."[90]

One of the most important aspects of the female peacekeepers was that they served as role models for women and girls, whether it be their simple presence or participation in community events. After the unit 'adopted' Victory Chapel School, there was a significant increase in girls' attendance in school, and in 2008 the ratio of female to male pupils rose to 7:3, which is a stark contrast to the 3:7 national average.[91] On UN Peacekeepers Day, the Indian FFPU visited high school girls at a college fair to promote the Liberia National Police's (LNP) mission and recruitment. According to UNPOL and LNP, "the event was very successful and LNP officers reported a higher-than-average number of information forms being requested and returned, and a heightened interest by high schoolers to interact with the unit."[92] Seeing and hearing from these FFPU officers and peacekeepers not only increased women's interest in possible careers with Liberia's Security Sector Reform but possible career opportunities outside traditionally accepted positions for women.

The second group of Indian FFPU started their deployment in January 2008, under Rakhi Sahi, and were able to expand their efforts in the community following the success of their predecessors. This group provided medical services and clean water to the public, arranged the installation of lights in public areas at night, and continued self-defense, first aid, and Indian dance classes at Congo Town's Hebron Orphanage and Victory Chapel School.[93]

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[90] Ibid, 40.

[91] Kember, "The Impact of the Indian Formed Police Unit in the United Nations Mission in Liberia: A Thesis ..." 33.

[92] United Nations Mission in Liberia. Rep. *Gender Mainstreaming in Peacekeeping Operations Liberia 2003-2009 Best Practices Report*. 40

[93] Kember, "The Impact of the Indian Formed Police Unit in the United Nations Mission in Liberia: A Thesis ..." 29.

The third group of Indian FFPU was deployed in February 2009 and again continued the success of their predecessors' initiatives, while adding their own. They started community-wide trash clean-up days, taught computer classes, and educated the public on sexual violence and HIV/AIDS.[94] By creating strong relationships with the community, the Indian FFPU was able to address sensitive issues such as sexual violence and abuse.

In interviews conducted with the male units in Liberia, researchers found the predominantly male units viewed the mission in a much narrower way compared to the Indian FFPUs. The all-male FPU was chiefly concerned with the crime rates for armed robbery and assault. In comparison, while the FFPUs were concerned with these issues as well, they gave more attention to community outreach and overall human security.[95]

Impact of Sexual Exploitation and Abuse

Almost half of Liberia's female population between 15 to 19 years old have experienced physical, sexual, or psychological violence by a current or former intimate partner at some point in their lives.[96] In 2005, the World Health Organization estimated 82% of women were subjected to multiple forms of violence, and 77% were raped. In 2008, 553 cases of sexual and gender-based violence were reported. In 2009, 532 cases were reported.[97]

UN peacekeepers, unfortunately, added to these numbers. An Office of International Oversight Services report found over one-fourth of women aged 18 to 30 in Monrovia, Liberia

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[94] Ibid, 29.

[95] Ibid, 44.

[96] UN Women. Rep. *Liberia Country Gender Equality Profile*. UN Women, 2021.

[97] Global Network of Women Peacebuilders. Rep. *Security Council Resolution 1325: Civil Society Monitoring Report 2011 Liberia*. Global Network of Women Peacebuilders, 2011. http://www.peacewomen.org/sites/default/files/GNWP_Monitoring_Liberia.pdf.

have engaged in transactional sex with a peacekeeper. In addition, about half of the sexual

transactions that happen in Monrovia are with UN personnel.[98]

Female peacekeepers have been directly correlated to a decrease in sexual violence and

abuse that undermines the UN's mission. Not only do they decrease sexual violence by

peacekeepers but also within the local community. UNMIL reported that Liberian women have

felt more willing to report incidents of sexual violence and assault to the FFPU.[99]

Establishing and maintaining security and effective communication with community

members positively contributed to the mission. For instance, when a female FPU staff notices a

change in the community, such as someone being absent from regular activity, they will

approach them and ask if there is a problem at home. Community members have said these

"interactions strengthen relationships and promote physical and human security."[100] The FFPU

has become a resource for women in the community to report and mitigate sexual violence or

assault.

Reforming the Liberia National Police (LNP) and Women's Inclusion

One of UNMIL's first initiatives was to rebuild the security sector by strengthening the

LNP. They first created a vetting program that weeded out more than 2,700 members of the

former LNP who either were guilty of misconduct during the civil war or did not meet the new

criteria for LNP membership: "Liberian citizenship, age of 18-35, possession of a complete high

school education, and neither a criminal record nor charges pending for war crimes, crimes

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[98] Karim, Sabrina, and Kyle Beardsley. "Explaining Sexual Exploitation and Abuse in
Peacekeeping Missions." *102.*
[99] Ibid, 32.
[100] Ibid, 42.

against humanity or crimes violating international human rights conventions."[101] After vetting, only 900 LNP officers remained, including 55 women.

The existing officers were retrained. A crucial element of the UNMIL's initiative to rebuild the security sector and LNP involved women's participation. The 2005 LNP Gender policy set a 15% quota for women's participation, later raised to 20%, and outlined ways to improve recruitment, participation, and retention of women.[102] Female recruitment faced two significant obstacles. First, Liberian women were hesitant to join the LNP because of its reputation for corruption and violence, as well as the cultural perception that policing was a male occupation. Second, many did not meet the educational requirements.[103] To overcome the educational obstacle, in 2006, the LNP established the Committee for National Recruitment of Women which started the Educational Support Program (ESP) for women who wanted to join the LNP but lacked the necessary educational requirements.[104]

Essentially a condensed high school education or Graduate Record Examination, the ESP was a three-month academic program offered to women between the ages of 18 and 35 who had completed at least the ninth grade. Following the three months of school, the women participated in three months of police training at the National Police Academy.[105]

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[101] Kember, "The Impact of the Indian Formed Police Unit in the United Nations Mission in Liberia: A Thesis ..." 26.

[102] United Nations Mission in Liberia. Rep. *Gender Mainstreaming in Peacekeeping Operations Liberia 2003-2009 Best Practices Report*. 19

[103] Kember, "The Impact of the Indian Formed Police Unit in the United Nations Mission in Liberia: A Thesis ..." 26.

[104] United Nations Mission in Liberia. Rep. *Gender Mainstreaming in Peacekeeping Operations Liberia 2003-2009 Best Practices Report*. 20

[105] Ibid, 20.

The ESP succeeded in helping the LNP reach its 20% quota. Although the first 30 classes of the LNP averaged 4 female recruits, there has been a moderate increase since then. Classes 32 and 33 had 105 and 104 female recruits respectively.[106]

Women's Participation in Education

In 2005, under President Sirleaf, the Liberian Ministry of Education adopted the National Policy on Girls' Education. They hoped to promote girls' access to quality education and aimed to decrease girls' school dropout rate from 50 percent to 37 percent. By 2014, they achieved their goal. However, the percentage of girls dropping out of school increased again in 2017 due to the Ebola epidemic and the economic pressures that resulted, which led more children to work instead of attending school. [107]

One way to determine the impact UNMIL had on girls' education in Liberia is to look at the Gender Parity Index (GPI). Produced by the World Bank, the GPI indicates the parity between girls and boys. A GPI of less than 1 suggests girls are more disadvantaged than boys and vice versa.

For reference, UNMIL began on September 19, 2003, and ended in March 2018. In 2000 before UNMIL was deployed, the GPI of school enrollment in primary and secondary was 0.74 compared to the world's score of 0.92. In 2015, the latest data the World Bank has and towards the end of UNMIL's deployment, Liberia scored 0.86, compared to the world's score of 1.[108] So,

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[106] Ibid, 21.

[107] UN Women. Rep. *Liberia Country Gender Equality Profile*. UN Women, 2021.

[108] World Bank. "School Enrollment, Primary and Secondary (Gross), Gender Parity Index (GPI) - Liberia." Data. Accessed December 21, 2022. https://data.worldbank.org/indicator/SE.ENR.PRSC.FM.ZS?end=2015&locations=LR&most_recent_year_desc=false&start=1970&view=chart.

during the duration of UNMIL's time in Liberia, the country rose 12 points closer to reaching gender parity.

Another component is the literacy rate, which can be used as an outcome indicator to evaluate educational attainment. The World Bank states that literacy rate data "can predict the quality of the future labor force" and can be used "as a proxy instrument to see the effectiveness of an education system."[109] The World Bank goes on to state that being literate "is fundamental for further intellectual growth and social and economic development," specifically saying literate women "can seek and use information for the betterment of the health, nutrition, and education of their household members."[110]

In 2007, the closest data the World Bank has to the beginning of UNMIL's deployment, 27 percent of females 15 and above were literate, compared to the world average of 78 percent. By 2017, 10 years later, the literacy rate of females 15 and above improved by seven percent to 34 percent literate. The world average literacy rate for the same years improved by just five percent to 83 percent.[111] Although Liberia is far below the world average, in the ten-year span between 2007 and 2017, the country did better than the rest of the world by two percentage points in raising the literacy rates of females ages 15 and above.

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[109] World Bank. "Literacy Rate, Adult Female (% of Females Ages 15 and above) - Liberia." Data. Accessed December 21, 2022. https://data.worldbank.org/indicator/SE.ADT.LITR.FE.ZS?locations=LR.
[110] Ibid.
[111] Ibid.

Women's Political Participation

A clear positive result was the democratic election of Liberia's first female President, Ellen Johnson Sirleaf, in 2005 and again in 2011.[112] President Sirleaf's win was in part thanks to the over 50% female voters. She continued to promote women by having "five women ministers in strategic positions [in her cabinet], 21 women as deputy and assistant ministers, and 28 women in non-traditional executive appointments, including Inspector General of the LNP and Deputy Governor of the Central Bank of Liberia."[113] Her election victories in 2005 and 2011 brought women's issues to national-level attention.

The election of President Sirleaf was a turning point for women's inclusion in Liberia's political realm. She mandated the increase in the number of women, especially in cabinet and agency roles, by 200 percent.[114]

However, women's participation in government positions, political representative bodies, and political processes remain far from being equal to their male counterparts. In 2020, women represented only 20 of the 118 eligible candidates in the Special Senate Elections, and only one had been certified. Currently, women hold 15.8 percent of cabinet positions, comprise 24.5 percent of deputy minister positions, and 25.9 percent of assistant ministers. Of the 15 counties in Liberia, only three have female superintendents and of the 30 respective mayoral positions, women only hold ten. [115] Since the deployment of UNMIL, the percentage of women in the

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[112] UN Women. Rep. *Liberia Country Gender Equality Profile*. UN Women, 2021. https://datapopalliance.org/wp-content/uploads/2021/09/Report-UNW-liberia.pdfhttps://datapopalliance.org/wp-content/uploads/2021/09/Report-UNW-liberia.pdf.

[113] United Nations Mission in Liberia. Rep. *Gender Mainstreaming in Peacekeeping Operations Liberia 2003-2009 Best Practices Report*. 4

[114] UN Women. Rep. *Liberia Country Gender Equality Profile*. UN Women, 2021.

[115] Ibid, 31.

national parliament only increased by four percent from eight percent in 2003 to 12 percent in

2018. Although well below the world average of 24 percent in 2018, there was improvement.[116]

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[116] World Bank. "Proportion of Seats Held by Women in National Parliaments (%) - Liberia." Data. Accessed December 22, 2022. https://data.worldbank.org/indicator/SG.GEN.PARL.ZS?locations=LR.

Data and Analysis

Before being able to conclude that the UN's gender mainstreaming efforts were successful in Haiti and Liberia, it is crucial to look at the GDI and GII provided by the World Bank.

Gender Development Index (GDI)

The GDI measures gender inequality through three dimensions of human development: life expectancy at birth, expected years of schooling and mean years of schooling for adults ages 25 years and older, and estimated earned income. Ideally, each country's score would be one, which means there is developmental equality between genders.[117]

In 2010, the earliest data available from the Human Development Reports, Haiti scored 0.825 on the GDI. The country's score improved by 0.077 in the time MINUSTAH was deployed to 0.902 in 2017.[118] In 2002 Liberia scored a 0.789. The country's score improved by 0.077 in the time UNMIL was deployed to 0.866 in 2018.[119] According to the data given, Liberia and Haiti both improved the same during the deployment of the two UN missions.

During the same period, the world's score improved by 0.015 from 0.938 in 2010 to 0.953 in 2017.[120] So, both Haiti and Liberia did relatively better in gendered development, than

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[117] United Nations. "Gender Development Index." Human Development Reports, December 14, 2022. https://hdr.undp.org/gender-development-index#/indicies/GDI.

[118] United Nations. "Specific Country Data." Human Development Reports. Accessed December 23, 2022. https://hdr.undp.org/data-center/specific-country-data#/countries/HTI.

[119] United Nations. "Specific Country Data." Human Development Reports. Accessed December 23, 2022. https://hdr.undp.org/data-center/specific-country-data#/countries/LBR.

[120] United Nations. "Specific Country Data." Human Development Reports. Accessed December 23, 2022. https://hdr.undp.org/data-center/specific-country-data#/countries/HTI.

the rest of the world, which could be partly attributed to the UN's gender mainstreaming initiatives in MINUSTAH and UNMIL.

Gender Inequality Index (GII)

The final indicator of whether the UN's emphasis on Gender Mainstreaming was successful is the GII. The GII reflects the inequality between women and men through a composite measure of three dimensions: reproductive health, empowerment, and labor market participation. A high GII value means more inequality between women and men, and vice versa.[121]

As depicted in the graph, when MINUSTAH first deployed in 2004, Haiti scored 0.600. By 2017, the last year of the mission, Haiti scored 0.637.[122] During MINUSTAH's time in Haiti, the country worsened by 0.037. In comparison, the world improved by 0.69. Despite the UN's gender mainstreaming efforts, Haiti's women and girls, according to this GII data, did not benefit from their presence.

As depicted in the graph, when UNMIL was first deployed in 2003, Liberia scored a 0.682. By 2018, the last year of the mission, Liberia scored 0.645. During UNMIL's time in Liberia, the country improved by 0.037.[123] In comparison, the world overall improved by 0.77 in the same years. Although Liberia did not improve as much as the world, it did improve. The UN's gender mainstreaming initiative cannot take credit for all this improvement, but it did contribute.

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[121] United Nations. *Gender Inequality Index.* Human Development Reports, December 14, 2022. https://hdr.undp.org/data-center/thematic-composite-indices/gender-inequality-index#/indicies/GII.

[122] United Nations. "Specific Country Data." Human Development Reports. Accessed December 23, 2022. https://hdr.undp.org/data-center/specific-country-data#/countries/HTI.

[123] United Nations. "Specific Country Data." Human Development Reports. Accessed December 23,2022. https://hdr.undp.org/data-center/specific-country-data#/countries/LBR.

Analysis

For Haiti, the two indexes provide contradicting information about whether the lives of women and girls improved. The GDI said it did, while the GII said it did not. Perhaps the initiatives MINUSTAH targeted were more focused on development, which could explain the variance. For Liberia, on the other hand, the two indexes support each other and support the supposition that the lives of women and girls improved during the UNMIL deployment. These findings are supported by the chosen three main indicators of improvement: participation in education, law enforcement, and politics.

Participation in Education

The UN's gender mainstreaming efforts successfully increased the number of women in education in Liberia but did not succeed in Haiti. Education is one of the most important indicators of personal empowerment. It can be an indicator of the quality of a future labor force as well as the social and economic development of a country.

As previously discussed, during the duration of UNMIL's time in Liberia, the country's GPI rose, which means although girls are still more disadvantaged than boys in educational attainment, there has been an improvement. In addition, the literacy rate of females ages 15 and above improved. So, although there is still work to be done, females' participation in education did improve during UNMIL's deployment.

Unfortunately, there is not as much data available for Haiti, so it is difficult to determine whether MINUSTAH did help female participation in education. This lack of data is perhaps a result of the lack of infrastructure and overall chaos in the country.

Participation in Law Enforcement

The UN's gender mainstreaming efforts successfully increased the number of women in law enforcement in both the HNP and LNP. The 2005 Liberia National Police Gender policy set a 15% quota for women's participation, later raised to 20%, and achieved it. The Haitian National Police succeeded in inspiring more women to join the service through educational programs and raising awareness of women's rights.

Participation in Politics

The UN's gender mainstreaming efforts successfully increased the number of women in education and politics in both Haiti and Liberia, there is still much room for improvement as neither country has reached gender parity. In Haiti, MINUSTAH worked with the Provisional Electoral Council, political and non-governmental organizations, and civil societies in efforts to promote women's participation in political life and the electoral process. They organized training sessions for potential female candidates, started a weekly radio program that raised awareness of female candidates and female voters, conducted workshops to identify obstacles to women's participation in politics, and held sensitization sessions on voter education. Their efforts certainly raised awareness; however, not enough to ensure meaningful change.

In Liberia, the election of President Ellen Johnson Sirleaf, the first female president, was a turning point for women's inclusion in Liberia's political realm. However, women's participation in government positions, political representative bodies, and political processes is still far from being equal to men's representation. Despite the distance Liberia must go to achieve gender parity in political participation, the greater recognition that women have in their

ability to be powerful in politics is a significant stride forward and a good indicator that the UN's

gender mainstreaming was influential.

Common Themes

      A common theme throughout all three indicators is changing the perception of women's

capabilities and unique and vital contributions to peacekeeping. In both Haiti and Liberia, the

UN peacekeeping missions worked hard to raise awareness of women's untapped potential in

these communities. Women make up half the population and have their own set of issues, and

their own set of solutions. Giving women an education gives them agency to effect change in

their community and contribute to law enforcement and politics.

Discussion

From this research, it is clear the UN's gender mainstreaming was a worthwhile venture that helped the lives of women and girls in both Haiti and Liberia. However, Liberia did have greater success than Haiti with an increase in participation in all three indicators: education, law enforcement, and politics. Societal change begins early and in people's homes and private lives. The FFPU recognized that essential element for success and developed action that worked toward that change.

Success and Differentials of All-Female Formed Police Units (FFPU)

Both MINUSTAH and UNMIL deployed FFPUs units. For Liberia, particularly, this was a remarkable step in UN history as well as in gender mainstreaming because it was the first-ever FFPU. Overall, this FFPU from India was successful because they:

- Inspired a sense of security and opportunity for the general population.

- Served as guards for UN and local authorities (including President Sirleaf).

- Provided effective security at local events and riot control.

- Conducted night patrols.

- Assisted in improving local security institutions, including LNP.

- Provided medical services and clean water.

- Taught self-defense, first-aid, and dance classes.

- Served as role models for women and girls.

- Arranged installation of lights in public areas at night.

Crucial to their success was that with each new deployment, the units were able to build on previous deployments' successes and expand their efforts in the communities. The Indian FFPU reached achievable goals such as teaching self-defense, first-aid, and dance classes at local schools. These classes had positive impacts that increased communication and built trust between the local community and the officers.

Another crucial element to the Indian FFPU's success was that Liberia had a female president that encouraged their work and that the country had basic governmental institutions and infrastructure already in place. The success of the FFPU in Liberia was due to 1) attainable goals, 2) consecutive deployments that were able to build off the success of their predecessors, and 3) the country had a female and supportive president and basic government institutions and infrastructure.

Haiti, on the other hand, operated in a less functional environment with an ambitious mission. The Bangladeshi FFPU officers were expected to provide humanitarian help and community policing, provide primary education and healthcare, raise awareness of AIDS, and help prevent the spread of HIV and violence against women, all without proper training and with only a year to do so. In addition, Haiti lacked basic governmental stability and infrastructure. Sending the Bangladeshi FFPU to Haiti was worthwhile, but the Haiti conditions were not conducive for the unit to produce meaningful results, especially given their lack of proper training and limited deployment timeframe. Additionally, one single-year deployment regardless of gender is likely insufficient to accomplish the intended goals.

In conclusion, the contrast between the Indian FFPU successes and Bangladeshi FFPU challenges was a result of circumstances rather than whether or not an all-female police unit could succeed. Sufficient training, a focused mission, resources to include UN decision-makers

with knowledge of what would be required, a consistent multi-year presence, and in-country realities on the ground made the difference between successes and advances that were not sustained. The January 2010 earthquake further exacerbated the Bangladeshi FFPU's changes of success by adding a level of environmental chaos that undermined security, conditions that the Indian FFPU was spared.

Conclusion

This research demonstrates including women in peacekeeping operations enhances the UN's gender mainstreaming efforts. The UN needs to do more to ensure its efforts produce meaningful and lasting results. Resolution 1325 is a great start, but simply adding women to peacekeeping missions is not a sufficient solution. The UN has the reports, it has the ideas, and now it needs to consistently implement them. This means continuing to work towards gender parity. If the UN is to make real change, the expectations for female peacekeepers need to be the expectations for all peacekeepers. The UN must continue to improve training on gender issues and to pursue prosecuting SEA perpetrators to the fullest extent of the law in their home country's judicial system. Including women peacekeepers enhances the UN's gender mainstreaming efforts and produces meaningful results that benefit not only women and girls but also the entire population.

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