NUI MAYNOOTH

Ollscoil na hÉireann Má Nuad

Equal but Different:

Gender Discourses in the Social Relations of

Irish Peacekeepers &

Possibilities for Transformation

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SUMMARY

Equal but Different: Discourses in the Social Relations of Irish Peacekeepers & Possibilities for Transformation

Motivated by the lack of action and transformation of gender relations within peacekeeping since the adoption of UNSCR 1325 in 2000, this study explores the gendering processes within the Irish Defence Forces that position women and men in particular roles informally and which act to support or inhibit women's access to peacekeeping missions. Through discourse analysis this study reveals 'equal but different' as the dominant discourse on gender relations within the Irish Defence Forces and uses this discourse as a lens through which to assess the overarching question: 'How does the "equal but different" discourse distribute power in different contexts and what impact does that have on women's inclusion in PSOs?' By drawing out the empirical data from the accounts of 28 women and men participants the findings reveal what women bring to a mission; inhibitors to their participation in missions; and transformative possibilities. The study's major contribution is that it reveals multiple contradictory discourses depending on the context.

Of particular importance to the feminist agenda is this study's new empirical data on Irish peacekeepers and the development of critical alternative discourses on gender as a result of women's presence in missions. These alternative discourses have the potential to transform gender relations by positioning women and men in the 'third space' which holds 'equal, 'different' and 'multiplicity' of subjectivities simultaneously. This 'third space' creates a bridge between the liberal and critical feminist debates on women's participation in peacekeeping, through its development of a new concept 'add women and transform'. The 'add women and transform' concept is borne out of the empirical findings revealing how the presence of women in the military is leading to the creation of new critical discourses, and although they are muted, they have the potential to challenge unequal power dynamics within the military if they are supported by gender mainstreaming policies and a shift in peacekeeping practices.

List of Abbreviations

CEDAW	Convention for the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination Against Women
CIMIC	Civil Military Liaison
CSO	Civil Society Organisation
DF	Defence Forces
DFAT	Department for Foreign Affairs & Trade
EU	European Union
GBV	Gender Based Violence
IR	International Relations
LMT	Liaison Monitoring Team
NAF	Norwegian Armed Forces
NAP	National Action Plan
NATO	North Atlantic Treaty Organisation
NGO	Non-Governmental Organisation
NWCI	National Women's Council of Ireland
PSO	Peace Support Operation
PTSD	Post-Traumatic Stress Disorder
SAF	Swedish Armed Forces
TCC	Troop Contributing Countries
UN	United Nations
UN DAW	United Nations Division for the Advancement of Women
UN DPKO	United Nations Department for Peacekeeping Operations
UNSC	United Nations Security Council
UNSCR 1325	United Nations Security Council Resolution 1325

CHAPTER ONE: EQUAL BUT DIFFERENT

A five-year campaign to boost the number of UN female peacekeepers is progressing steadily in police units, but "seems to be stuck" at a miniscule percentage in military contingents. The UN Secretariat has repeatedly emphasized the proven benefits of having more female peacekeepers, especially in regions where sexual violence has been or still is a serious problem, but there are hiccups. The Secretary-General can set any number [of female peacekeepers], but ... It depends on the will of the countries that are contributing the troops. They say, 'We don't have enough female troops, so we cannot send them'; there is also always the case of countries having the women, and just not sending them, but that is an internal problem', said Lt-Col Alvarez of the UN Department of Peacekeeping Operations. (IRIN News, 20 May 2010)

1.0 Introduction

This study uses discourse analysis to assess gender relations within the Irish Defence Forces (DF) by revealing invisible power relations and how they impact on women's access to peacekeeping missions. It also examines if the inclusion of women as peacekeepers has contributed to transformative discourses on gender within the DF. This chapter outlines the aims of the study, the questions directing its analysis, the theoretical framework, peacekeeping and the Irish context, the adoption of UNSCR 1325 and my motivation for conducting this research.

Despite repeated calls by the United Nations Security Council (UNSC) to member states to increase the numbers of women peacekeepers they are sending to mission areas, the numbers still remain at only three percent of military personnel (UNDPKO, 2013). UN peacekeeping missions are multi-dimensional and include such diverse activities as demobilising and disarming combatants, protecting refugee camps, distributing aid, facilitating peace negotiations, supporting the reconstruction of infra-structure, monitoring elections, and overseeing reconciliation and justice processes (UN DPKO, 2013). Influenced by women's activism and feminist scholarship on the gendered nature of war and the need for PSOs to reflect gender needs the UNSC adopted Resolution 1325 on Women, Peace and Security (UN, 2000) which obliges members states to include a gender perspective in the planning and practice of peacekeeping; and to increase the numbers of women peacekeepers in all jobs and ranks including senior, decision-making positions. UNSCR 1325 argues that the current global security environment needs more

women peacekeepers to support the needs of civilian women and girls caught up in conflict. In 2009, UN Secretary-General Ban Ki-moon launched a campaign to increase the numbers of female peacekeepers to 10 percent in military units and 20 percent in police units by 2014 (Karim and Beardsley, 2013). However, after 13 years since its adoption the resolution has had little impact on either the numbers of women in peacekeeping missions or the inclusion of civilians/gender perspectives within the planning and practice of missions (Dharmapuri, 2013; Schjølset, 2013).

Motivated by the lack of action since the introduction of UNSCR 1325 this study aims to explore the gendering processes within a military institution (in this case the Irish DF) which position women and men in particular roles, formally and informally, and which support or inhibit women's access to Peace Support Operation (PSOs). This study also seeks to reveal new or alternative discourses with transformative potential that could lead to the empowerment of women peacekeepers and equalize gender relations.

This study makes two important contributions. Firstly, it offers new and original empirical data on gender relations within the DF. Secondly, its use of discourse analysis as a research method within the field of International Relations (IR) is original and exposes new knowledge about informal power structures within a military institution and how they impact on its engagement with civilians in host nations. Discourse analysis was chosen as the research tool to analyse participants' transcripts because discourses both reflect and create reality (Ryan AB, 2001). Discourses also shape our behaviour and how we position ourselves and others in different contexts and thus reveal invisible power structures within institutions (Ryan AB, 2011). The overall findings of this study illuminate what women bring to a PSO; what inhibits women from accessing certain jobs, roles, ranks and PSOs due to their positioning by civilians, male soldiers and institutions; and how the inclusion of gender perspectives has begun to shift discourses which could transform gender roles within the DF, if they are encouraged.

1.1 Aims of the Study and Research Questions

The aim of this study is to make a contribution to feminist IR and more particularly to feminist security, military and peacekeeping research by asking: 'How does the "equal but different" discourse distribute power in different contexts and what impact does that have on women's inclusion in PSOs?' This study maps competing and contradictory discourses on gender within a military institution and assesses if it is possible for alternative discourses which challenge unequal power relations to take root and flourish. The Irish military, the DF, is the subject of inquiry and this study uses its dominant discourse on gender 'equal but different' as a lens through which to analyse the findings. This discourse positions women as 'equal to men' and a necessary component of a peacekeeping mission, while the 'different' axis sets women apart, which can enhance their access to certain jobs and missions but can also create barriers to experiences necessary for women's promotion and retention. The 'equal but different' lens is the centrepiece of this study because in one of the first participant interviews a woman officer outlined this discourse as the dominant way of describing gender relations within the DF. After interviewing a number of participants (28 in total) it became clear that the 'equal but different' discourse is drawn on by women and men to explain how women are integrated into the ranks of the DF.

This study makes gender perspectives on women's contribution to peacekeeping visible. It does this by exploring and outlining the views of both male and female peacekeepers on the inclusion of women in PSOs and draws out new knowledge on attitudes, behaviours, experiences, and ideas embedded within discourses on gender. The feminist theoretical approach of this study was initially influenced by Enloe's research on gender and militarism and her ground breaking questions: 'where are the women?', 'which women are there?', 'what are they doing?' and 'what do they think about being there?' (2000: 294). Enloe encourages scholars to be curious about the conditions of women's lives and to pay close attention to gender and how it is created and re-created through patriarchal structures and systems. Her questions along with a report by the Division for the Advancement of Women (UN DAW, 1994; UN 1995) on women's inclusion in a variety of positions and jobs in PSOs influenced the development of the research agenda for this

study. The UN DAW report critiqued the Secretary General's *Agenda for Peace* (Boutros-Ghali, 1995) stating that it was 'gender blind' and that lasting peace could not be achieved through military action without respect for democratic principles including the full participation of women in all stages of peace processes (Giercyz, 2001; UNDAW, 1994; UN, 1995). The UNDAW report drew on research from three missions that had greater than average gender balance amongst their personnel, in the following countries: Namibia, Guatemala and South Africa. Gender balance 'refers to the degree to which women and men are represented within and participate in the full range of activities associated with political institutions such as the UN (including peacekeeping)' (Karim and Beardsley, 2013:465). The UNDAW report outlined a series of new items that the presence of women placed on the PSO agenda, including: a clear message of equality and non-discrimination to the local community if women are present in PSOs, especially in decision-making roles. Women's presence can foster confidence and trust, an important fact considering that losing the trust of the local population may result in the increased vulnerability of peacekeepers. Women are perceived as more empathetic, which may enhance their reconciliatory and political work as negotiators. Women can have better and important access to civilian women in a host country, especially in cases where culture and religion are deeply intertwined, for example among Muslim women in Afghanistan. Women peacekeepers' outreach may be important to influencing women's participation in elections and human rights programmes. Women are seen as defusing tension rather than trying to control events. Women's participation in peacekeeping helps to break down traditional views and stereotypes of women in local communities. When there is a critical mass of women they may act as role models for the local women thereby mobilising women in the host country to become involved in peace building, democratisation, development and demobilisation and reintegration of former combatants. The report also posited that adequate female representation tends to inhibit men's licentious behaviour; and that the presence of women has a positive influence on social relations within the broader organisation and amongst the troops. Women's presence may also reinforce the traditional notion that peacekeepers only use force in self-defence (Giercyz, 2001; UN DAW, 1994; UN 1995). 'These were all indications that a major factor in the success of missions such as those in Namibia, South Africa and

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Guatemala, was the inclusion of different perspectives and approaches by women and men to conflict resolution' (Giercyz, 2001: 28). However, feminist scholars argue that increasing the numbers of women does not necessarily translate into better outcomes (Jeffreys, 2007; Jennings, 2008; Simic, 2010) because gender balancing is complex and research on gender quotas has revealed mixed results (Baldez, 2006; Bhavnani, 2009; Caul, 2001; Chen, 2010; Dahlerup and Freidenvall 2005; Dahlerup, 2008; Krook, 2010; Tripp and Kang 2008). 'The assumption that adding women mitigates concerns about gender stereotypes in the security sector is untested, as the mere presence of women does not necessarily change military gender hierarchies and the militarized culture within the security institutions' (Karim and Beardsley, 2013: 466). Therefore, this study set out to test these assumptions and theories about women's influence on a mission; it does this through a series of interviews with women and men peacekeepers; specifically looking for discourses on gender that position women and men differently and multiply depending on the context.

1.1.1 By asking this study's overarching question 'How does the "equal but different" discourse distribute power in specific contexts and what impact does that have on women's inclusion on PSOs?' reveals how the DF's systems impact differently on women and men (due to gendered social roles both within and without the organisation) and explores how these systems perpetuate discrimination if they are not gender mainstreamed. Gender mainstreaming is the process of assessing the implications for women and men of any planned action, including legislation, policies, programmes and research in all areas, and at all levels (ECOSOC, 1996). In the case of male-dominated institutions, such as the DF, if they are not gender mainstreamed then they are likely to discriminate against women. To explore whether gender mainstreaming is taking place within the DF through analysis of the 'equal but different' discourse this study opens up an interesting set of sub-questions to pull into sharp focus concrete examples of how discourses operate to either encourage women or to create barriers to their inclusion in PSOs. This series of related sub-questions are: 'Does the presence of women enable an inclusion of different voices and perspectives in peacekeeping?' 'Is a mixed gender peacekeeping mission received differently to a "male-only" team by the host community or by other troop contributing countries (TCCs)?' 'Does the presence of women enable an

inclusion of different voices and perspectives in peacekeeping?' 'How does the equal but different discourse operate to position women and men within specific gender roles within the mission?' 'What are the costs to women soldiers for being part of a minority group?' 'Where is the inclusion of women in the DF challenging dominant discourses and creating space for alternative discourses to take root?'

1.1.2 This study draws out discourses on the culture of host nations and the culture within the militaries of TCCs and how they position women by asking 'What are the differences in how a mixed gender peacekeeping mission is received compared to a 'male-only' team, by the host community or by other TCCs?' It does this by exploring how discourses on culture position women in particular ways depending on the context. How those discourses are responded to reveals who has power over discourse and in what situations discourses are perpetuated and circulated. Through this question the study can explore theories about women's visibility on a mission, whether their presence is highlighted and promoted through their jobs and tasks or whether they are expected to behave and look the same as men by blending in (Enloe, 2000, Kronsell, 2006). This question tests the UN DAW (1994) assumptions about the inclusion of women in a PSO such as, whether their presence fosters greater trust and confidence amongst civilians and the theory that women provide legitimacy for a mission by virtue of being women (Bridges and Horsfall, 2009; Kronsell, 2012; Mazurana, 2003; Simic, 2010). It also considers if women and men peacekeepers are seen as equals by civilians as well as soldiers from other TCCs and the implications of this for the mission outcome. This question draws out women's experiences compared to their male peers' experiences of peacekeeping, and any barriers or opportunities to their inclusion in PSOs. By asking this question this study outlines how women are positioned within and without their own culture to explore the feminist theory that 'women's presence challenges and test the norms of the entire military' (Kronsell, 2006: 119) and reveals which gender norms are being tested by women's inclusion.

1.1.3   By asking the follow on question 'Does the presence of women enable an inclusion of different voices and perspectives in peacekeeping?' this study tests the assumption (UN DAW, 1994) that women can have better and important access to civilian women in a host country; and that women peacekeepers' outreach may be important to influencing civilian women's participation in elections and human rights programmes. Women peacekeepers are actively representing women when they promote the rights of civilian women through their actions within a mission (Keiser et al. 2002; Meier and Nicholson-Crotty 2006). 'Active representation could be most important during outreach efforts such as providing medical care to civilians and visiting orphanages and female prisons' (Karim and Beardsley, 2013: 472).   This question tests the theory that the inclusion of women on a mission provides the military with security agents who through their demonstration of 'action competence' and emotional intelligence (Penttinen, 2012) impact positively on civilians as well as male peacekeepers. It will also assess if or how women peacekeepers passively represent women because their gender induces a change in behavior in the local population (Keiser et al. 2002; Meier and Nicholson-Crotty 2006). An example of this in a peacekeeping mission is if civilian women report sexual violence to a woman peacekeeper simply because she is a woman (Karim & Beardsley, 2013). This question on whether women enable the inclusion of different voices and perspectives will also explore the feminist theory that women's actual experience of peacekeeping may not always serve the needs of a critical, transformative project, as women soldiers are not necessarily feminist and not necessarily interested in engaging with civilian women (Whitworth, 2004). For example, if there is a lack of awareness of the need to include gender perspectives on a PSO, then along with male peers, women peacekeepers may adopt a gender biased approach to peacekeeping, focusing on men as the important actors within a post-conflict situation, to the exclusion of women and their needs. This question on the inclusion of different voices will also examine the feminist theory that military officials need women themselves to nurture the boundaries that separate them from one another and that by creating distance between groups of women militarism erodes solidarity amongst women on gender issues that affect them all (Enloe, 2000). Therefore, this question tests the assumption that women peacekeeper's inclusion on PSOs will create opportunities for the inclusion of a multiplicity of experiences and voices.

1.1.4   This study examines the taken-for-granted assumptions about gender differences, and how they create opportunities and barriers to women's inclusion in a PSO by asking 'How does the "equal but different" discourse operate to position women and men within specific gender roles within a mission?'   This question explores how invisible power relations position women in gendered roles and jobs and how they devalue women's contribution in some areas and promote their contributions in others.   Discourses that essentialise women into particular roles will curtail their access to senior ranks and jobs as they will not be given access to multiple experiences.   For example, this study seeks to find out if the essentialist notion of peaceful femininities is being transmitted onto women peacekeepers and their subjectivities or if they are seen as inhabiting multiple subjectivities depending on the situation.   This question also explores the perception that women are more empathetic than men and tests the notion that women have a positive influence on social relations within the camp environment. Feminist theorists argue that as new-comers women have to adjust to existing systems and structures and look for ways to include their interests and working styles within them, making equality of authority and social positioning not only a matter of justice, but also as a potential for societal change (Giercyz, 2001; Dahelrup, 2001).   Therefore, women's multiple positioning as authoritative leaders and decision-makers as well as supporters and care-givers is explored through this question.

1.1.5   This study assesses 'What are the costs to women peacekeepers by being part of a minority group on a mission?' by examining how gender discourses position women differently to men and the impact this is likely to have on their recruitment, retention and promotion opportunities. This question tests the feminist theory that militaries will only deploy women in ways that will not subvert the fundamentally masculinised culture of the military or PSO (Enloe, 2000).   The theory is that the masculinist culture of the military will stay intact if women's numbers remain low (below 30 per cent); if women do not reach senior ranks in large enough numbers to influence decision making processes; if women do not deprive men of the positions they most value as a demonstration of their masculinity; and if women are discouraged from forming alliances to challenge sexism and harassment (Enloe, 2000; Eduards, 2012; Hebert, 2012).   By asking this question on the

costs to women this study aims to reveal the delicate balancing act women perform to fit into male dominated environments, neither wanting to threaten the inherent masculinism of the organization by being too butch nor undermining its efficacy by being considered too feminine (Eduards, 2012: Cohn, 2000). This 'balancing act' is explored through the use of the theory on 'performativity' or gender performance (Butler, 1996) which reveals the ways in which a minority group makes itself acceptable to the dominant group so as to avoid a backlash or stigmatization.

1.1.6 By asking 'Where is the inclusion of women in the DF challenging dominant discourses and creating space for alternative discourses with transformative potential to take root?' this study assesses how womens' participation in peacekeeping could help to disrupt traditional views and gender stereotypes on women in host nations and amongst TCCs. It also explores how new and alternative discourses if supported could encourage the retention of women within the DF and increase the numbers of women wishing to become peacekeepers which could provide more role models for civilian women and girls. This question considers if a critical mass (30 per cent or more) of women were present on a PSO in leadership and decision making roles their likelihood to influence the creation of transformative discourses that could positively impact on civilian women. Transformative discourses that could lead to the prioritizing within a mission mandate of the need to mobilise women in host countries to become involved in peace building, democratisation, development and the reintegration of former combatants. This study assesses whether a discourse has transformative potential by viewing it through the 'transformative education model' lens devised by O'Sullivan (1999). Built on the theory that three interdependent levels of 'survive, critique and create' need to be activated and transformed to enable a shift in the basic premises of thought, feelings and actions of an individual (or institution). Therefore, this question on where women's inclusion in PSOs is challenging dominant discourses will examine shifts in attitudes amongst men as well as women towards such issues as the use of prostitutes; and tests the theory that male peacekeepers are more reluctant to engage in sexual misconduct if women colleagues are present (Karim and Beardsley, 2013; Hebert, 2012; Valenius, 2007). It also considers discourses on women as protectors and leaders; and the need for mission mandates to

prioritize the transformation of unequal gender relations within the host nations as well as within the TCCs and their militaries.

By asking this series of questions this study aims to broaden understanding within the security sector, IR and peacekeeping studies on the necessity of gender perspectives within peacekeeping; by illuminating women's experiences, ideas, attitudes and behaviours alongside those of their male peers.

1.2 UNSCR 1325 and Women's Inclusion in Peacekeeping

This study was motivated by the adoption of UNSCR 1325 on Women, Peace and Security which is a ground-breaking resolution because it is the first of its kind to link peace with equality between women and men (Sylvester, 2012; Olsson, 2013, 2001). It is the first UNSC resolution to formally call for increased numbers of women to be present amongst the troops in UN missions, specifically with the task of interacting with civilian women and girls. The adoption of UNSCR 1325 came about as a result of women's global activism and scholarship on conflict and peace building and was built on the shoulders of previous UN conventions such as: CEDAW, 1979 and the Beijing Platform for Action, 1995. Informed by feminist praxis that outlined women and men's differing experiences of conflict this historic resolution calls on all member states to take action on behalf of women in four inter-related areas: the protection of women during war; the participation of women in decision-making and peace processes; the inclusion of gender perspectives and training in peacekeeping; and gender mainstreaming in UN reporting systems and programmatic implementation mechanisms (UNSCR 1325, 2000). In the thirteen years since its adoption UNSCR 1325 has been strengthened by a series of sister resolutions: 1820 (2008), 1888 (2009), 1889 (2009) and 1960 (2013). UNSCR 1325 is considered to be a landmark resolution because while previous resolutions had positioned women as 'victims' of warfare UNSCR 1325 positions women as 'agents' in decision-making about their own security needs and their involvement in peace processes (WILPF, 2012). In a presidential statement released on 26 October 2006 after a day-long open meeting with NGOs, the Security Council said:

> [We] recognize the vital roles of, and contributions by women in consolidating peace... [We] recognize that the protection and empowerment of women and support for their networks and initiatives are essential in the consolidation of peace.
> (UN: 2009)

While this statement emphasizes the need for more women to be involved in conflict resolution, peace negotiations, peacekeeping and peace building through the implementation of UNSCR 1325, the numbers of women peacekeepers are still low (three per cent globally) and the inclusion of the gender perspectives of civilians within missions is still severely lacking. A report by Dharmapuri (2013) '*Not Just A Numbers Game: Increasing Women's Participation in UN Peacekeeping*' outlines how progress is limited by poor understanding of the resolution amongst member states, often reduced to an over-simplification of UNSCR 1325, by only focusing on the challenge of increasing the numbers of women soldiers, while ignoring gender perspectives in the host nation and amongst TCCs.

> Most feminist analyses of SCR 1325 and its implementation have pointed to the same basic concern that gender has come to simply mean women and that gender mainstreaming in practice means increasing the number of female peacekeepers.
> (Kronsell & Svedberg, 2012: 12)

This conflation of gender to mean women is problematized by feminists, as it negates the actions, behaviours and attitudes of men and the construction of masculinities within the peace/war framework; and offers a simple solution to the problem of peacekeeping by increasing the numbers of women within PSOs. There are also concerns that the resolution essentializes women as 'inherently peaceful' subjects who need protection from the state with 'a certain type of agency and identity, namely, women are the objects of protective action and they occupy mainly the civilian space' (Väyrynen, 2004, 137; Shepherd, 2008). By not acknowledging gender relations between women and men the resolution could reify the notion that femininities and masculinities are fixed and dualistic. Such as, notions that men are warriors and women are peace makers, rather than acknowledging the fluid interdependency that exists in reality between people. Tickner points out that 'the association of women with peace in a male dominated society contributes to the devaluation of both women and peace' (2001: 59). Other feminists are

critical of the resolution because it is not legally binding; neither does it have indicators for actions; nor does it have a formal monitoring process led by the UN (WILPF, 2010). More optimistic readings of the resolution position it as 'exceptional politics' (Sylvester, 2009) because 'women's rights are considered essential to the project of securing peace and justice' (Bergoffen, 2008: 92-92; Olsson, 2001, 2013). There is a disjuncture between discourses that insist on the necessity for PSOs to include more women and nation states actively recruiting more women and sending them on PSOs (Dharmapuri, 2013; Shepherd, 2008). Even though such participation is encouraged it is 'likely to be difficult to achieve' (Stiehm, 2001: 47) due to a lack of political will to transform the masculinist culture within military institutions. The resolution is weakened substantially by its legal status which is 'non-binding' and therefore does not insist on members states enforcing it, instead only going so far as to 'oblige' states to adopt its principles. Bearing in mind its weaknesses, it is still a valuable tool for lobbying purposes and holding governments to account. One of Its main achievements is that it has expanded the discourse on 'women and war', moving away from the exclusive language of victimhood to one of empowerment and women as agents in their own right. This empowerment discourse draws on meaning repertoires that position women as having particular experiences and knowledge due to their social positioning and gender roles before, during and after a conflict.

While this study critiques the resolutions emphasis on women rather than on gender it builds on the hopeful aspects of UNSCR 1325 which encourage the inclusion of a diversity of experiences and ideas to secure a sustainable peace. As such, UNSCR 1325 requires the TCCs of UN member states to not only increase their numbers of women, in *all* roles and ranks on a mission but also to include a gender perspective to assess the experiences of civilians to inform planning, policies and practices through the development of gender mainstreaming processes as outlined below:

> 4. *Further urges* the Secretary General to seek to expand the role and contribution of women in field based operations, and especially among military observers, civilian police, human rights and humanitarian personnel;

5. *Expresses* its willingness to incorporate a gender perspective into peacekeeping operations, and *urges* the Secretary General to ensure that, where appropriate, field operations include a gender component. (UNSCR 1325, 31 October 2000)

Whilst these obligations are not legally binding cultural change and transformative action plans on gender mainstreaming within TCCs is slow to take root. Although a number of peacekeeping mandates and guidelines have been issued specifically for the encouragement of gender mainstreaming and balancing in the military component of missions (St. Pierre 2011) the UN Ten Year Impact Study on Implementation of UNSCR 1325 on Women, Peace and Security and Peacekeeping states that:

> Despite some cases of enhanced political representation, women's ability to contribute effectively to governing their societies often remains hampered by persistent discrimination […] Early and better-coordinated planning by peacekeeping missions, across the UN system and with national partners, is required to ensure lasting and meaningful changes for women in post-conflict situations. (UN, February: 2011)

The report highlights the continuation of gender stereotypes within post-conflict settings and the necessity for improved planning by militaries and civil society organisations (CSOs) as well as International Non-Governmental Organisations (INGOs) who work in partnership with militaries to deliver international aid; post-conflict reconstruction; and to support peace processes. Disappointingly, 13 years after the adoption of UNSCR 1325 only 39 countries have developed national action plans (NAPs) which outline their commitment to the implementation of UNSCR 1325 and sets targets, objectives and indicators for its achievement.

1.3 Theoretical Framework

This study uses a feminist theoretical framework to analyse gender relations within the DF and to consider how discourses on gender can impact on women's access to PSOs, jobs and higher ranks within the institution. I am using a feminist approach because of its visionary claim 'that we can leave behind an unjust system that assumes male supremacy, built upon and maintained by violence' (Kronsell, 2012a: 3; Tickner, 2006; Cohn and Ruddick, 2004; Jaggar, 2005; Davis, 2009). Feminism aims to end sexism, sexual exploitation and oppression (hooks, 2001). By seeking to reveal what alternative, just and

peaceful systems could look like, my conceptual starting point is to closely observe gender relations and the balance of power within them. Through this observation of gender relations we can begin to draw a picture of what 'equal but different' looks like in a PSO. Gender differences are defined as the socially constructed roles played by women and men that are ascribed to them on the basis of their sex (UN, 2012). 'Gender is a wide term, originating in the assumption of socially constructed femininities and masculinities. The term is relational in the sense that you cannot define or discuss femininities without also having an idea of masculinities and vice versa' (Olsson and Tryggestad, 2001:3; Skjelsbaek and Smith, 2001). According to West and Zimmerman 'doing gender means creating differences between girls and boys and women and men, differences that are not natural, essential or biological' (1991: 24). Gender is one of the most important concepts in feminist philosophy because gender relations are relations of power (Bradley, 2007). Unlike the term 'sex' gender is not nature or biology, instead gender identity is constructed and therefore negotiable. **'**Taking gender seriously is essential for more accurate knowledge claims and especially emancipatory praxis' (Peterson, 1992:6). Not only does the concept of gender outline the social construction of behaviours, attitudes and roles assigned to women and men but it helps us to deconstruct gender regimes and institutions so that we can reconstruct an alternative vision of the world (Peterson, 1992). Thus, when discussing gender relations the definition should include the perspectives and experiences of both women and men. However, the term gender is often used to describe women only, with gender conflated to mean women emphasizing their difference from men with men positioned as the normative standard. This study argues that to see invisible power relations and how they operate within institutional structures and systems it is necessary to insert a gender lens into them. This will enable us to identify where these invisible power relations are creating barriers to women's empowerment.

I am taking a social constructionist approach to this study. 'If the essentialist says that gender differences are rooted in biology, then the social constructionist would try to explain gender differences by other means. The overall goal is not to create competing descriptions, but to create multiple ones' (Skjelsbaek, 2001:51). While acknowledging biological differences, social constructionists dismiss pure essentialist thinking as rigid,

negative and without hope, and as a form of thinking that creates value systems between women and men that highlight differences, to the detriment of both sexes (Smith, 2001). Social constructionists influenced by Foucault's theories do not see power as a commodity. Instead power is viewed as an entity that may be possessed by a social group or an individual as an effect of discourse (see Halperin, 1995; Weatherall, 2002). 'Gender discourses, beliefs and ways of talking about gender can be thought of as producing power relations between men and women' (Weatherall, 2002). Therefore, this study would be distorted and incomplete if I had only approached women *or* men participants, but by incorporating the views of both I have created a more accurate picture of gender perspectives on the inclusion of women in PSOs.

1.4 Feminist Debates on Women Peacekeepers

Through the use of the discourse on gender within the DF 'equal but different', this study will draw on feminist theorizing to explore two debates within the feminist security sector on women's participation in the military as soldiers and peacekeepers. The first debate argues to increase women's visibility and opportunities within a military institution as part of citizenship rights and democratic principles, with women's presence creating the potential to 'crack through the hyper-masculine armor of the military and transform the institution from within' (Elshtain, 1992; Stiehm, 2001; De Groot, 2002). On the other hand, 'equal but different' is a discourse understood by many feminist theorists as a gendered position that gives military institutions an egalitarian facade only. For example, critical theorist D'Amico (1994) argues that the presence of women softens the military's appearance and helps to promote the idea that they are an equal opportunities employer when in reality they have not fully accepted women's right to be included within the institution. Critical theorists argue that the inclusion of women will sustain and maintain a war culture, militarism and the militarization of society 'by incorporating women into militaristic institutions thereby enabling their roots to grow ever deeper into society' (Enloe, 2000; Steans, 2003; Whitworth, 2004). While liberal feminists argue that equality has been won if women are accessing the same jobs and experiences as men including the job of soldiering (Stiehm, 2001, Giercyz, 2001, De Groot, 2000) organisation studies warn against exaggerated expectations of the small numbers of women who enter previously

all-male institutions, such as the military (Dahlerup, 2001). Personnel policies within a military institution reflect those in broader society. If gender mainstreaming is not being used more generally within business and politics within society, women in the military are also unlikely to benefit from policies that assess their differing impacts on women and men, and shift practices to accommodate these differences.   Therefore, without a commitment to transformative practices that will bring about gender equality the 'equal but different' discourse is interpreted by feminists as a gender neutral approach to equality policies within militaries (Eduards, 2012; Valenius 2007). This is borne out of the sameness/difference theory which is used to frame women's rights under the law in terms of their sameness to men (and deserving equal pay) or their difference from men (for example, women's right to maternity leave). However, within this theory there is a 'philosophical double standard' in that the theory calls for women's equal treatment based on being the same while requesting special rights due to biological differences to men (MacKinnon, 1984). As such, men are considered the normative standard as they have greater access to economic/land wealth and political power than women. It also makes it difficult for women to argue for special treatment under the law when the underlying premise is equal treatment.

Gender neutral approaches drawing on the 'equal but different' discourse do not consider invisible power relations, structural forces and social inequalities, so demands for equality will always appear as women wanting it both ways. For example, some agree that equality has been won when women have access to the same jobs as men; however, if women still have primary responsibility for care-giving within the family then access to paid employment cannot be viewed as liberating for women as they are expected to work a double shift (within both the public and private sphere) without extra pay. This has the effect on women of having to choose between either having no family or working part-time so as to be available to their families (therefore limiting training and promotion opportunities as well as salaries). Without flexible working hours, state-funded childcare, and paternity as well as maternity leave women cannot truly gain equality. For example, the channeling of women into gender segregated jobs with lower wages is considered gender difference in the workplace, not a result of structural gender discrimination and

can be strongly argued as non-discriminatory as there are no men as a reference category within that realm (Barry, 2008). The difference approach misses the fact that hierarchies of power produce differences that manifest as inequalities. The more unequal a society is the less likely the difference approach can do anything about it (Eduards, 2012; Mackinnon, 1984).

Critical IR feminists argue that important features of the political system help to sustain the inequality of women, regardless of their participation there. For example, Enloe (2000) questions how liberal feminists could think that if women join the army as soldiers they are gaining equality, when the military continues to be the most patriarchal of institutions. She says that 'increasing the numbers of women may not mean success for women's rights as patriarchal military policy makers may be succeeding in militarizing women without surrendering any of their own power' (Enloe, 2000: 279). Pointing out that the separation between militarizing and liberating women can be reed thin.

Although militaries have been recruiting women soldiers for over 30 years research to date demonstrates that women soldiers do not have full equality with men soldiers (Eduards, 2012; Laugen Haaland, 2012). Whitworth (2004) argues that trying to insert gender into the dominant discourse of peacekeeping being produced within a UN context significantly limits the possibilities of critique as peacekeeping itself is seriously flawed as a conflict resolution tool. She asserts that applying 'gender' as a problem solving tool is not only unfair on women, due to unrealistic expectations about what they can achieve, especially in such minority numbers, but also it takes the focus away from the UN, its approach to peacekeeping, and the flaws within the system and structures not currently being addressed. These concerns are valid. The unrealistic positioning of women as necessary for the success of a PSO while remaining a minority group and without a critique of the UN or the societal systems and structures that led to the conflict in the first place, is unfair, and sets women up for frustration and failure. However, today women are being specifically targeted during conflicts for acts of GBV, and due to cultural sensitivities these women are unable to communicate their experiences and need for help and justice to male peacekeepers. Therefore, women peacekeepers are needed on missions most urgently. If the call by UNSCR 1325 for more women soldiers is responded

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to by TCCs then more women will be engaging with militaries in the future. Women are already working within militaries in many different guises, as soldiers, professional security experts, educators, cleaners, cooks, advisors, counsellors, and nurses. If these engagements are flawed they are still happening and how they fit into and support the system needs to be examined. Therefore, this study argues that it is paramount that feminists engage with militaries to conduct research on the systems that currently exist within PSOs to analyse how they are gendered and to inform theory and practice within security studies. By closely analysing the current systems and structures feminists will have access to empirical evidence which can be critiqued and used for future theorizing. Transformative possibilities are envisioned through such theorizing and discourses on the necessity for changing gender relations in the post-conflict context may lead to action.

> Is it thinkable that the post war moment be used as an opportunity to turn a society towards gender equality, the diminution of "difference" and the valorization of women and the feminine? Could policy makers recognise such a transformation of the gender order as a necessary component of any lasting peace process, as itself an underpinning of peace? (Cockburn, 2002: 11)

This envisioning of equal gender relations and the creation of sustainable institutions that promote and develop such relations is necessary to underpin peace building and post-conflict reconstruction. By asking 'how does the equal but different discourse distribute power in certain contexts and what impact does that have on women's inclusion on PSOs?', we can begin to identify and dismantle the building blocks of gender inequalities and power differentials and consider how they impact on PSOs and the host nations peacekeepers are sent to support.

This study aims to bridge these two feminist debates on 'women and the military' by reflecting on Enloe's suggestion 'to consider under what conditions a feminist intervention can be useful' (2000: 277). She argues that if this question is not considered then the perpetuation of patriarchal cultures and the militarization of feminists is likely to occur. I have given her suggestion considerable thought and as a result this study is using the concept of the 'third space' (Kristeva, 1986) to create a bridging device between the differing feminist debates on women's inclusion within militaries as soldiers and peacekeepers. I am taking this approach because while I too am critical of the potential of

UNSCR 1325 to militarise more women by encouraging their inclusion within militaries and PSOs I am also deeply concerned by the immediate needs of civilian women caught up in conflict and marginalised from post-conflict peace processes. As such, this study holds these concerns simultaneously: 1. a concern with the militarization and discrimination of women soldiers. 2. A concern with the targeting of civilian women for GBV by militia men during conflicts. 3. And the positioning of these women as voiceless victims by TCCs. To these concerns I am inserting the lens of the 'third space' which looks for contexts in which women are positioned in their multiple subjectivities. Through the adoption of the 'third space' society and its institutions would make a commitment to the equal rights and empowerment of women by valuing them as they are right now. Not homogenizing women or stereotyping them in their essential difference, a difference that is patriarchally constructed (Ryan AB, 2001). The concept of the `third space' is valuable for this study because it challenges the reification of gender identity by offering a method for proceeding beyond the either/or status and bringing out the subjectivity of each individual participant and the fluidity of gender. Kristeva argues that we cannot settle for either 'equal' or 'different' but instead we need to hold both positions simultaneously with a 'multiplicity of subjectivities' (Ryan AB, 2001; Kristeva, 1986). There is an important distinction between the 'third space' and gender neutral. 'Gender neutral approaches are when women try to fit into the male standard or norm without critical analysis' (Plumwood, 1993: 27). A gender neutral approach doesn't see the benefits or the problems related to women's presence in a male dominated institution instead it positions them 'as the same as men' using the 'men-as-norm' model thereby not making any distinctions between women and men and their multiple social roles. The 'third space' on the other hand recognises that simultaneously women are their skills and competencies; they are also the gender 'woman'; and they occupy multiple subjectivities. Women are not homogenized, silenced or invisible; they are valued for their individual and multiple subjectivities. Nor are men homogenized, silenced or invisible, they are also valued for their individual and multiple subjectivities. This thinking frees women and men up to be whatever they need to be in the moment to achieve individual, peacekeeping and peace building aims.

1.5 Discourse as a Methodological Tool

This study uses a feminist discursive approach to analyse the findings from the participants' accounts. Discourse analysis and feminism are both committed to emancipation and are socially critical approaches that ally themselves with those who suffer political and social injustice. 'Feminist scholarship is inherently linked to action and social change' (Reinharz, 1992: 175) and feminists who use discourse analysis influenced the methodological approach to this study (Kronsell, 2012a, 2012b, 2006; Sylvester, 2012a, 2012b; Eduards, 2012; McLeod, 2012; Wibben, 2011; Shepherd, 2008). In this study power is not viewed as a commodity, instead it is viewed as an effect of discourse (Halperin, 1995; Weatherall, 2002). When power is viewed as relational, and as an effect of discourse, then new explanations emerge as to why knowledge about women and men's gendered roles within conflict become apparent.

This study moves away from viewing women as an oppressed group and instead aims to analyse power as it is formulated and resisted in individual day-to-day interactions. Discourses are 'socially organised frameworks of meaning that define categories and specify domains of what can be said and done' (Burman, 1994:2). By identifying discourses we can begin to describe and analyse what is happening in social and human relations and to see how discourses shape social relations by effecting practice and identity (Ryan AB, 2011). The concept of positioning within discourse is used by feminist poststructuralists (Davies, 1990; Hollway, 1984, 1989, 1994; Mama, 1995; Walkerdine, 1989) to replace the static concept of socialisation into roles. Positioning is the discursive process whereby subjects are located in conversations and other discursive practices, as recognisable participants in a narrative or repertoire. A central idea is the differential power associated with different positions and a diversity of situation is considered desirable within feminist methodology (Hollway, 1989). For example, after taking up a position, say as a peacekeeper, the person sees the world from that vantage point and uses images, metaphors and concepts relevant to that positioning. However, depending on the conflict, the mission mandate and the culture of the host nation the position of the peacekeeper will shift to accommodate this new reality, sometimes giving them more power, sometimes less. Whenever we speak we are both positioning and positioned,

while positioning is not necessarily intentional it can be (Ryan AB, 2011) and this positioning can be a deliberate attempt to dis-empower or empower an individual, group or community.

Foucault (1996) asserts that discourses play a significant role in power dynamics as they are a system of meanings internalized by individuals. With the theory of 'governmentality' he posits that people govern themselves, they are not forced to act or think in a certain way instead they internalize particular ideas, rationalities and ideologies which are then disseminated through knowledge and discourse (Dean, 2010; Hakli, 2009). This is a highly effective form of power as it is concerns individuals who perceive themselves to be free to make their own choices (Gordon, 1991) but who are in fact influenced by ideologies so that they unconsciously self-govern.

> Discourse is implicated in how we understand ourselves as persons, in how we interpret what we see around us and what we experience, and in how we construct meaning about ourselves, our groups and the world at large. We are all inserted into a myriad of different discourses, some competing with and some complementing each other. Discourses provide positions within which we can locate ourselves. They also allow us to position other people and they allow other people to position us. (Ryan AB, 2011: 2)

Therefore, one of the powerful effects of discourse is the shaping of identity and citizenship in relation to the nation one belongs to (Burroughs, 2012). Government processes and systems provide, direct and facilitate various identities, capacities, qualities and statuses. For individuals an important aspect of self definition is to feel a part of a larger community, society and history (Day and Thompson, 2004). Individual and group belongings are always in a state of becoming they are not stable or coherent; identities are dynamic, changeable, and multiple depending on context and location. A community is imagined more than it is actually met and connected with (Anderson, 1991). Foucault's (1996) 'knowledges' refers to the meanings that people use to interpret their environment and he asserts that we can only have knowledge of things if they have meaning; therefore discourse, not the things themselves, produces meaning or reality and knowledge. 'Knowledges' are derived from discursive surroundings in which people are situated and knowledge is conditional and depends on a person's geographical and

historical context. These 'knowledges' not only assume the authority of 'the truth' but they have the power to make truth reality (Burroughs, 2012). Discursively constructing 'knowledges' governs how a topic can be thought and talked about and influences how ideas are put into practice and materialize in the regulation of people's conduct and in the production of subjects (Fairclough, 2000; Jager & Maier, 2009). Foucault (1996) argues that the regulation of people's conduct and the production of subjects through distinct knowledges and truth claims are forms of power. Thus, discourse analysis is an appropriate research tool for this study as it reveals how 'knowledges' are discursively constructed, what is sayable and what is silenced, therefore revealing invisible power relations within an institution and a PSO.

1.6 'Equal but Different' and the Irish Context

As Ireland is the home of the DF it is necessary to look at how as a country it is positioned within the 'equal but different' gender discourse? A cursory glance at the media's positioning of Ireland as 'the 5th best place to be a woman' in the world (Sunday Times, 25 October 2012) depicts an image of Ireland as a gender-equal country with women enjoying access to all of the same resources and benefits as men. However, the reality is not quite so exemplary. Women make up only 15 per cent of parliamentarians (5050 Group, 2013); and are paid on average 16 per cent less than men (Barry, 2008). 'Childcare costs in Ireland are now amongst the highest in Europe and parents receive the lowest level of support in meeting these costs' (NWCI, 2005; 2013). Women are disproportionately positioned in middle management and clerical positions in the workforce, while men hold the majority of senior management positions (Barry, 2008).

In relation to women's involvement in soldiering and military institutions Ireland has a checkered history revealing a gender discourse about women as 'different but not equal'. Ireland gained its independence from Britain in 1922 and during the preceding years women were actively involved in armed struggle including the 1916 Easter Rising and the War of Independence (1919-21). Women's organizations such as *Cumann na mBan* and the *Women's Franchise League* were active and militant and played a valuable role in supporting the nationalist cause (McCoole, 2003). However, with a focus on winning the war, women's rights were relegated in favour of nationalism and many of these women

were subsequently written out of Irish history. Prominent political and military activists include Countess Markievicz, one of the leaders in the 1916 Easter Rising and the first Irish woman MP; Hanna Sheehy Skeffington, co-founder of the *Women's Franchise League*, and Dr Kathleen Lynn a captain in the *Irish Citizen Army* and Chief Medical Officer during the 1916 Easter Rising. Less well known activists include Helena Moloney of *Cumann na mBan* and a combatant in 1916; and Elizabeth O'Farrell, who was in the General Post Office in Dublin during the 1916 Easter Rising and who accompanied one of the leaders of the rising, Padraig Pearse, when he surrendered. Her image was subsequently airbrushed out of the surrender photos leaving only her shoes. Women were quite literally erased from images of war and conflict in Ireland.

When the Anglo-Irish Peace Treaty was signed in 1922 the island was divided into the 'Free State' later to become the Irish Republic (1948) which was made up of 26 counties in the south and the six counties in the north of Ireland still part of the United Kingdom which became Northern Ireland. Historically, the Roman Catholic Church was one of the most powerful institutions in Ireland, and its conservatism influenced discourses on women's 'natural' role as homemakers and mothers. This positioning of women was reinforced by the Constitution of Ireland which includes the following articles:

> **41.2.1** In particular, the State recognises that by her life within the home, woman gives to the State a support without which the common good cannot be achieved.
>
> **41.2.2** The State shall, therefore, endeavour to ensure that mothers shall not be obliged by economic necessity to engage in labour to the neglect of their duties in the home.

Women were positioned in the primary role as mothers and homemakers within the constitution and effectively confined to the private sphere of domesticity within the eyes of the state. This was enforced through the 1935 Employment Act called a 'marriage bar' effective within the Irish civil service and prohibiting married women from working in state institutions. The marriage bar became part of the national culture and gender norms shifted to position women within the home and men within the paid labour force in the public sphere. Until the marriage bar was lifted in 1973 most women were either forced to or expected to leave their jobs and careers once they married (NWCI, 2013).

Statistics on violence against women in Ireland gathered in 2005 by the National Crime Council found that 1 in 7 women experienced severe abusive behaviour of a physical, sexual or emotional nature from a partner at some time in their lives. The survey estimated that 213,000 women in Ireland were severely abused by a partner[1]. According to an Amnesty International report *Justice and Accountability: Stop Violence Against Women (*2005) most reports of violence against women in Ireland do not result in a conviction and there is little monitoring of the effectiveness of legal measures to identify, prevent and punish this violence (Condon, 2012).

In relation to women's role in Irish society as leaders and decision-makers from 1990 to 2011 Ireland had two women presidents, Mary Robinson (1990-97) and Mary McAleese (1997-2011). While having two women as head of state gave the impression that some political gains had been made for women, during this period women's representation in public life remained low. Today Ireland is ranked at 76th in the International League Table Ranking of Women's Parliamentary Representation (The Irish Times Newspaper, 6th June 2011). In 2012 important legislative reform took place in Ireland when a proposal for gender quotas was passed insisting that political parties adopt a 30:70 ratio for gender representation on the electoral ticket for national elections (increasing to a 40:60 ratio after seven years), with a financial penalty levied to those who do not conform (Buckley, 2013: 5050 Group, 2013). There are still concerns amongst feminists about the lack of gender quotas for local elections which are likely to cause barriers to substantial numbers of women being available on the ticket for the national elections. The effect of this will only become clear in 2014, the date for Ireland's next local elections. This new legislation could have a positive impact on other state institutions such as the DF by normalizing the concept of gender quotas. The creation of gender balance within powerful state bodies, while a complex and challenging process, is a necessary step, to ensure a diversity of perspectives on Ireland's relationship with the UN and its approach to peacekeeping.

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[1] Domestic Abuse of Women and Men in Ireland: Report on the National Study of Domestic Abuse, National Crime Council and ERSI, 2005.

1.7 The Irish Defence Forces, Gender and Recruitment

With the creation of the Irish Free State in 1923 came the Free State Army known today as the Irish Defence Forces (DF). In 1980 women were formally recruited into the DF as voluntary soldiers, with the arrival of the first 10 women cadets. Numbers of women have slowly increased from 123 in 1996, to 306 in 1999, to 551 out of 9,294 personnel today (DF, 2013). This represents six per cent of personnel, of which 459 women are in the Army, 29 are in the Air Corps, and 63 are in the Navy (DF Gender Advisor interview, January 2013). When women were initially recruited into the DF they were positioned in administrative jobs, sent on deportment courses and wore a uniform that was designed to make them look attractive and glamorous (Clonan, 2000). By 1995 only eight women officers (out of a total of 46) held combat appointments compared to 688 of the male officers (total number 1,491). Most of the female officers were in staff jobs such as catering and welfare officers, roles that are often considered feminine. These women were paid less than their male colleagues because their jobs did not attract 'seagoing allowances, flying pay, FCA allowances, Army Ranger Wing allowances, or border allowances [...] attributed to policies which preclude such service for women' (Clonan, 2000: 182). These policies have changed with women now, theoretically at least, able to access any job, rank or mission. Out of the 1,000 members of the DF who took part in PSOs in 2012, 38 were women (DF, 2013).

Clonan's study (2000) highlighted that bullying was a specific concern for women in the DF with 26.5 percent of all respondents having experienced it. Nearly 70 percent of females of lower ranks claimed to have been bullied and most of it (58 percent) was during training. The institutions responsible for training came under scrutiny. These were the Cadet School, the Brigade Training Centres (where Privates train for the position of Corporal), the Air Corps and the Naval Service colleges. When asked to rate ways of preventing unacceptable behaviour, women and men advised a change of attitude in the organisation first, followed by a greater awareness of procedures and regulations (Clonan, 2000). In 2002 the publication of the report '*The Challenge of a Workplace'* confirmed the findings of the Clonan study and prompted the DF to reassess its attitudes to

interpersonal conduct. One of the results of this report was the establishment of an Independent Monitoring Group. Training on 'Dignity in the Workplace' was conducted in groups of mixed ranks and this has now become part of the induction process for all new recruits. Two further reports have been published since then, *A Response to the Challenge of a Workplace'* (Doyle, 2004); and the *Second Report of the Independent Monitoring Group* (DF, 2008), which argues for renewed robustness and corrective action in training procedures. The 2008 report argues that over-sensitivity to bullying had swung the pendulum too far in one direction where recruits insistence on 'their rights' was leading to 'softer' training methods (DF, 2008: 9). In 2011, DF Ombudsman Paulyn Marrinan Quinn dealt with 83 personnel complaints. 95 percent were by men and five percent by women (Marrinan Quinn, 2011).   Nearly half (37) were related to promotions procedures, 23 related to the mal-administration of career-related procedures, 13 to selection procedures for career courses, six to overseas deployment and three complaints – all from the same person – related to bullying (Irish Times, 22 May 2012). An Irish newspaper reported that:

> Ms Marrinan Quinn said bullying in the Defence Forces was often more covert than overt and did not necessarily constitute a soldier being shouted at by an angry Sergeant. Instead, it sometimes manifested itself as overzealous attention or the undermining of somebody's authority, and was therefore hard to prove. (Irish Times, 22 May 2012)

Research was commissioned by the Department of Defence in 2006 to ascertain why so few women were applying for jobs in the DF. The subsequent report published in April 2007 titled '*Recruitment and Retention of Women in the Irish DF'* aimed to identify barriers to women joining the DF at both a functional and emotive level. It also assessed awareness and perceptions of the DF as a career for women; and aimed to tap into the key motivators for enlistment and retention in the DF[2]. The findings revealed that challenges to women joining the DF were based on perceptions of the DF as an

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[2] Twenty-eight in-depth interviews took place: 10 with women in the DF three with ex-members of the DF; four with school leavers, four with parents of school leavers, five with career guidance officers and representatives from the NWCI. A national survey of 522 females aged 15+ (phones); 188 female soldiers responded (36%).

aggressive, masculine environment with a regimented lifestyle. There was a widespread perception that bullying still exists within the organisation; and the physical nature of the job is a turnoff for many; as is the perception that the work is poorly paid and of an unsociable nature. Doubts over career prospects and transferable skills were also revealed as was the perception that women would have to work harder (both physically and mentally) than men to be accepted. The social stigma attached to the job, was also a problem and the institution was not associated with being family friendly as there is a high level of commitment involved (TNS MRbi, 2007). The report by TNS MRbi states that: 'the general public (females) are heavily influenced by the media, which is felt to present females in the military as: tomboys, strong, masculine, a distraction or indeed as sexual objects' (2007). The report also points to the need for the masculinist military culture within the DF to shift if it genuinely wants to recruit more women and to emphasize the important contribution women can make to peacekeeping missions. It also highlights how women need to be valued in their own right without being compared to men, the implication being that the gender neutral policies and practices within the DF are no longer appropriate if it is to become a woman-friendly environment.

While the pressure to ensure equal opportunity for advancement to women pursuing careers in the DF is a direct companion to similar demands of women pursuing careers in civilian life in Ireland and elsewhere, the DF positions itself as one of the few national militaries that recruits, trains and deploys women soldiers on an equal footing with male soldiers (DF, 2011). Women are positioned as a modernizing force within the Irish military and the role of women soldiers is marketed in the recruitment literature as liberating, challenging and adventurous. The DF recruitment slogan is '*Join the Irish Defence Forces and live a life less ordinary*' (DF, 2011). While few countries allow women in the military to perform combat duties (Keating, 2012) the DF claims that all roles, combatant and non-combatant, are open to women as well as men. The DF positions itself differently to offensive militaries such as the British or American militaries, as its primary role is international peacekeeping where its work is predominantly humanitarian in context. As part of their engagement with local communities, the DF undertakes humanitarian and community support projects with funding provided by Irish Aid (DFAT, 2012). In this study

Irish soldiers say they have a unique style of peacekeeping. This uniquely Irish mode of peacekeeping presents itself in the way an Irish soldier offers a handshake and a smile, a cigarette or a beer when entering a village or town, only resorting to aggression in extreme situations.

In 2013 there are five gender experts operating at home and abroad within the DF; and social media is being used to target women recruits. However, in 2012 no women completed the Officer Cadetship Course (two begun, but one left and one failed), it was the first year since 1988 that had no women cadets (interview with DF Officer, 2013). Thereby, questioning the efficacy of this new approach to the recruitment of women and pointing to the need for more robust measures to attract women recruits. While women have been integrated into the security sector in some countries, they generally occupy jobs that are considered feminine, such as medical related jobs or administrative positions (Enloe 2007).

Concerns about the inclusion of women in the DF and gender stereotyping are echoed in the 2008 MA thesis of Lt-Col Maureen O'Brien who states that:

> There is equality under the law; there is equality of opportunity but it is arguable whether there is gender equality in power sharing and equality of voice and influence in decision-making [...] Insecurity about the impact of UNSCR 1325 on women soldiers reflects a lack of confidence in current systems to guard against gender stereotyping. The DF Equality, Diversity and Equal Status Policies tell us that, "[...] we are all responsible, as soldiers, for ensuring equality happens" (DCOS Sp, 2007:8). My concern is that, other than through our complaints procedure, there is no formal mechanism for DF personnel to routinely communicate their needs, priorities and experiences gained specifically as a result of being a woman or man in the DF [...] those who create policy do not gather views on the specific gendered experience of women and men. This means that policy reflects the ideology of a few individuals rather than the collective reality of those who will be obliged to implement it. (O'Brien, 2008, 2012: 193-194)

O'Brien's thesis was on '*UNSCR 1325: Just add women and stir – a recipe for gender stereotyping in peacekeeping operations? (2008)*'. As part of the Senior Command and Staff Course officers complete an MA thesis within the Adult Education and Community Education Department at National University of Ireland, Maynooth. The senior command and staff course must be completed by an officer before they can access senior ranks

within the DF. O'Brien was the first woman in the DF to complete this course and to reach the rank of Lieutenant Colonel via this route.   The Adult Education and Community Education Department which delivers the MA programme for the DF uses a radical adult education approach of which a key principle is that 'education serves either to maintain or transform practices' (Ryan, 2012: 52). Educators of that programme state that:

> Learning that is concerned with identifying discourses and surfacing hitherto hidden knowledge can have far-reaching impacts on the personal and work life of the student. Consequently, supports that enable the student to engage in this kind of learning must transcend the immediate learning environment and take account of the broader arena in which s/he operates. If that arena is not receptive to the emerging new knowledge the students may well find themselves unable to apply their learning in ways that are of benefit to their organisation. (Ryan and Walsh, 2004, 2012: 61)

Through this MA programme the DF has access to a rich vein of knowledge and research from within its own ranks. However, some women officers voiced their concerns to me about having to sign a proforma if they wish to conduct research on gender in the DF. The proforma obliges them to handover their research to the DF for assessment before they can complete their thesis. This has discouraged these women from continuing with their gender research.   If the DF were to actively encourage gender research it would demonstrate itself as a learning organisation with a genuine interest in deepening its understanding of gender perspectives both at home and on a mission. One of the aims of this study is to draw out new discourses which show the potential for the 'DF in a bridging position between a traditional, militarised and masculinised view of itself [...and] glimpses of other ways of being and engaging, capable of facilitating new positions in response to our times' (Ryan AB, 2012: 197). For example, if the research undertaken by O'Brien is actively responded to by the DF then it could influence the creation of new policies and practices within the organisation aimed at gathering gender perspectives which would be an important step towards fulfilling its obligations to UNSCR 1325. Discourses that reveal 'glimpses' of transformative gender relations, opportunities, practices and policies, are drawn out in Chapter Seven and discussed further in Chapter Eight.

1.8 Ireland and Peacekeeping

Irish peacekeepers enjoy a positive reputation within the international community as well-trained and disciplined soldiers. They have a deep involvement with humanitarian work, either responding to an emergency due to natural disaster, or an inter-ethnic or intra-state conflict. When the DF are working in a post-conflict situation they describe their peacekeeping style as open and friendly; offering cigarettes and chocolate; playing football with local children and visiting schools, orphanages and hospitals. While the focus of this study is on gender relations the context in which these relations are taking place is of utmost importance. Irish peacekeepers are working in some of the most extreme conditions in terms of the scenes they witness, the crimes that are reported to them, basic facilities and extreme temperatures.

With the end of the Cold War, UN peacekeeping changed dramatically. Originally developed as a means of dealing with inter-State conflict, UN peacekeeping has been increasingly applied to intra-State conflicts and civil wars, prompting it to expand its field operations. Traditional missions involving strictly military tasks have been superseded by more complex 'multidimensional' missions with a focus on the implementation of comprehensive peace agreements and assistance with laying the foundations for sustainable peace through complex missions involving military, police and civilian components (UN, 2012; Karim and Beardsley, 2013). There is some evidence that multidimensional peacekeeping has been successful in preventing conflicts from recurring (Doyle and Sambanis, 2006; Fortna, 2008; Howard, 2007). The expansion of the peacekeeping mandate includes areas of humanitarian relief, refugee return, de-mining, civilian policing, demobilization, human rights monitoring, elections, and nation building such as the reconstruction of vital political and security institutions (Stiehm, 2001; Pouligny, 2006).

The term 'peacekeeping' is not found in the UN Charter and is not simply defined. Dag Hammarskjöld, the second UN Secretary-General, referred to it as belonging to 'Chapter Six and a Half' of the Charter, placing it between traditional methods of resolving disputes peacefully, such as negotiation and mediation under Chapter VI, and more forceful action

as authorized under Chapter VII (UN DPKO, 2012). The DF itself is in a bridging position between military and peacekeeping roles, as one research participant explained:

> I say I'm in the Defence Forces, we're not an army, we're a Defence Force, we have an army, an air corp and a naval service obviously, but you know we're not a combat army like say the US or the British Army or the French army. So as a result of that then you know their combat troops are combat ready and combat trained, and in my own opinion they are not ideally suited to peacekeeping. Whereas I think, our training, and certainly the Irish mentality is ideal for peacekeeping [...] we've a great temperament for that and our training is as Defence Force and not as an army or combat troops, you know. (M2, 2006)

Today, the role of peacekeeping, originally considered a secondary role for armies, is in practical terms the main function and mission for most national militaries. The UN explains peacekeeping as 'a unique and dynamic instrument [...] to help countries torn by conflict to create the conditions for lasting peace'. The first UN peacekeeping mission was established in 1948, when the Security Council authorized the deployment of UN military observers to the Middle East to monitor the Armistice Agreement between Israel and its Arab neighbours. Since then, there have been a total of 67 UN peacekeeping operations with a total of 3,080 fatalities (UN DPKO, 2012).

In research by Ishizuka (2004) he outlines how Ireland and Sweden are second only to Canada in the numbers of peacekeepers sent on missions.

> By 2004 Ireland had incorporated over 42,000 personnel to peacekeeping, this is a significant commitment when compared to peacekeeping colleagues, such as Canada (100,000 personnel), Sweden (70,000), Denmark (50,000), Norway (40,000), Austria (36,000) and Finland (30,000). (Ishizuka, 2004: 12-13)

These are substantial numbers considering that Ireland's population today is 4.6 million (Irish Times, 30 March, 2012). Keatinge and Tonra (2002) argue that Irish motivations for peacekeeping are both idealist and realist. While Ireland has a commitment to sustain the authoritative status of the UN its realist perspective is reflected in its desire to have prestige as an active member in the international system; to activate its defence forces; and to enhance recognition of its neutral status in international politics (Ishizuka, 2004).

While peacekeeping nations receive a financial benefit for participating in UN peacekeeping missions, the other often more powerful rationale for taking part in missions is that they are often the only field missions available to practice their military skills. This is true for Ireland as well as Canada, Scandinavia, and Denmark (Whitworth, 2004). As Murphy notes, 'since WWII, the Irish Army [has] suffered from a lack of purpose and a certain ambiguity regarding its role' (1994:5). In the absence of external threats, participation in peacekeeping has constituted the DF as a legitimate military. It would appear to have little reason to exist otherwise. However, Ireland's involvement in peacekeeping has come at a cost as 85 Irish peacekeepers have lost their lives while deployed on missions (DF, 2012).

Working for the DF is not like working for any other employer. As well as having to come to terms with the loss of colleagues and friends, Irish peacekeepers have also their own personal experiences of witnessing horrific and traumatic events while deployed on missions, and therefore Post Traumatic Stress Disorder (PTSD) is a very real concern for personnel. Stories that have been relayed to me in the course of this study include situations where Irish peacekeepers witnessed the stoning to death of a woman in Liberia for committing adultery; meeting child soldiers as young as eight years old who had been fed drugs and handed a gun and told to shoot, who did not know their own surname and so could not repatriate with their families after the conflict; children who had lost limbs as a result of the explosion of mines. Irish peacekeepers take on additional duties during their deployment, such as working in orphanages, hospitals and schools. The extract below exemplifies one such event retold to me during an interview with an Irish woman peacekeeper:

> I remember one little girl in particular she was about three and she'd real fuzzy hair and I was just rubbing her hair and we'd been playing with her ball and her mother came over very apologetic and said to me sorry maybe you don't realise you mightn't want to be touching her she has AIDS, the mother was apologising for her daughter you know and it was so bad certainly nothing can prepare you for that. (W7, 2007)

Besides the poverty and despair peacekeepers witness they also endure living behind a barbed wire fence within a camp or compound for six months; often isolated from the people they are sent to protect; and sometimes frustrated by partial or weak UN

mandates. These are the types of contexts in which the participants in this research study are situated when discussing the social relations amongst peacekeepers and discourses on gender.

In November 2011 the Irish government launched its National Action Plan (NAP) on UNSCR 1325 (DFAT, 2011). Included in the plan were actions to provide training on UNSCR 1325 to all peacekeeping personnel; to increase the numbers of women in peacekeeping; to incorporate the gender perspectives of civilians into a mission; actively supporting women's participation at every level of decision making in peacekeeping; holding Irish personnel accountable for their actions while on a mission; putting in place 'robust accountability mechanisms' to deal with discrimination, sexual harassment and bullying against women; to strengthen institutional capacity through gender mainstreaming policies; and to be responsive to the different security needs and priorities of women (DFAT, 2011). The DF produced its own Action Plan on UNSCR 1325 which was circulated at the end of 2013.

1.9 Motivations for conducting this study

The process by which I undertook this research study could be a study in itself. This is due to the many obstacles I had to overcome to gain access to the DF, its peacekeepers, and a mission. The protracted amount of time it took to receive approval of my research study; as well as the many different approaches I needed to make to different personnel at different stages in the process (for example, it took me three years to gain access to my quota of participants and to ensure I had enough women I had to travel to Camp Clarke in Kosovo to interview participants). However, the obstacles I experienced only heightened my resolve to undertake the research and the institutional resistance proved to be a tantalising motivation to continue as each layer of resistance highlighted more brightly the need for gendered research to take place within such a male-dominated and inherently conservative institution.

As a mature student coming from a business background I was used to being persistent and taking a proactive approach to projects. Therefore, I was confident that I could convince the DF to grant me access to the institution and its personnel if I could meet with the appropriate people and influence them to support my idea. Having taken a huge

personal risk by moving countries (from the UK to Ireland) and changing career mid-life I had the determination necessary to pursue this research study, as I quickly learnt that working with such a powerful and controlling institution is not for the faint hearted.

The original motivation for this study was my interest in the changing face of war from inter-state to intra-state conflicts and its impact on the role of UN peacekeeping, as well as with a concern about gender inequalities, and how women are positioned physically and symbolically to demarcate cultural, religious and ethnic boundaries during and after conflict. Horrified by the wars in Bosnia-Herzegovina (1992-4) and Rwanda (1993) and the gender based violence committed during both of those conflicts I became interested in the subject of gender and conflict. During a voluntary working trip to Nepal many years later (2003) I witnessed the impact of discrimination and oppression resulting from cultural gender roles and the ongoing conflict, on the lives of girls and women, many of whom were living under the threat of being trafficked into India as part of the sex trade. After that experience I decided to leave my job in London and return to Dublin to undertake a Masters Degree in International Relations (IR). During that year of study (2003-4) I explored the connections between gender and war and in particular the adoption of UNSCR 1325.

Having completed my MA I wanted to develop my research activities by exploring the experiences of civilian women in post-conflict settings and their interactions with peacekeepers. However, I was encouraged by my MA supervisor (Dr Eileen Connelly at DCU) to reconsider and to conduct research with the peacekeepers themselves as there had been very little research conducted on gender within militaries more generally, or within the DF specifically. At first I was resistant to this idea as I positioned myself as a pacifist and anti-militarist and interacting with soldiers and peacekeepers did not sit comfortably with my ontology. As a feminist and peace activist I identified with Brock-Utne's (1989) definition of peace which combines non-violent forms of conflict resolution with equality and justice and an overarching aim to actively work towards the transformation of gender relations leading to women's empowerment socially, politically and personally.

Prior to this time my connections to the DF were distant and vague. Although aware of Ireland's reputation as a regular troop contributing country to peacekeeping missions I had no strong interest in the military or the role of women peacekeepers. As a woman and a feminist, the military was not an obvious research subject nor was it an environment in which I would have liked to work. My preconceptions about the military were that it would be incredibly macho and anti-woman. In fact I couldn't understand why any woman would choose to become a soldier and position herself in a male dominated environment, let alone one where she is trained to use force and violence to achieve militaristic aims.

With such strong initial resistance it is perhaps surprising that I undertook this study at all. However, during 2005 as I reflected on women and IR it became clearer to me how women had been written out of most IR theory and practice and that the field was dominated by an androcentric epistemology. After some initial research I also noted that while there is a great deal of knowledge about men's relationship to the military there is very little knowledge about women soldier's relationship with military institutions, or the gendering processes which take place within militaries. When I began my research into the DF (2006) there was a progressive feminist literature by theorists in the United States, mainly writing on the U.S. military, (Cohn, 1989; Enloe, 1983, 1989; 2000; Elshtain, 1992; Goldstein, 2004; Stiehm 2001). However, there was less available with a Eurocentric perspective (Olsson, 2001; Kronsell, 2006) or with a specific focus on peacekeeping (Whitworth, 2004). As Enloe argues 'the American relationship between masculinity, soldiering and military peacekeeping does not have global applicability' (2000: 241). And while there were many UN reports available these often draw on assumptions and 'taken for granted' ideas about gender relations and society rather than on empirical research. Looking closer to home the only piece of research in the public domain in Ireland on gender and soldiering was *'The Status and Roles Assigned Female Personnel in the Irish Defence Forces'* (Clonan, 2000), a controversial piece of research, which I reflect on in more detail later in this chapter. It was these clear gaps in our knowledge on gender within IR, and specifically peacekeeping, that was the primary motivation for this study.

In my early exploratory research I became more interested in the Irish DF as a subject of study after reading reports about their commitment to contributing to UN peacekeeping; the high numbers of personnel who had taken part on missions; and the numbers who had sacrificed their lives in the pursuit of bringing peace to another part of the world. As I delved deeper I discovered that DF personnel drove truckloads of humanitarian aid across Europe to Bosnia and Kosovo, on their own initiative, not as part of their mandate for those missions. That they organized fundraisers at home and abroad to support the building and re-building and supplying of orphanages, schools and hospitals in mission areas. That in practice they put great importance on building relationships with civilians and communities in host nations and as a result have often been invited to local weddings and celebrations whilst on missions. These insights increased my respect for both the organisation and its personnel and consolidated my decision to work with them to conduct this study; and to draw out how they as an institution critique the structures of society and unequal power relations and the impact this has on their practices and policies.

My commitment to include men's voices and experiences as well as women's within the research was as a result of my aim to create a study that truly included gender perspectives, thereby firmly moving away from the notion of 'women equals gender', which is the dominant discourse within the field of IR. I was also interested in exploring how the presence of women makes visible gendering processes and gender roles and what potential this 'making visible' would have to transform a military institution by including gender perspectives in planning and policymaking and this became one of the central aims of this study.

However, there were inhibitors to conducting this research not least of all the difficulty of gaining permission from the DF to access peacekeeping personnel. Clonan's (2000) doctoral thesis on '*The Status and Roles Assigned Female Personnel in the Irish Defence Forces*' had created a political scandal which led to a law suit taken against the researcher by the DF. During the time of his study Clonan was an officer in the DF conducting 'insider research' and his findings revealed large-scale incidents of bullying, sexual harassment, sexual divisions of labour, and curtailment of overseas appointments for women soldiers.

This type of scandal in the rank and file of a highly thought-of military institution created embarrassment for the DF and as a result I was concerned that they would be reluctant to give permission for further research on the subject of gender. As an 'outsider' to the DF I was able to overcome some of the problems that Clonan encountered as a result of his insider status. Not least the fact that I did not have easy access to personnel or resources so every step of my process was monitored and approved by the DF. I also reminded the DF that the focus of my research study was on gender relations within the peacekeeping context and did not have a particular focus on issues such as bullying and harassment, although I would have no control over whether these issues were discussed by participants. (The findings on bullying and harassment are discussed in Chapter Six). As a feminist researcher it was important to me that the interview process was as fluid as possible, and that participants had some control over the direction of the conversation. Therefore, I was aware that some of these issues might be raised in the interview process as the positioning and roles assigned to women in the DF interlock with their positioning and roles within the peacekeeping context and would be difficult to separate.

Considering all of the steps I had to take to gain access to the DF and the media interest in the Clonan (2000) research, not least the court case taken against him by the DF, and the impact this had on his health and his reputation at that time, I was fearful of anything similar happening to me and my research. Therefore, I signed a Proforma with the DF agreeing to give the Human Resources Director/Department access to the evidence to be used in this study, before submitting to the Examining Board (see Appendix V). It was explained to me by the DF that this was the only way I could gain access to DF personnel and I also hoped that it would offer me protection from any problems at a later stage in the research process. In *Chapter Two: Research Methods*, I discuss the process by which I gained access to the DF in more detail and its impact on how I conducted this study.

1.10   Conclusion

By assessing the constraints and limitations placed on women as well as opportunities for transformation this study asks: 'How does the "equal but different" discourse on gender distribute power in specific contexts and what impact does that have on women's inclusion in PSOs?' and through its series of sub-questions it reveals taken-for-granted power relations and gender norms within a mission setting. The research questions and sub-questions were outlined and discussed in relation to feminist theory and assumptions made by the UN about women's inclusion within missions. These sub-questions are teased out throughout the chapters in this thesis. The entire structure of the thesis and an overview of each chapter is outlined below.

Structure of the Thesis:

Chapter One: Introduction

This chapter gave an overview of the study's aims and questions and its conceptual and theoretical starting point. It provided a brief overview of women and soldiering in the historical Irish context; the setting up of the Irish DF; the inclusion of women in the DF; and the changing nature of how women are positioned within the DF. This chapter discussed why peacekeeping is now the main function of most state militaries and how it is positioned as *'chapter six and a half'* within Security Council mandates, which can lead to weak mandates and confusion about its role. The rationale for assessing the security sector through the 'equal but different' lens and its inadequacy to support women's equal inclusion within security forces was outlined. The theoretical implications of viewing women soldiers through a feminist lens were discussed alongside opposing feminist debates on whether women should join militaries. The concept of a bridging device between the different feminist debates was outlined using the concept of the 'third space'. The third space moves beyond the 'equal but different' discourse to one of multiplicity holding simultaneously: gender, difference, and the multiplicity of subjectivities. My rationale for using this device was introduced in this chapter.

Chapter Two: Research Procedures

This chapter contributes to the thesis by outlining the research method and the process by which I gathered the data. It discusses how and why the study uses feminist discourse analysis to draw out the empirical findings; the rationale for the study's feminist approach; and the limitations of using discourse analysis to deconstruct and analyse the narratives of 28 peacekeeper/participants. This chapter highlights the importance of reflexivity for the feminist researcher to deepen critical thinking and analysis; the importance of research ethics; and the obstacles that needed to be overcome to gain access to research participants. It gives an overview of the research process; the rationale for including men as well as women participants; and the opportunities that were grasped to observe social relations within a peacekeeping camp in Kosovo. It also discusses in detail how the participant's accounts were analysed; the relevance of dominant and muted discourses; the identification of alternative discourses with transformative potential; and the many contradictions operating simultaneously in the participants' accounts.

Chapter Three: Gender and International Relations

This chapter outlines in detail the theoretical framework for this study. It does this by discussing the concept of gender as a philosophical and methodological tool for feminist theorizing; and its usefulness as an analytical tool for this study. It outlines the different philosophies within IR and critiques its partial epistemology as it does not typically include a gender perspective. Some of the different theoretical schools within IR are outlined, Realism, Neo-Liberalism, Interdependency, Institutionalism, and critical IR theory and discussed in relation to their usefulness to this study. This chapter then goes on to argue for the necessity to take a feminist approach to IR, which challenges IR's androcentric approach by inserting a gender lens into the landscape. It outlines the peace/war dichotomy and the association of women with peace and men with war; and the polarization of femininities and masculinities within the conflict and post-conflict setting. It discusses the use of gender based violence within warfare and the positioning of women as voiceless victims; with men and masculinities dominating within discourses on war. It includes further discussion on critical and liberal debates within feminism on

women's inclusion within male dominated militaries, the gendering of militaries, the development of militarism and militarization as well as the use of concepts such as gender performances, binaries and hierarchies for discourse analysis.

Chapter Four: Studies on Gender and Peacekeeping

This chapter contributes to the thesis by outlining and assessing a series of feminist case studies on peacekeeping and gender. These studies include theory on the sexual harassment of women in the Swedish Armed Forces and gender neural policies that make the perpetrators invisible. Research on the gendering of jobs within militaries and debates on the need to create gender balance within PSOs as well as the 'action competence' of individual peacekeepers is discussed. The needs of civilian women are outlined and include that peacekeepers come with knowledge of gender relations having listened to women in their own countries talk about their needs before coming on a mission. By elaborating and evaluating the theories in these case studies and by identifying gaps in empirical research they provide me with opportunities to deepen my understanding of gender and peacekeeping and to push this study along. This chapter emphasizes the timeliness of my research and the opportunity for it to reveal new knowledge on gender processes in peacekeeping.

Chapter Five: What Women Bring to a Mission

This chapter contributes to the thesis by responding to the sub-questions: 'Does the presence of women enable an inclusion of different voices and perspectives in peacekeeping?'; 'Is a mixed gender peacekeeping mission received differently to a 'male-only' team by the host community or by other PSO militaries?' And 'How does the equal but different discourse operate to position women and men within specific gender roles within a mission?' Through the analysis of a series of extracts from participant's accounts this chapter highlights the themes: Culture and Care-Giving and women's positioning within a series of discourses emanating from these themes. By drawing out discourses drawn on by men alongside those drawn on by women reveals relations of power and their creation and circulation within the 'equal but different' discourse active within a mission environment.

Chapter Six: Inhibitors to Women Accessing PSOs

This chapter contributes to the thesis by revealing and analysing discourses within the participant accounts that informally inhibits women's access to jobs, missions, tasks and roles within the DF. By responding to the questions: 'How does the equal but different discourse operate to position women and men within specific gender roles within the mission?', 'What are the costs to women soldiers for being part of a minority group?' and 'Is a mixed gender peacekeeping mission received differently to a 'male-only' team by the host community or by other PSO militaries?' this chapter explores the dominant themes emanating from participants accounts on: Culture, Protection, Divisions of Labour, Segregated Facilities, and Sexuality; and discusses how contradictory discourses within these themes position and re-position women depending on the specific situation or context.

Chapter Seven: Gender Dynamics and Transformative Moments

This chapter contributes to the thesis by responding to the question: 'Where is the inclusion of women in the DF challenging dominant discourses and creating space for alternative discourses to take root?' It discusses how gender discourses have changed over time by revealing alternative muted discourses with transformative potential. Transformative discourses are identified by using O'Sullivan's (1999) transformative education model where the individual or institution moves through three levels of 'survive, critique and create'. Through the identification of these discourses we begin to glimpse shifting power relations and the acceptance of difference and the multiplicity of subjectivities within the DF. This chapter discusses why the 'equal but different' discourse is inadequate for transformation because it rules out the idea of multiplicity and reinforces gender dichotomies. By utilising the theory of the 'third space' the concept of 'add women and transform' is developed and discussed in this chapter.

Chapter Eight: Concluding Discussion

This chapter addresses the significance of the overall findings and the material, militaristic, and imaginative transformations that need to take place to allow a dismantling of gender hierarchies and the development of gender sensitive instruments within militaries and international institutions. The focus of this chapter is on the

theoretical and policy implications of the study; and the significance of the findings to security studies, peacekeeping and Feminist IR Theory. It also summarizes the entire thesis and draws attention to high points in the research and its findings as well as making recommendations for future studies.

CHAPTER TWO: RESEARCH PROCEDURES

2.0 Introduction

This chapter discusses the background to the study and the research process by which I achieved the empirical data.   It builds on the theoretical framework outlined in chapter one by deepening the discussion specifically on feminist discourse theory and my rationale for using discourse analysis in this study.   This chapter also gives a detailed account of the research process, outlining how I gathered the empirical data; methodological setbacks and hurdles; as well as opportunistic moments that enabled me to access 28 research participants from within the DF. It discusses the limitations of the study and the ethical issues related to the study approach particularly in relation to sexual harassment and bullying revealed through the participant's accounts. It gives an explanation of how the themes and sub-themes were chosen and other methodological choices made while collecting and analysing the data and how the findings were elicited from the participant accounts. This chapter could be a study in itself as there were many obstacles to overcome in the course of the research not least gaining access to the participants via the DF and getting permission to undertake participant observation in a peacekeeping camp in Kosovo.

2.1 Research Questions and Aims

By listening to the voices, values and attitudes of women soldiers and comparing them with their male peers, one of the central aims of this study is to illuminate how peacekeeping is gendered, what impact this gendering has on a mission and whether it is possible for women's presence in PSOs to challenge and transform dominant discourses that position women in stereotyped roles.   By conducting this research study I am considering the spaces where women peacekeepers are making contributions to new behaviours, attitudes, actions, or areas of power and influence over systems and structures within the realm of peacekeeping, that have not been recorded to date.

The type of information I was initially seeking was about the impact of a mixed team of women and men on civilian populations, especially local women, and whether the presence of women peacekeepers encouraged local women to be more vocal about their

experience of war and conflict. However, I quickly discovered that the research study would need to change direction as I was informed by the DF that few Irish women officers have had direct experience of working with local civilian women, due to the fact that many officers are stationed within the peacekeeping camp rather than out on patrol. By facilitating semi-structured interviews the story that wanted to be told began to unfold and as a result the study's focus shifted to gender relations amongst peacekeepers.

Since the adoption of UNSCR 1325 in 2000 and the UN's call to nation states to increase numbers of women peacekeepers, the numbers have only risen from one to three per cent globally (UN DPKO, 2013) and are unlikely to reach the goal of 10 per cent by 2014 set by the UN Secretary General (Schjølset, 2013). The failure for national militaries to meet the UNs obligations makes this research imperative and timely. By looking through the 'equal but different' lens this study analyses how dominant discourses operating within the DF position women in relation to their male peers and the impact this positioning may have on their promotion opportunities, assigned tasks and jobs, and ongoing recruitment and retention. This is a necessary first step because by drawing a picture of the present moment we can begin to imagine an alternative future.

There were three key themes from which my questions flowed: gender, power and culture, and these in turn activated the direction in which my research travelled. For example, when looking at gender, feminists ask: why wars have been predominantly fought by men and what the meaning and consequences are of male dominance through war; and how do gender scripts legitimate militarism through the performance of masculinities and femininities for both women and men (Goldstein, 2001). Culture has provoked feminists to investigate the problematic essentialized association of women with peace and their positioning as natural peacemakers, unsuited to the role of protectors or soldiers, and thereby inhibited from accessing positions of power within the international IR arena. For many feminists this association of women with peace dis-empowers both women and peace (Tickner, 2006; Parashar, 2012). When thinking about power feminists' ask why, in just about all societies, women are disadvantaged, politically, socially, and economically, relative to men, and to what extent this is due to international politics, the global economy and militarization (Tickner, 2006; Enloe, 2004). Thematically,

gender, power and culture are important routes for feminist researchers to reveal inequalities within society and as such are the dominant themes discussed throughout this study. By asking 'what potential does my research have to improve the conditions of women's lives?' (Jayaratne and Stewart 1991:101) I developed the overarching research question for this thesis: 'How does the equal but different discourse distribute power in certain contexts and what impact does that have on women's inclusion on PSOs?' The sub-questions asked throughout this study were discussed in detail in Chapter one, and they are: Does the presence of women enable an inclusion of different voices and perspectives in peacekeeping? Is a mixed gender peacekeeping mission received differently to a 'male-only' team by the host community or by other PSO militaries? How does the equal but different discourse operate to position women and men within specific gender roles within the mission? What are the costs to women soldiers for being part of a minority group? Where is the inclusion of women in the DF challenging dominant discourses and creating space for alternative discourses to take root? These questions reflect a typical starting point for feminist research as they take women's lives, concerns and experiences seriously and aim to illuminate these through the research methodology. While these questions were used to direct this study they were not the specific questions directed to research participants, those questions are listed in Appendices I, II, and III at the back of this thesis along with a copy of the consent form given to participants.

2.2   A Feminist Methodological Framework

This study is interdisciplinary and political, due to the relationship of the DF with the Irish state, and the analysis of power within the institution. It is seeking to understand gender relations and their effects on women peacekeepers and civilian women in post-conflict societies, with the goal of transforming them. The methods used in this study were informed by the need to insert a feminist lens into the field of IR and closely examine the gender dynamics within a PSO through the use of empirical research. There are many different ways to conduct feminist research (Ackerley et al, 2006). As discourse analysis is well used by IR feminists but not yet by mainstream IR this approach challenges both mainstream research methods as well as examining new issues on the IR agenda. One of the ways it does this is by not conflating the term 'gender' to mean only women but to

also include men and their experiences. Gender is used as a basic theoretical concept to deconstruct power relationships both within the research study and between the researcher and the participants (Byrne and Lentin, 2000). Social scientists in IR used positivist approaches up until the late 1980s. Since then post-positivist approaches to research have taken precedence. Positivist approaches, claim a clear division between facts and values and believe in the unity of science, that is, the same methodologies apply for both the scientific and non-scientific worlds. Positive research is based on the natural sciences and includes qualitative and quantitative research techniques with an emphasis on neutrality and objectivity. This approach privileges features such as deductive logic, beginning with a cause-effect relationship logically derived from general theory and using research to test theory. The researcher has to adopt a stance of detached, neutral and objective scientist and data is precise and often collected using experiments, surveys and statistics (Tickner, 2006). Post-positivist approaches used by most feminist IR researchers challenge the social scientific foundations of the field of IR and draw on a variety of methods including participant observation, statistical research, survey research, cross-cultural research, philosophical argument, discourse analysis, and case studies. IR feminists see theory as 'constitutive of reality and [are] conscious of how ideas help shape the world' (Tickner, 2006: 19).   As a feminist researcher the following methodological perspectives were used to guide this study: a deep concern with which research questions get asked and why; designing research that is useful to women and is both less biased and more universal than conventional research; the importance of questions of reflexivity and the subjectivity of the researcher; a commitment to knowledge as emancipation and transformation (Reinharz, 1992; Tickner, 2006).   This created the basis for a gender-sensitive framework within which this research was conducted. 'What makes feminist research unique, however, is a distinctive methodological perspective or framework which fundamentally challenges the often unseen androcentric or masculine biases in the way that knowledge has traditionally been constructed in all the disciplines' (Tickner, 2006: 21). This research has a distinct feminist approach as its central aim is to reveal unseen masculine biases within PSOs; make visible gendering processes within a military institution; and reveal those taken-for-granted gender norms through the use of discourse analysis as the analytical tool.

2.3 Feminism and Discourse Analysis

Feminist Poststructuralism is the school in which discourse analysis is situated. 'Gender can be understood as a discourse because it is an integral part of social life that is produced through everyday language and talk' (Weatherall, 2002: 82). Feminists have critically examined how the institutionalization of gender inequality is discursively enacted in a wide range of institutions such as education (Ryan and Walsh, 2004; Ryan AB, 2001) and a variety of professional and organizational settings (West and Zimmerman, 1991; Wodak, 2002, 2009; Speer, 2005). IR Feminists have also adopted a discursive approach to analysis (Butler, 2004; Cohn, 2000, 2004; Kronsell, 2006, 2012; Parpart and Zalewski 2008; Tickner, 1992, 2005; Shepherd, 2008; Sjoberg and Via, 2010; Sylvester, 2012). The use of discourse as a methodological tool by feminists draws on Foucauldian (1980, 1982, 1986) theories of power. However, discourse is more than just a tool, gender identity is discursively constituted with language not only reflecting and perpetuating gender but also constituting gender and producing sexism as a social reality (Weatherall, 2002: 5). Power is part of language not separate from it and discourses of gender capture the idea that language is imbued with power. For example, 'in poststructural terms, power and knowledge are a system of discourses where what counts as truth is no more than an effect of the cultural order, an idea represented by power/knowledge' (Weatherall, 2002: 79). The shift in thinking from essentialist to constructionist approaches to understand gender is part of a more general shift to the use of language in the humanities and social sciences (Burman and Parker, 1993). This was influenced by poststructuralist ideas that stress the discursive nature of social life (Weatherall, 2002). 'Instead of gender being viewed as an essential characteristic of an individual's psyche, it is understood as a thoroughly social construct, one that is produced by language and discourse' (Weatherall, 2002: 76). 'Gender scrutiny is dynamic rather than static, explanatory and exploratory rather than descriptive, relational rather than comparative, emancipatory rather than normative' (Hollway, 1989: 32). Poststructuralist feminists analyse how discourses, their meaning repertoires, and their positioning of individual subjects within an institution shift over time and depend on context.

My task as the discourse analyst is to expose the premises that go unstated in the narratives of the research participants; and to ascertain what conditions facilitate or

militate against a discourse being widely circulated. For example, numbers matter, and if an institution is dominated by high numbers of one gender this will influence how that institution sees itself and how it plans and performs its tasks. Unacknowledged and taken for granted assumptions may be present which affect, frame or underpin what is actually said or done. Discursive power is often subtle because it is passed off as 'natural' or 'normal'. The more subtle forms of discrimination against minority groups are often discursive, evidenced in jokes or 'slagging' which is borne out in this study. For example, when a sexist comment is made towards a woman in the DF it is often excused with the words 'I was only slagging' thereby positioning the woman as lacking a sense of humour if she takes offence. Discourse has material consequences. 'Arguably, the most important type of language use for the production and reproduction of gender is mundane conversation. However, there are relatively few studies of how gender is reproduced in everyday interactions' (Weatherall, 2002: 78). This study uses an original approach with the aim of revealing how gender is reproduced in everyday actions and disrupting oppressive gender discourses. A discursive approach emphasizes the production of gender differences, not just the differences themselves (Hollway, 1991). 'The idea that discourses about gender have material consequences, is key to understanding why the notion of gender differences tends to function practically to disadvantage women' (Weatherall, 2002: 79). Therefore, discourse analysis is a highly appropriate concept and research tool for this study because 'gender norms tend to become invisible and taken for granted as they are put into the everyday practice of an institution' (Kronsell and Svedberg, 2012: 4).

In Foucault's idea of a 'history of the present' he is concerned with the relation between truth and power and considers under what conditions certain discourses and practices emerge (1972). He identifies specific sites as 'surfaces of emergence' and includes the family, the streets, and other institutions, such as the prison and the asylum (Ryan AB, 2001). The over-arching question of this thesis 'How does the "equal but different" discourse distribute power in certain contexts and what impact does that have on women's inclusion on PSOs?' is concerned with the 'surfaces of emergence' within a military institution and PSO that encourage or discourage certain discourses and practices to emerge. Discourses can be drivers of social change or/and they can maintain norms or the 'status quo'. For example, the positioning of women as 'nature' and men as 'culture'

in historical discourses is currently being inverted by the UN and national militaries who are using the rationale of women's social control of men's licentious behaviour (often discussed as 'sexual nature') as one argument to increase the numbers of women peacekeepers on a mission (Dharmapuri, 2013, Hebert, 2012).

> Gender discourses, beliefs and ways of talking about gender can be thought of as producing power relations between men and women. The institutionalisation of those power relations through, amongst other things, education, the law and the division of labour reproduces the patterns of advantage and disadvantage evident in society. (Weatherall, 2002: 80)

Discourses can allow for regulation to take place in society and can produce subjects; and discourses can allow social domination and perpetuate unequal power relations (Ryan AB, 2011). For example, Lees (1983) research demonstrated how the threat of negative comments can work to control women's behaviour, such as the fear of being labelled a 'slag' can make a woman feel limited in her choices. Because discourses may be symptoms or fragmentary enactments of larger power operations, this study aims to unravel how discourses can play a crucial role in ideological formation through the 'equal but different' discourse within the DF.

The phenomenon of contradiction can help us to theorize about how women and men are produced multiply in social relations and out of this we can generate hypothesis about new ways of being feminine or masculine and the creation of the 'third space' as theorized by Kristeva (1986) a space that acknowledges the multiplicity of subjectivities as well as gender and difference. In any given situation, multiple discourses are likely to be activated, some of which are irreconcilable with each other, and this leads people to experience contradictions. These, contradictory understandings and emotional responses can be an impetus for change, and if sympathetically treated, contradiction can be the crack in the facade of a dominant discourse (Ryan AB, 2011).

I am positioning myself as a neo-radical feminist within this study who uses discourse activism to draw attention to societal inequalities. 'Discourse activism is aimed at transforming cultural paradigms and discourse activists see such transformation as essential in efforts to bring about social justice' (Ryan AB, 2011: 8). 'Because so much of

Foucault's work is concerned with the conditions that make discourses possible and the conditions of their emergence and disappearance, one can see possibilities for change. For example, an active feminist politics could create conditions where some discourses were no longer possible and where other new discourses were possible and/or recognised. This has happened in the case of rape, once seen as purely a sex crime, now widely seen as involving an abuse of power (Ryan AB, 2001: 34). Having said that it is not easy to critique, transform or re-negotiate dominant discourses as they tend to be taken for granted and considered "natural", "normal" or "common sense" (Young, 1998), such as the association of women with peace. However, we can observe how dominant discourses have shifted over time by reviewing historical accounts of war and conflict. For example, in the nineteenth century foreign conquest was seen as right and necessary by Western states and the Victorian wives of colonizers represented order, civilization and respectability. This form of femininity contrasts starkly with the Machiavellian idea that men must continually struggle to maintain their autonomy over their own inner feminine power, referred to as 'Fortuna', which was seen as 'capriciousness, chance, and being out of control' (Elshtain, 1995: 172). Minerva, the goddess of war and wisdom, represented 'strategic skill and calm victory' for the ancient Greeks (Elshtain, 1995: 172). The fluidity of the performance of gender (Butler, 1990) is revealed through these historical accounts of women and femininities demonstrating how ideas about gender norms shift and change through time, depending on the context and culture of a given society. 'History seen in terms of discourse also gives us the important idea that the way events happen is not inevitable – but the way things turn out is always contested and full of other possibilities' (Ryan, 2011: 10). Through this method I can elucidate the impact the presence of women soldiers have on their male peers and the missions and tasks in which they are situated; to reveal dominant and muted discourses that position women in particular ways depending on the context; and therefore bring to the fore their role and contribution as peacekeepers.

2.4 My Feminist Position

Over the years that I have been working on this study I have struggled to know how to position myself within the debate. This is why I have developed the bridging concept because my work as a feminist activist alongside my scholarship has heightened by awareness of how differences between feminists and a lack of solidarity can weaken progress. My personal inspiration to engage in feminist research is to be part of the international movement that pushes for liberation from unequal power relations and patriarchal systems which have historically revealed their inadequacy for maintaining peace and resolving conflicts. On a daily basis, confronted by the violence inherent in the current tri-partite system of capitalism, patriarchy and militarism and the devastating effects they are having on all life on this planet, I am motivated to do something practical to change the current reality. Part of this reality is the terrifying and destructive effect of violent conflict on women's lives and the role that some women peacekeepers are playing in bringing to light their plight and informing our knowledge on women's gendered experiences of war. It was with this goal in mind that I began this research.

Although my feminist identity is an evolving label which is revisable, just like gender, for the purpose of this study I am positioning myself as a neo-radical feminist; which is a fundamental shift away from 'radical feminism' and theories of women's essential difference, superiority, inherent peacefulness and separatist agendas.   What neo-radical means to me is an engagement with gathering empirical evidence and theorizing on the 'root cause' of gender inequalities and the perpetuation of militarism and war-making while at the same time considering practical actions that can be taken 'in the moment' to transform dominant sexist discourses into more egalitarian ones. My neo-radical positioning adopts both a critical and practical approach to IR and feminist activism and has a lot in common with a feminist post-structural position by using discourse as an analytical tool and adopting a discourse activist stance within this study. By positioning myself as such I am building a bridge between the feminist debates on women and soldiering. While on the one hand feminist theorists present an important new vision of the world order and rethinking of security (Enloe, 2000; Whitworth, 2004; Tickner, 2005) on the other hand, they also focus on the practical implications of the current system for

civilian women recovering from conflict, as well as women involved in security and peacekeeping; and endeavour to improve the lived experiences of women through human rights, equality and justice frameworks (Freedman, 2012; Hafner-Burton, 2004; Strickland and Duvvury, 2003). By adopting a position as a neo-radical feminist I am drawing attention to how gender operates in specific peacekeeping contexts and conceptualizing a more holistic approach to security which could be achieved through the transformation of gender relations and the discourses, systems and structures that create and reproduce them.

It is because feminism is about positively 'transforming ways of being and knowing' (Peterson, 1992: 20) for women and men, by challenging gender stereotypes and the 'naturalness' of women's subordination and of men's access to privilege and power that I am interested in it as a field of knowledge. Feminist scholarship is a 'hopeful' philosophical approach that works towards women's empowerment and holds a vision of a more equal and just society as its guiding light. It works towards this goal by exploring how human rights can be upheld for everyone, through academic endeavour and social and political activism. As a feminist I am not only interested in the conditions of women's lives and their human rights but also in the gendered relationships between women and men and opportunities to deepen understanding and awareness of unequal power relations and how they shift depending on context. I do not hold essentialist ideas about women as the 'natural' bearers of peace although I do think they bring different experiences and new knowledge to a peacekeeping mission based on their gendered social positioning as women and as such they have important contributions to make. This study demonstrates how it is possible to retain a critical position while also working on the resolution of practical issues in the moment and thereby build a bridge between differing feminist positions through engagement with national and international security institutions such as the DF and the UN.

2.5   The Research Process

2.5.1   Ethics and Sensitivity

Throughout this study I was vigilant in maintaining an awareness of any power imbalances between myself and the participants. In particular ethical research procedures were studied and adopted to create safeguards for the participants and myself. These safeguards included participant access to information about the aims of the research, access to interview transcripts, the power of the participants to withdraw from the research study at any time, the inclusion of consent forms clearly outlining the responsibility of the researcher, a commitment to confidentiality and anonymity by the researcher. The emphasis at all times was on ensuring that no risk or harm could come to the research participants as a result of taking part in this study. To ensure anonymity each participant was given an identification code instead of their name, for example, M1, W2, (that is, the first man or second woman interviewed). I also changed the name of some of the missions and countries to fictitious ones to protect identities. In strict compliance with the academic institutions code of ethics I signed a *Human Subjects Ethical Approval Exemption Form* in University College Dublin. This form is used when research participants are adult volunteers and are not at risk from taking part in the research. The ethics form was then co-signed by my research supervisor Ailbhe Smyth and by the Director of the School of Social Justice, University College Dublin (UCD) and sent to the Ethics Committee for approval which was duly given.

This study began in UCD in the Women's Education, Research and Resource Centre (WERRC). However, I needed to take a break of 18 months in the middle of the research process. During that break I decided that it would suit the needs of the research better to be situated within the Adult Education and Community Development Department in National University of Ireland, Maynooth (NUIM), which had an excellent reputation for its Masters Degree Course as part of the Senior Command and Staff course for senior ranking officers in the Irish DF. I felt that NUIM's relationship with and understanding of the Irish DF would provide a supportive environment for the continuation of this study; and under the supervision of Dr. Anne B. Ryan I completed this thesis.

2.5.2   Safeguards and Vulnerability

As a feminist researcher one of my primary concerns was that of the safety of the research participants, and this included confidentiality and the protection of identity. Therefore, I was particularly sensitive to the safety of any individual who disclosed any form of abuse during the interview process. To protect any potential for identification of these research participants I made a decision to exclude their extracts from the research findings. For example two cases of abuse were recounted 'on the record' but I made a decision to omit these extracts as I felt if the participant's identities were revealed it could create a backlash onto them thereby increasing their vulnerability. My decision to exclude these extracts highlights how power can operate within an institution by silencing and marginalize those who experience an offence. I did not wish to repeat this pattern in my own research but after weighing up the pros and cons it was clear that my responsibility lay with protecting my participants rather than exposing them to further risk. This situation demonstrates the difficult nature of the research and the importance of reflexivity as the researcher has to decide how to deal with important issues as they occur. It is impossible to be impartial in the production of knowledge (Harding, 1986) and this was a research dilemma for me personally and as a feminist, because I felt the information had been shared specifically so that it would be placed in the public domain, but I was also aware that by doing so it could jeopardize the participants' careers. While wanting to empower my research participants I did not wish the research to create any harm. I decided that the best way to work with sensitive information was by including the accounts using my own language and terminology and not identifying the participants with the usual identification code. I took this approach because I was aware that the language used in accounts, including hesitations and repetitions as well as particular phrases or use of clichés could be indentifying tags. As the research study has as one of its guiding principles the aim to illuminate without creating victimization or discrimination these safeguards were discussed with my supervisor and were given in-depth consideration before they were applied.

2.5.3 Off the Record Material

Some information shared with me was off the record. While as a researcher I would have wanted to recount these conversations to emphasize a point, in strict accordance with codes of ethics these have been eliminated from the research findings. However, the 'off the record' conversations have richly informed my own thinking and the overall research study and have played an important role, if not a clearly visible one, in creating the overall picture.

2.5.4 Gender: Bringing men in

This study was not only concerned with the daily lived experiences of women but also those of men, as I wanted to move away from the common misperception in IR of the term 'gender' conflated to mean 'women'. There is no reason why feminist research should focus exclusively on women's lives and experiences (Wise, 1990) and this view is supported by other feminist theorists:

> There is a danger of taking women as a category and leaving men outside the account, because gender is produced through difference, in relations, and so if the other side of the relation is out of view, a social psychology of women's experiences cannot produce a theory of how women are produced. Secondly, description without theory is not possible and accounts of women's experience cannot operate in a theoretical vacuum. (Hollway, 1989: 106)

Building on theorization by feminists (Hearn, 2012; Higate & Henry, 2004; Connell, 1995; Valenius, 2007; Hollway, 1989; Wise, 1990) this research takes seriously the experiences of men, their relationships with female peacekeepers, their positioning within the military hierarchy, the gendering of peacekeeping and the 'equal but different' discourse within the DF. The way men create and sustain gendered selves is an important way of examining how gender is implicated in power relationships (Hearn and Collinson, 1994; Connell, 1995). To research and analyse women's experiences of peacekeeping in isolation would be very limiting in the creation of new knowledge because peacekeepers operate in the field, in highly interdependent teams of women and men. Femininities and masculinities are formed in relation to one another and they depend on and are shaped by flexibility and constraints within different social contexts. Studying men in relation to

women is an important part of the feminist project as its aim is to reveal the very processes through which men reproduce patriarchal institutions (Hearn, 2012; Lohan, 2000; Brittan, 1989; Connell, 1995). The term gender 'sticks more easily to women' because masculinities 'naturalize the everyday practice of gendered identities which has led to the rather perplexing situation in which men are "persons" and there is no gender but the feminine' (Peterson and True 1998: 21). Therefore, it was important that this study challenged the idea that hetero-masculinities are considered the standards of 'normality', equated with what it is to be human, especially in military institutions where hegemonic masculinity is usually revered (Connell, 1995: 212; Hearn, 2012; Higate & Henry, 2004).

2.5.5   Getting Approval from the Irish DF

On 24 July 2007 Michael Mulqueen was awarded his doctoral degree on the subject of *'The Irish National Security Strategy'* from UCD. An integral part of his research study was 30 interviews with the most senior officers in the DF. After submitting an initial proposal and letter of request to the Chief of Staff his research continued quite smoothly with easy access to senior officers who were happy to be publicly named in the thesis when discussing the politically sensitive subject of national security strategy. In contrast my research journey was quite different. In February 2006, I notified the DF of my intention to research their officers' attitudes and perspectives of peacekeeping with a focus on gender but it was not until the 15th June that a meeting was arranged to discuss my research proposal (this came about as a result of my persistence with follow up emails and phone calls in the preceding months). In the meeting I requested access to files, databanks, the Curragh library, theses, and any other information I thought would be useful. It was recommended that I write a letter to the Chief of Staff outlining my research aims and attaching my proposal, which I duly did. On 3rd October 2006 I received a letter from the DF stating: '*I have been directed by the Director of Human Resource Management Section to inform you that your research request has been approved subject to your signing of the attached proforma*'[3]. My proposal had been

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[3] The letter gave me written approval to: 1. an initial informal interview with female officers to determine research feasibility; 2. a meeting with staff from the UN Training School to discuss pre-

accepted on the grounds that I sign a proforma agreeing to pass any sections of my thesis with quotes from DF officers through the HR department for approval. Signing the proforma had serious implications, not only could it slow down the process while I waited for my thesis to be read by the DF it could also mean severe editing to my research should the DF be unhappy with any of the content. For example, if key findings were deleted from the text this could make the project unworkable. After discussions with my supervisor at UCD I decided I had no choice but to comply. This seriously impinged on my own feelings of 'safety' throughout the research process and created an unusual shift in power relations between myself and my subject, the DF, that of me feeling very powerless throughout the process. After signing the proforma I was given a list of officers who were available for interview and so the data gathering process began in October 2006.

2.5.6   Rationale for researching officers

Officers were initially the main focus of my research because I understood that they were positioned as leaders and communicators and negotiators with civilians on a mission. However, after my first meeting with the DF it became clear that the way the peacekeeping contingent is structured most direct face to face communication with civilians is conducted by soldiers from 'other ranks' or non-officer ranks, through frequent 'low-level' or day to day contact with civilians while working on checkpoints, in mobile reserve units, on patrols, or guarding the gates of the UN peacekeeping camps. Sometimes closer interactions develop between peacekeepers and civilians through sports such as playing football with the local men and boys, or chatting to the local women over a cup of chai. A minority of officers come into regular contact with civilians through specific roles such as head of a liaison monitoring team (LMTs) or as the leader of a civil military communications (CIMIC) team. However, I was informed that it would not be easy to arrange interviews with these officers as many were currently on missions or had busy schedules.

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deployment training of officers; 3. attendance a the Gender Awareness day on a Human Rights Course in UNTSI; 4. access to the Defence Forces library in the DFTC; 5. and the final note said: 'First hand observation of officers in the course of their work on a peace support operation overseas may be feasible at your own expense, but will be discussed at a later date'.

The DF definition of CIMIC is:

> Co-operation in support of the Mission, between components of UN mandated Crises Management Operations/PSOs and the civil actors in theatre, which includes the national population and local authorities as well as international, national and non-governmental organisations and agencies (DF, 2003:1)

As personnel from 'other ranks' were more likely to come into regular contact with civilians I requested access to this group. I was also aware that the experiences and perspectives of non-commissioned officers and privates would be quite different to those of the officers due to their class positioning within the hierarchy as 'other ranks'. However, the DF refused to give me permission to interview this group. This was the first major hurdle in relation to accessing participants and one of the main limitations of this research.

2.5.7   Access to Participants

It was important to interview participants who had experienced more than one mission and who had experience of working with women, both civilians and peacekeepers. However, this was not an easy task as few officers came into direct contact with civilians and some of the senior officers had neither trained with women soldiers nor commanded them whilst on missions. It was also important that participants were self-selecting and did not come under pressure to be interviewed. This was difficult to control as my request for participants was communicated via the Human Resources Department within the Df, and I did not know if participants were being ordered to take part or were genuinely interested for personal or professional reasons. However, I know certain participants did self select, namely individuals I approached directly in Camp Clarke, Kosovo; and this group represented one third of my research participants.

2.5.8   Women Peacekeepers

The research required women officers who were experienced peacekeepers, especially those who had worked closely with civilians. However, this was problematic due to the small numbers of women in the DF. In 2007 out of 496 women in the DF 109 were

officers. This compares to 1,328 male officers. Of the 109 women officers in the DF[4] there were only 27 on peacekeeping missions between January and April of 2007 and only 11 between May and December. This immediately limited my research to a very small pool of women.

The Human Resources Department in the DF gave me the email addresses of a number of women officers to contact directly to request their participation in the study. While this was extremely helpful most of the women either did not respond or could not make the dates suggested. While a few were forthcoming the 'snowball' effect I was hoping for was not created. With 'snowballing' one participant informs and encourages another to take part in the research study and so on until the research numbers are met. I was aware of several possible reasons for women's reluctance to take part in the study. Firstly, the adverse publicity generated by the Clonan study (2000) could have raised concerns that this research would have the same type of impact and draw unwanted attention to women soldiers. Secondly, they may have had concerns about being identified within the study due to their small numbers and the naming of missions they had taken part in. Thirdly, they may have felt disinclined to take part in another study that focused on gender and which highlighted women's minority status in the DF. As this initial approach was not working adequately I needed to take decisive action to access more women. In 2008, during an interview with the then Chief of Staff, the late Lt-Gen Dermot Early, I requested his approval to visit Camp Clarke in Kosovo where a large number of Irish personnel were based. This was an explicit request to observe a camp environment and to access numbers of women *in situ*. This would have the advantage of interviewing women with their experiences fresh in their memories as they were in the immediate peacekeeping environment during the research. This turned out to be an effective approach as not only was I able to conduct participant observation of a peacekeeping camp but seven women there also agreed to be interviewed for the study as well as two more men.

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[4] Human Resources, Defence Forces, October 2008

2.5.9   Male Peacekeepers

It was easier to access male officers as research participants because there were more of them. But it may also have been easier for men to take part in the study because they are the dominant group. Men do not have the same worries or concerns around anonymity that women officers have because as the majority, it is far more difficult to identify a male officer from the accounts then it would be to identify a female officer. The men were confident in the knowledge that there were many other men on the same mission (unless it was an observer mission or secondment to a mission working with a different national military) and that their anonymity is more likely to remain intact.

2.6   Table of Participants interviewed between 2006- 2008

The table below outlines when the participants were interviewed and the corresponding letter and number assigned to each interviewee. The first male participant is issued with the letter M and number One and the last woman participant is issued with the letter W and the number 15.

	Men			Women	
2006	**2007**	**2008**	**2006**	**2007**	**2008**
M1	M4	M9	W1	W5	W9
M2	M5	M10	W2	W6	W10
M3	M6	M11	W3	W7	W11
	M7	M12	W4	W8	W12
	M8	M13			W13
					W14
					W15

2.7   Designing the Interviews

The aim of my interview approach was to provoke a 'story telling' response from the participants, and an opportunity to expand on experiences and perspectives.   When envisioning the interviews I wanted them to feel they were participating in a discussion rather than a question and answer session, and I wanted to give the participants an opportunity to bring up aspects of their experience that I may not have asked about directly.   I decided that this would be best produced through the creation of semi-structured interviews.   To support the process I drew up a broad list of questions to be used as signposts throughout the discussion in the interviews (refer to Interview Schedule I in the Appendices).   As the research topic should be allowed to emerge gradually over the course of an interview (Brannen, 1998; Lee, 1993) I began with a wide range of questions as marking 'the boundaries of the research topic too tightly may have inhibited respondents from defining it in their own way' (Lee, 1993).   This list of questions was refined three times throughout the process as it gradually became apparent which stories wanted to be told through the repetition of themes and discourses in the participants' narratives.

2.7.1   Pilot Study

In October 2006 I ran a pilot interview with two female officers who were on friendly terms with each other, to check the relevance of the research approach.   Interviewing two people at the same time worked well for a number of reasons: firstly, the number of participants outnumbered the researcher, thereby reducing the usual power imbalance between the researcher and the research participants.   Secondly, the participants supported each other and gave each other permission to speak openly.   Thirdly, they reminded each other of the types of situations they had experienced whilst on peacekeeping missions.   As a result the interview was relaxed and proceeded like a discussion rather than an interview.   I noticed that as the participants relaxed they became much more open, less "politically correct" and less concerned with organisational loyalty.   This was important, as it was through building up trust and confidence that the participants were more likely to share the details of their experiences.

The following month I tested this approach with two male officers and had a similar response. I then interviewed two women and two men on their own and found a marked contrast both with their ability to relax in the interview and with the depth, richness and openness of their responses. For example, three out of the four officers who interviewed on their own talked for much shorter periods of time and were noticeably more politically correct and organizationally loyal with their responses. They also gave more 'yes', 'no', responses to my questions. However, although it was desirable to interview all of the participants in pairs this was not possible due to practical constraints and the fact that some participants preferred to be interviewed on their own. One of these practical constraints was that it was important to interview participants of the same rank and who were happy with being interviewed in front of each other as otherwise any power imbalance would inhibit responses. This became clear on one particular occasion where the participants were friends but of different ranks, the more senior ranking officer spoke for longer and dominated the interview. While preferring the double interview as a method it turned out to be impractical for this research study and therefore most of the interviews took place on a one-to-one basis. This was one of the limitations of the research procedure.

2.7.2 Pre-interview

Before each of the interviews conducted in Ireland I sent an email to the participant introducing myself and outlining the broad parameters of the research. On the day of each interview I began by introducing myself, giving a brief outline of my professional and academic background, in particular emphasising my Masters Degree in International Relations and my interest in UNSCR 1325 and gender. I then discussed the motivation for my research, focusing on the fact that it is about 'gender and peacekeeping'. I then outlined each of the steps in the research methodology, and spoke about anonymity, confidentiality, transparency and feedback; and committed to an interview timescale agreed with the participants. After I had outlined my research interests, their role as research participants, and the research process, I asked the participants if they wanted to ask me any questions before we began. Most participants opted to ask questions at the end of the interview process.

For the interviews with participants in Kosovo I sent an introductory letter to the Camp Commander and asked him to circulate to all of the women on the mission in advance of my arrival. It explained that my research had not yet reached its quota of women and that I would be grateful if they could take part in the study. On my arrival I was invited to present my research to the women and they would decide at that point if they wanted to take part. Seven out of 12 women agreed to be interviewed.

2.7.3   The Interviews

The interviews varied in length depending on the context in which the meeting took place. Sometimes they had been pre-arranged with time specifically set aside for the interview and sometimes they were opportunistic with an officer agreeing to be interviewed as a result of an informal discussion and the interview taking place there and then. Because of my difficulty in securing participants I was keen to take advantage of any opportunity that presented itself and remained flexible and open to these chance encounters with DF personnel who wished to take part in the study.

Once the interview began I considered it an important part of my task as a researcher to relax the participant and to build up rapport. To support this I began the interviews by asking general questions about rank, career progression and types of peacekeeping missions undertook by the participant. Once the participant was speaking freely about their experiences I focused in on the subject of gender relations. I waited until participants were relaxed as I predicted that these questions may be more sensitive and therefore some may be difficult to answer. Typical questions included straightforward ones such as: Have you ever worked for a woman commander? Did you come into contact with local women whilst on a mission? Moving into more gender focused questions such as: did you ever feel that you were asked to complete a task because of your gender? Do you think there should be more women in peacekeeping units? Having been on an 'all male' mission what differences did you notice when women were amongst the troops?

> Unlike sociological questions, questions that invite the other's story encourage a shift of responsibility for the import of the talk. Our task as interviewers is to provide the interactional and discursive conditions that will arouse her/his desire to embrace that responsibility. We are most likely to succeed when we orient our questions directly and simply to life experiences that the other seeks to make sense of and communicate. (Chase, 1995: 12)

With this aim in mind I endeavoured to make the interview process as free flowing as possible. I let the participants take the lead at times during the interviews and to go off on tangents to retell stories where they felt it necessary to highlight a point. However, it was my first time using this approach and so I was never completely sure if I was being methodologically correct. I was continuously questioning how I had conducted each interview and considering if there were better ways of doing it for the next participant. I decided that one of the key ways of ensuring a feminist approach was to be open and transparent about my research and to encourage questions and to answer them honestly and fully.

For some of the participants it seemed that they were saying out loud for the first time how they felt and what they thought about certain experiences. Byrne (2000) identifies this in her research as 'a trying on of words to describe the self', this was demonstrated through a tentative use of language, long pauses, starting a sentence and then changing the language used half way through. Others spoke rapidly in a flow of consciousness with certainty and confidence, often using repetition and clichés to make a point, some used 'imagined scenarios' rather than concrete examples to back up assumptions or subject positioning, and some participants sounded like they were quoting the DF Equality Policy handbook.

It was noticeable that the participants were being politically correct when talking about gender and there were a lot of references to the familial bonds of the Irish DF. If criticism of the institution was forthcoming it was usually followed with a statement to confirm that the participant understood the DF position and policy. When I probed a little deeper different feelings and thoughts rose closer to the surface, how many stayed hidden I don't know, but as we got closer to the end of the interview many of the participants relaxed to a point where they spoke more openly.

I was also aware that the officers were telling me stories that they would normally only share with each other or with a select few. Some of the stories were funny and had us laughing while others were sad and I could see that they still affected the teller, when they fiddled with rings or watches, paused for several seconds or looked down at the table. When such a story was told I made sure to thank the officer immediately for sharing it as I was aware that it may have taken some emotional risk to do so. The memory may be painful but also the retelling may re-invoke other emotions that could take several weeks to process. Whether they anticipated it or not, an interview can often be a cathartic experience for participants and this can be the very reason why some participants take part in the research (Lee, 1993).

2.7.4 Triangulation

The process was circular rather than linear, for example, my original questions opened up new questions; it became clear that my questions needed to change in response to the feedback I received. Initially I didn't uncover as much information about gender dynamics as I had anticipated. While my first interview using *Interview Schedule I* (Appendix I) unearthed a lot of useful information about the peacekeeping experience it didn't dig deeply enough into the issue of power relations, either among women and men peacekeepers or among the peacekeepers and local civilians in host countries. For example, I was aware that some of the difficulties researchers have with obtaining reliable information is to do with interviewer's feeling uncomfortable about asking certain questions. At the beginning of the research study I was uncomfortable asking male participants about sexuality, local girlfriends or the use of prostitutes whilst on missions. While I did ask these questions initially they impacted the way the participants responded to me and in some cases they shut down completely. I therefore decided to leave these questions out of my interviewing schedule as due to the code of conduct that all soldiers undertook both within the DF and the UN the subject was unlikely to be explored openly. I wondered if the male participants have talked about these sensitive subjects more freely if I was a man. As a result of this experience and other insights during the interview process I refined the *Interview Schedule* and created version *II* in 2007 (see Appendix II).

The interview approach changed again in 2008 when the opportunity to interview peacekeepers in Kosovo arose. Whilst this was an opportunity to interview participants *in situ*, due to the practical constraints of their jobs, they had less time available to meet and therefore the questions became more focused. As I had conducted analysis of my previous interviews I now needed to clarify and confirm some of those findings to see if they held. This final interview approach *Interview Schedule III* (Appendix III) had 10 questions and focused specifically on gendered experiences of peacekeeping while still giving participants the opportunity to diversify and to tell personal stories. Throughout the interviewing process I kept a research grid with thematic headings and added it as the study proceeded, this enabled me to compare at a glance data from men's interviews with data from women's interviews and recurring themes and topics.

2.8 Power Relations

'The locus of control in the interview emerges from the interrelation between the topic, the particular method of interviewing used and the respective statuses of the participants' (Lee, 1993: 110). Power in the interviewer/participant situation was not at all fixed in the interviews, but varied from one interview/participant to the next. I was conscious that the research process is not so much a means to the end but an integral part of that end. 'Feminist methodologies help us to focus on the in-between spaces, the processes through which knowledge is constructed, and to include the role of the researcher and the relationships between the researcher and researched' (Lohan, 2000: 182). I was aware that any power imbalance between me the researcher and the participant was greatly lessened by the fact that most of the participants held senior positions within the DF, many were university graduates, and some had Masters Degrees.

In fact, it often felt like the power relationship had been switched and that the participants were in a more powerful position than I was. For example, they dictated the time and place for the meeting (we typically met on DF premises which are familiar to them)[5], they decided whether there were refreshments and what type, the length of the interview, to be open or not in their response to questions, and also they were typically wearing army fatigues and using 'military speak' which made them appear intimidating

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[5] I met three women officers on the UCD campus.

and which emphasized my *outsider* status. Not least I was continuously aware that I was in a compliance situation. At any stage the officers could have chosen to withdraw and the DF had the power to close ranks and end the research process. If I put a foot wrong I could have lost access which would have jeopardised my entire research project.

By being the *outsider* researcher I was hoping to overcome some of the problems that Clonan (2000) had experienced during his research study. As an officer in the DF and an *insider* he employed an 'action research' process which positioned him as both a critical observer as well as a member of the military family, a difficult balancing act, which ultimately created problems for both the researcher and the institution.

During the interview process I noticed a difference in the dynamic between myself and women officers, and between myself and men officers. For example, most of the men tried to create some sort of personal connection with me after the interview, by offering advice and tips about who to interview next and where to go to find participants, or they asked direct questions in relation to how my research was progressing and how long it would take for me to complete it; and what I will do once it has been completed. I was aware that as a researcher I could become entangled in and possibly fortify the very ideas I set out to challenge.

> I am aware that by reconstructing a space, for the men to talk openly about professional and personal details of their lives I am also reconstructing a space for gendered stereotypes and gendered conversations – as the woman who [is] interested in the personal, and the interview as a safe space for a man to talk to a woman about the personal. (Lohan, 2000: 181)

By creating a space for men to talk openly as a researcher means taking up the role of interested observer, 'care taker' or empathetic 'listener' and the interview context is not a neutral event. I asked myself was being a woman an advantage when talking to the male officers about their careers and relationship? The answer was 'yes' and 'no'. Although some men may have spoken for longer and gone into more detail because of my gender it was also likely that other information deemed 'not suitable for a woman' may have been withheld.

The interview context is clearly considered not merely as a *representation* of gender identities within the research process, but rather as a context for the *performance* of gender relations, with the consequent possibility of changing gender relations. Furthermore, since gender relations were being performed, so too were power relationships. (Lohan, 2000: 182)

The diversity between men and masculinities was very tangible in my encounters with the participants in my study and also the variation of gender power which men hold as a group in Irish society. There is, as Connell (2002, 1995) has pointed out, a politics *within* masculinities and 'within the interview context I was also responding to this diversity within masculinities through a complex performative spectrum of femininities' (Lohan, 2000: 176). Sometimes behaving more confidently and assertively and at other times more passively and responsively reflecting the mood and style of the participant.

With the women participants I experienced a more mixed response. Some women were intrigued by my research and wanted to know more about it and others rushed away after the interview (saying they had to collect children or go back to work). Whereas, the men were altogether more relaxed and continued the conversation for 15 minutes to an hour after the interview had finished. The women seemed to assume an automatic understanding between themselves and myself and our gender roles, for example they talked about juggling personal and professional demands (none of the men mentioned this) and especially when talking about the demands of motherhood, they often used the words 'you know' at the end of sentences, when talking about this professional/personal conflict. I don't have children so I don't have that experience as part of my life but I nodded in support as I could imagine the stress of the competing demands and the frustration that very little is done at a structural or systemic level to help to alleviate the women's double workload.

After the interviews I questioned if the women felt more or less comfortable with me because we were all women and therefore there was less of a need for a power struggle. Or did they automatically assume that I understood them because I am a woman. Although there was an expectation from some of the women that I understood the competing demands on their time, this did not lead to a 'natural' rapport between us. Imbalances of power can exist between the researcher and the researched even if they

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are both women due to the inter-sectionality of subject positions (Stanley and Wise, 1990) such as class, race and status. Stanley and Wise (1990) argue that success in interviewing depends more on a complex interrelation between the relative structural positions of interviewer and participant and the interviewer's skill and personal style, than it does on a simple identity of gender and this reflects my own experience which differed from participant to participant.

2.9 Post Interview

At the end of each interview I would invite participants to ask questions or if they wanted to add anything that we hadn't discussed and could be relevant to the research. I didn't want to leave participants with feelings of unease or regret. Lee points out that 'the person with whom an in depth survey is sought must agree to give a considerable amount of time and energy to the project and they may be asked to reveal a great deal about themselves which may have a high emotional cost' (1993: 103). I was conscious that reliving painful memories or discussing emotional topics may provoke uncomfortable reflections for the participants. However, initially I did not know what to do about this or even if there was anything I could do. It was unlikely that any of the participants would have contacted me to confide in me as I am the 'other' outside the DF, not part of the peer group. I decided that the best way to deal with this concern was to contact each of the participants by email after the interview and ask them how the interview had impacted on them; if they had had any further thoughts they'd like to share with me; and if it had created a consciousness raising that had affected them in anyway? Perhaps not surprisingly only one participant said 'the interview did bring up a small bit of emotion from past experiences…but didn't linger post interview' (M2, 2006). Other participants either didn't reply to my email or said they felt fine after the interview with nothing new to report.

2.10   Participant Observation

During my interview with the late Chief of Staff, Lt-Gen Dermot Earley I asked if he would give me permission to visit a mission camp as this would allow me to undertake a limited form of participant observation. Camp Clarke in Kosovo was chosen because that mission was considered by the DF to be the least dangerous mission at the time (November 2008). It was an important part of the research as I knew it would provide me with a deeper understanding of the camp environment by immersing myself into the natural setting of the peacekeepers, and that it would heighten my sensitivity as a researcher (see Kronsell, 2006). During my week-long field trip to Camp Clarke I undertook 'overt participant observation'. Overt participant observation is openly observing a group, receiving permission and co-operation from the group and being clear and honest about the research aims (Laurier, 2001). It also necessitates having a sponsor from within the group, usually somebody in a senior position. In my case I had the Chief of Staff's sponsorship and this made the experience much easier.

During this time I kept detailed notes of my meetings and interviews with military personnel as well as my observations. I was kept very busy because the DF had planned every day of my stay in advance, focusing mainly on taking me out to observe peacekeepers working within the community as part of the Civil-Military teams (CIMIC) or the Liaison Monitoring Teams. These experiences had a major impact on me as I witnessed firsthand the desperation of the post-war situation for many people and their reliance on some of the basic domestic items needed for survival such as blankets, clothes and food. It was mid-winter and the temperature was below freezing for much of the time. The harshness of the climate along with the poverty and trauma experienced by these people was evident and disturbing. While the CIMIC and LMT teams were doing important work including building new homes for people who had been displaced, it was clear there were competing pressures on their time and resources and that this in itself creates a dilemma for the peacekeepers in relation to prioritizing needs. These insights heightened my awareness of the complexity of the post-conflict situation and the competing needs of civilians that some peacekeepers are dealing with on a daily basis.

Members of the LMTs told me that they always carry bars of chocolate to give to the children they meet; that they organize fundraisers at home in Ireland and while on the mission to supply basic needs to the local populations; and that they transport truckloads of supplies across Europe from Ireland to Kosovo for the local civilians. There was no doubt in my mind that for some peacekeepers, helping and protecting civilians becomes a personal responsibility and a major concern. The impact this has on the individual peacekeepers over the long-term is not a focus of this research but is an area that needs in-depth study.

As regards the impact my presence had on the peacekeepers I noticed this differed between the women and men. While many of the men were initially wary of me most of the women seemed happy for me to be there. I quickly discovered that the wariness was due to a misunderstanding about the focus of my research which had been communicated in advance of my arrival. The male officers had understood gender to mean women and therefore presumed that I was only interested in the views and experiences of women. Throughout my time in Kosovo I had to continually restate that gender is about relationships between women and men and that was what I was researching. I also pointed out that because I had not yet fulfilled my quota of women participants I was looking for more women to be interviewed while I was in Kosovo but that I was also interested in interviewing men, but that men were not such a priority because I had already interviewed 12 men, but only five women. The reason for the women's delight in my presence was spelt out to me during one of my interviews when the participant said that it was great to meet a researcher who was interested in the positives women bring to a mission and that she was only too happy to share what those were in her opinion.

Another motivation for soldiers to undertake peacekeeping missions is the financial benefits. It was mentioned to me on a number of occasions that the benefits of a six-month long mission away from home with all basic needs paid for by the UN allowed peacekeepers to save large amounts of money that could then be put towards the purchase of a new car or paying a lump sum off a mortgage or loan. While I had been aware that finances and materialism would be a powerful incentive for many I was

surprised at the level of interest in the duty free shops in the camp head quarters and the purchasing of expensive watches and jewellery as well as alcohol, cigarettes and other luxury products. On reflection, it seems obvious that having a place to spend money on luxury goods while living and working away from home in harsh and sometimes isolating conditions would be important to maintain the morale of the peacekeepers.

The week-long participant observation proved to be extremely helpful to my research study. Not only did I interview seven more women and two more men but I also met with local interpreters and women from other peacekeeping forces who shared some of their perspectives on gender with me.   The observation week increased my theoretical sensitivity as well as my empathy for the research participants. By listening to different voices and perspectives while in a peacekeeping environment, my understanding of motives and meanings deepened as well as of the pressures, norms, concerns and influences on the research participants. This opportunity to observe participants *in situ* undoubtedly increased the quality of the information I was able to gather in terms of its richness and detail as well as my overall understanding of the motivations for the peacekeepers themselves.

2.11   Transcribing

On returning from Kosovo (and after each interview conducted in Ireland) I began transcribing the interviews. I typed up the first 20 interviews and used a transcription company to transcribe the last 10, which I checked through for accuracy. This was a very time consuming process with each interview lasting between one to two hours, the typing could take several days.   The speed at which I transcribed depended on how clearly/audibly the participant spoke, and how much they hesitated or repeated themselves, as every 'em', 'er', 'you know', needed to go into the transcript. I would type it all up once (slowly and carefully) and then listen to the entire tape again to make sure I had included every sound.

When this job was complete I sent the transcript to the participants for comments, amends, deletions and approval. It was important that the participants, after a reflective period, had time to reconsider anything they said which they may wish to amend,

particularly as some of the information was sensitive. The ability to have power *over* the informant by virtue of possessing potentially damaging information which may have been revealed in the interview was a concern for me (Brannen 1998). Therefore, I was keen to remove this power imbalance by giving each participant access to their own account and amending or editing where they felt necessary. Only a few people used this opportunity to amend their accounts.

2.12   Themes and sub-themes

Once I had the approved version of the participants' account I spent hours pouring over the data connecting themes and making interpretations. I gave a lot of consideration to how I would analyse the data as 'qualitative analysis requires a huge investment of time and good data-management, as well as the development of a systematic and theoretically meaningful analytical method' (Byrne, 2000:155). To identify different discourses I first had to pull out the main themes in the narratives. Fairclough describes this as 'identifying the main parts of the world (including areas of social life) which are represented' (2003:129). Next I distinguished between themes and sub-themes, and identified key words and phrases, while connecting theoretical concepts written about in the literature with the peacekeepers own experience of peacekeeping and gender. My aim was to 'identify the particular perspective or angle or point of view from which the main themes are represented' (Fairclough, 2003: 129). Through my feminist lens I was continually asking: 'What do women bring to a mission?' 'Is a mixed gender peacekeeping mission received differently to a 'male-only' team by the host community or by other PSO militaries?' 'What are the costs to women soldiers for being part of a minority group in the peacekeeping setting?' 'Does the presence of women enable an inclusion of different voices and perspectives in peacekeeping?' 'How does the equal but different discourse operate to position women and men within specific gender roles within the mission?' To help this process I created a research grid with themes and sub-themes and I began to place different extracts into each box. Due to the large amount of data gathered I had to make tough decisions about what to keep in and what to put to one side. The main recurring themes and sub-themes within the participant's accounts are highlighted in the pie-chart on the next page.

Figure 1: Themes and Sub-themes

Care-giving: mission camp /women provide emotional gel/reduce tension

Protection: dangerous missions; women vulnerable

Divisions of Labour: gendered jobs, devaluing of feminized jobs, promotion competitions

Culture: host nation/ military culture

Facilities: segregation/ isolation/ sexuality
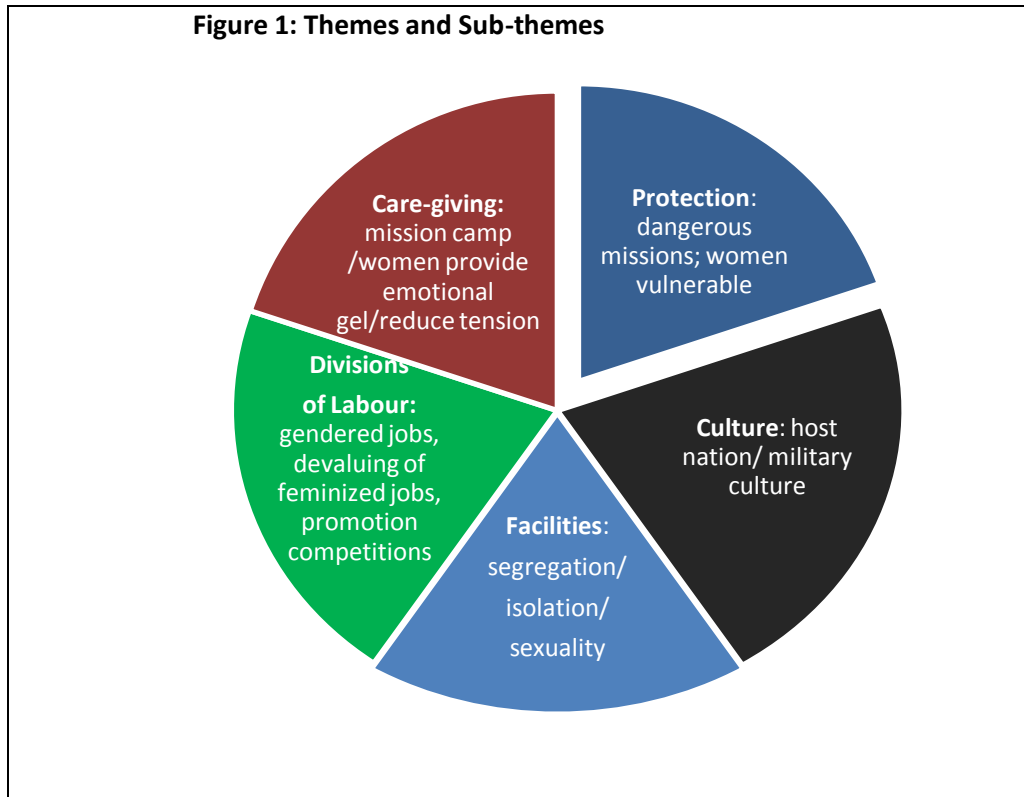
2.13   Discourse Analysis

Discourse analysis is used in this study to interpret and analyse the dynamics of power within the participants' accounts. Power remains mainly invisible except when it can be observed through discourse analysis. The aim is to deconstruct dominant discourses to reveal invisible structures of power and social and political control that lead to dominance and exclusion (Tapia et al, 2011). Discourses can be understood as vessels that contain certain ideologies contributing to the creation and production of collective attitudes and behaviours (Baker et al, 2008). Discourses are not powerful on their own they become powerful when used on a daily basis by powerful individuals and institutions (Chilton, 2004). Dissemination of dominant discourses by those in elite positions within institutions can result in inequalities and injustices in wider society (Burroughs, 2012). Therefore, discourse analysis can be useful in exposing the ways institutions create dominant discourses to exclude certain groups, such as women, by leading the majority of people to think about specific jobs, tasks and roles in society as belonging to men (Burnham et al, 2008). For example, there are widely circulated discourses that position women who

soldier as 'unnatural'. There are discourses that use differentials in physical strength between women and men as an exclusionary mechanism for women accessing militaries; even though there are wide differentials in strength amongst men and women; and physical strength is not necessary for many jobs in today's multi-dimensional PSOs. There are discourses that position women as disrupters of all-male team cohesion and exclude women from certain missions, jobs or tasks as a result. On their own or used together these discourses can discourage women from accessing militaries, as well as particular jobs and ranks. Therefore, discourse analysis has the ability to make visible the interconnectedness of things and this can enable individuals to become aware of exactly how they are being dominated or oppressed and by seeing the oppression they can make efforts to liberate themselves (Wodak & Meyer, 2009). This is the first study of its kind to reveal how a powerful Irish institution (the DF) has influence over the production of gender as well as its dissemination, thereby, providing me with a strong rationale for using discourse analysis within this study.

2.13.1 Identifying Discourses

Discourses are associated with the different relationships people have with the world depending on their social and personal identities, their social position, and their social relationships (Fairclough, 2003). 'A discourse is not a language or a text, but a historically, socially and institutionally specific structure of statements, categories and beliefs, habits and practices (Ryan AB, 2001: 32). 'Discourse is used to filter and interpret experience' (Holland and Eisenhart, 1990: 95). Discourses are identified within a text by thinking of them as '(a) representing some particular part of the world, and (b) representing it from a particular perspective' (Fairclough, 2003 :129). As aspects of the world are represented differently the discourse analyst is generally in the position of having to consider the relationship between different discourses (Fairclough, 2003). For example, themes within this study, such as culture and care-giving, are open to a range of different perspectives, representations and discourses. On the theme of culture within the host nation of a PSO a country's culture and gender relations are discursively differentiated depending on who is speaking and from what perspective they are sharing their experience or ideas. Discourses are distinguished both by their way of representing and through their

relationship to other social elements (Fairclough, 2003). Although there may be an overlap of discourses on a particular theme, different discourses may use the same words but use them differently, and by looking for semantic relationships these differences can be identified (Fairclough, 2003). Discourse is contained or expressed in organisations and institutions as well as in words. Foucault (1972) argues that underlying power relations shape a discursive practice whose rules are rarely explicit or subject to criticism, but those who participate must speak in accordance with them (Foucault, 1972; Ryan AB, 2001: 33).

> The relationships between different discourses are one element of the relationships between people – they may complement one another, compete with one another, one can dominate others, and so forth. Discourses constitute part of the resources which people deploy in relating to one another – keeping separate from one another, cooperating, competing, dominating – and in seeking to change the ways in which they relate to one another. (Fairclough, 2003: 124)

By analysing how the participants within this study position each other within certain discourses reveals their relationship to one another and whether they are competing, dominating or complementing each other in the different PSO scenarios they find themselves in. As such, the use of discourse analysis will reveal gender dynamics within a PSO and the empowering or disempowering of women or men peacekeepers depending on the particular context.

2.14   Analysing the Narratives

This study uses a method of analysis called 'interpretative discourse analysis' (Gavey, 1997; Hollway, 1989). In order to analyse the narratives I focused on the accounts highlighted in the extracts rather than on individuals. I identified and analysed discourses and meaning repertoires rather than on individual opinions or points of view. I considered the positioning of subjects in relation to one another within the discourses. Clearly, the participants are not homogenous they are all uniquely different individuals who have drawn on common themes and discourses to help make sense of their world (Ryan AB, 2011). At the same time, each person has a unique relationship with the "common" discourses, because each person has a unique personal history and range of experiences. Within the accounts I looked for evidence of discourses by: 1) seeking within the discourse not its laws of construction, as do the structural methods, but its conditions

of existence. 2) referring to the discourse not to the thought, to the mind, or to the subject which might have given rise to it, but to the practical field in which it is deployed (Foucault, 1991). The limitations of discourse analysis arise from the methodology on which it is based. Since no claim is made for the absolute truth of the claims made in a discourse analysis, one of the limitations is that other, competing claims are possible regarding the same discourse. This seems like a serious limitation until one considers that the same limitation applies to other methods of inquiry as well. 'Feminists tend to believe that emotion and intellect are mutually constitutive and sustaining rather than oppositional forces in the construction of knowledge' (Code, 1991: 47; Tickner, 2006). This was one of the key limitations of discourse analysis which 'does not give an adequate account of emotions, imagination, desire or anxiety' (Ryan AB, 2011:12) and as such the focus of discourse is on the social or external aspects of human life, and in particular power relations. Opinions cannot be regarded as reflections of underlying beliefs as they are out of context of the social relations in which they were articulated (Ryan AB, 2001).

The participants' accounts were located in socio-cultural and political contexts and I treat them as such. I was looking for what was present in the text as well as what was absent (Hollway, 1982: 188). The discourses I expected to find, arising from the literature and my own theoretical sensitivity included those that drew on dualistic thinking and gender binaries such as, women being positioned in affective care-giving roles and men being positioned in instrumental protector roles, and these were borne out. Discourses that emerged which I had not anticipated were those in relation to the gender and cultural sensitivities within host nations and how these positioned women as unsuitable for certain types of mission based on notions that women's presence in specific tasks (such as searching a car) could be considered disrespectful to civilian men; or that a particular mission was too dangerous for women due to high levels of violence against women occurring within that conflict; or that women officers/peacekeepers positioned as having equal status with male peers may offend civilian men in certain Muslim or tribal cultures with traditional gender roles.

A central idea in all of this is the differential power associated with different positions (Hollway, 1989). Positioning is the process by which subjects are located in conversations

and other discursive practices. Interactive positioning is when one person positions another and reflexive positioning is when one positions oneself. Positioning is related to power in relations, sometimes consciously and sometimes unconsciously (Ryan AB, 2011). The interview extracts reveal the gender hierarchies within the discourses and assumptions of the 'naturalness' of some of these hierarchies. Some extracts also posit challenges to these hierarchies by revealing muted discourses that appear to be growing in strength. These discourses include the need for the acceptance of difference; awareness of multiplicity; and that groups of women or men are not homogenous. The accounts depended on the contexts and therefore gave me the freedom to focus on the issues and not get caught up in the individual personalities. By focusing on accounts rather than individual participants I was able to move away from any judgement of the positions they took, or particular experiences they shared or of their personal psychological and social make-up.

2.14.1 Choosing and Analysing Extracts

The next stage was to extrapolate particular sections or extracts within these accounts that most succinctly expressed the discourses surrounding a particular theme. The extracts were chosen to demonstrate relationships between people, the participants and the institution, and how meanings were produced. Due to the large amount of data gathered from the interviews this was a very detailed and time consuming process comparing and contrasting different extracts and choosing the ones that most clearly expressed the findings. I was looking for the extracts that would help me get closer to responding to my research questions.

The extracts used in Chapters Five, Six and Seven were chosen to illuminate particular recurring themes and the multiple discourses around those themes. For example under the overarching question about how 'equal but different' plays out within the DF and peacekeeping in different contexts, some of the recurring themes were: divisions of labour, cultural differences, the benefits of women, protection, and the segregation of facilities. The sub-themes within each of these themes were then drawn out, for example within the theme of 'segregation of facilities' a sub-theme was 'women's sexuality'. I then placed these themes and sub-themes within a table to create a visual overview of how the

categories were developing. The accounts which discussed these themes were then grouped together and analysed through multiple feminist lenses, for example: relations of power, differences, similarities and the multiplicity of subjectivities. During this stage of the process I was considering which categories were surprising or new because they were coming directly from the data in the accounts; and which categories linked directly with the theory. I was also interested in what was missing or had been omitted in the accounts as well as that which was muted or silent.

I analysed each piece of text several times with a different focus. This involved lifting the layers of meaning premises one by one out from the text, while respecting the words of each participant and keeping the quotes intact (Mauthner & Doucet, 1998). I considered the positioning of the participants in their accounts in relation to others, to assess relations of power. Pre-existing discourses in which people are already inserted means that assumptions are made in the accounts and meanings are taken for granted, I was looking for power, resistance and agency within the discourses. I looked for the assumptions the participants based their ideas on as well as knowledge; how these assumptions and knowledge were transmitted; and how they became dominant or muted. I then asked: what is the central premise of the discourse; with what themes is it associated; how does it operate; what conditions facilitate its operation; and what discourses does it complement or oppose? (Ryan AB, 2001). From this I was able to identify dominant discourses, muted discourses and discourses with transformative potential. These discourses became an organizing device for the chapters and their structure. I positioned the dominant discourses to the front of the chapter to set the context and to identify powerful discourses within which individuals are situated and responding to, with the more muted discourses situated towards the end of the chapters. In Chapter Seven I consider the potentially transformative discourses that if taken root and supported could become powerful disrupters to the dominant oppressive discourses.

2.14.2 Dominant Discourses:

Dominant discourses become validated as a majority of people begin to think alike and overlook or forget challenges to the norm. Discourses represent political interests and, in consequence, are constantly vying for status and power. The site of this battle for power is the subjectivity of the individual (Ryan AB, 2001: 33). Ideologies and power are entwined within discourses and the use of language everyday ensures that discourses are a tool for power to operate and to become internalized (van Dijk, 2000). Ideologies are sets of values, attitudes, opinions, beliefs and worldviews as well as culturally shared knowledge and methods of power formation often invisible and reproduced through subtle and routine everyday forms of discourse that appear as natural, normal or common sense (Wodak and Meyer, 2009) which can reveal themselves through institutional sexism, gendered divisions of labour, and informal barriers to women's promotion. Ideological discourses are powerful because they are seen as 'natural' and therefore can easily deflect challenges. People have different worldviews based on their belief systems and these are not always consciously formed but are passed on through culture and social structures such as institutions (Burroughs, 2012). Therefore, ideologies are shaped by powerful people, systems and institutions such as the UN and the military. For example, UNSCR 1325 aims to disrupt deeply held beliefs and attitudes about women's positioning in conflict as a homogenous group of victims. One of the ways it does this is by obliging member states to increase their numbers of women peacekeepers across all ranks and levels of hierarchy, to work side by side with male peers. Member states are also obliged to develop gendered perspectives of the conflict and to create channels of communication for civilian women to access PSOs, which will ultimately support women's empowerment in the post-conflict situation. To date, this transformation is happening very slowly with women's numbers only increasing marginally and with few in senior decision-making ranks (Olsson and Möller, 2013; Schjølset, 2013). The challenge is to disrupt ideological discourses that legitimize control, naturalize social order and establish and maintain unequal power relations (Burroughs, 2012). Power disseminated through discourse is more effective than power in the form of violence or force because the individual internalizes the social controls and self governs without challenging the status quo (Fairclough, 2003; van Dijk, 1993; Wodak and Meyer, 2009).

Foucault (1991) theorizes that 'knowledges' materialize through varying dominant discourses which create 'truths' and these are passed on to individuals and internalized to construct identities and subjectivities. Discourses create institutionalised ways of thinking which can regulate and reinforce thought and action and therefore exert a powerful influence over individuals and the development of their identities and subjectivities (Burroughs, 2012). 'Knowledges' which discursively construct power are created, disseminated and internalized in three separate and interlocking ways, through power within discourse; power over discourse; and power of discourse (Foucault, 1991 in Burroughs, 2012). Power within discourse is about who gets to interpret and provide meanings. Power over discourse is about how actions influence discourses and their dissemination. Power of discourse is about who controls 'knowledges' by their regulation of what is 'sayable' and by validating certain discourses that justify and legitimate certain forms of power such as military power or men's power as soldiers (Foucault, 1991; Jager & Maier, 2009).

Within the DF dominant discourses on gender relations analysed through the 'equal but different' lens establish differences between women and men and their legitimacy as soldiers/peacekeepers and this creates unequal power relations. An individual's identity is developed in relation to similarities and differences and discourses determine these elements and draw boundaries between us and others. These discourses become internalized and result in the taken for granted, in this case the gender norms, in any given context (Wodak, 2012). For example, one of the main themes in this study is on culture and discourses drawn on by participants reveal how culture (such as host nation culture or military culture) is used to discourage women's inclusion in PSOs. Therefore, culture itself is a discourse; as is UNSCR 1325 and its pillars; as is feminism. They are discourses because they are all ways of constructing meanings that influence and organize people's actions and their conceptualization of themselves and others (Wodak et al, 2009).

> The transformative effects of [...] powerful discourses, which increasingly move across diverse domains of social life and internationally across states and cultures, is a characteristic of the knowledge-based economy – knowledges [...] are constituted, circulated and are consumed as discourses. But their effectivity depends upon them

being operationalized as ways of interacting (including genres), and inculcated as ways of being (including styles). In so far as these rematerializations take effect or 'go through' contestation becomes increasingly difficult. (Fairclough, 2000: 32-33)

Through the regular use of language discourses are a vehicle for 'knowledges' and ideologies to be circulated and entwined in all aspects of society at multiple levels (Wodak & Meyer, 2009).

2.14.3 Muted and Transformative Discourses:

Muted discourses can be either oppositional, marginal, or alternative to the dominant discourses (Fairclough, 2000). As the minority group within the DF (six per cent of the total numbers) women peacekeepers have limited influence over the dominant group and therefore on the creation and dissemination of dominant discourses on gender. However, if there is solidarity with women by male peers, alternative discourses that challenge oppressive dominant ones could take root. 'An order of discourse is not a closed or rigid system, but rather an open one which can be put at risk by what happens in actual interactions' (Fairclough, 2000: 29). Therefore, if muted discourses where to take root and to flourish as a result of the adoption of new policies and practices they have the potential to become transformative discourses within the DF.

To assess whether a discourse has transformative potential I used the transformative education model devised by O'Sullivan (1999), which posits the theory that three interdependent levels of 'survive, critique and create' need to be activated and transformed to enable a shift in the basic premise of thoughts, feelings and actions of an individual. The aim of transformation is to teach and learn in ways which effect a change in the perspective and frame of reference of the individual. Transformative education must also emphasize planetary and spiritual contexts (O'Sullivan, 1999). Planetary contexts are necessary to articulate effective challenges to the hegemonic culture, for example the militarization of the globe and its perpetuation of militarist thinking. Spirituality contexts are needed for social movements to develop beyond the reproduction of narratives of oppression to narratives that envision an alternative global community, and this can only be achieved through inter-relatedness, imagination, love and respecting each individual as a powerful social force (O'Sullivan, 1999; Kelley, 2002).

From these planetary and spiritual contexts come the activism and sites of change necessary to challenge hegemonic culture such as militarism and to provide alternatives.

> Transformative learning involves experiencing a deep, structural shift in the basic premises of thought, feelings, and actions. It is a shift of consciousness that dramatically and irreversibly alters our way of being in the world. Such a shift involves our understanding of ourselves and our self-locations; our relationships with other humans and with the natural world; our understanding of relations of power in interlocking structures of class, race and gender; our body awareness, our visions of alternative approaches to living; and our sense of possibilities for social justice and peace and personal joy. (O'Sullivan et al, 2002: 18)

This shift in consciousness needs to be so dramatic that it creates a paradigm shift enabling the possibility for an individual to envision alternatives for themselves and others.   For this intense paradigm shift to be created in the individual O'Sullivan theorizes that the internal movement from survive to critique and then create is essential. The survival level of transformation deals with a profound cultural pathology that requires a deep cultural therapy (O'Sullivan et al, 2002).   In survival mode the individual contextualises issues which are understood within a complex whole such as community, culture and inter-relatedness. An integral part of their therapy is to focus on transformative modes of cultural criticism that raise awareness. The pain of this paradigm shift leads to compassion and insight. The critique level is about scholarship that comes out of this cultural criticism and its relationship to public discourses. O'Sullivan posits that for the critique level to have transformative potential it must have influence across at least two levels in society for example amongst scholars and amongst publics and students. 'Create' is about the creation of sites of change through activism, which will lead to societal transformation.

Figure 2: Diagrams Representing Dominant Discourses in the DF

Dominant Discourses:	Dominant Discourses:
What Women Bring to a Mission	**Inhibitors to Women Accessing a Mission**

What Women Bring to a Mission:
- Galvanizers of men to perform to higher standards
- Providers of 'normal' & carework for men in the Camp
- Provide Channels of communication for civilian women

Inhibitors to Women Accessing a Mission:
- Military Men from non-western countries cannot work with women
- Men are the protectors/ missions are too dangerous for women
- women's sexuality cause problems in the mission camp
- Civilian Men in Muslim/Tribal cultures will not talk to women soldiers

2.15   Presentation of Findings

As a feminist I am interested in gender and how gender is activated in relation to another. Therefore, the power relations between peacekeepers illuminated the gender norms within the DF and the 'taken for granted assumptions' drawn out in the discourses. This enabled me to map overlaps in discourses, as well as gaps, contradictions and inconsistencies. The extracts chosen were then separated into three findings chapters: Chapter Five on '*What Women Bring to Peacekeeping Missions'*, Chapter Six on *'Inhibitors to Women's Access to Missions'* and Chapter Seven: '*Gender Perspectives and Transformative Possibilities'.* However, it took several attempts to find the clearest way to present my findings. As each draft of the findings was refined and analysed through a different lens I would attempt a new approach at presentation. Using indentations, underlining, different fonts and sizes, tables and boxes as well as italics and emboldening I considered many options before settling on my final approach set out in Chapters Five, Six and Seven. To support the reader's journey through the findings chapters I have given each extract a number and a title to explain the focus of the extract along with the participant's identification code. After each extract, there is a short commentary drawing attention to contradictions, similarities and tensions between and within participant

accounts. With the longer or denser extracts I have emphasized particular moments or images in the text for analysis and these are described as points of analysis. In some cases, where an extract is very obviously making a particular point there is no specific commentary and instead the extract is discussed in the findings section of the chapter.

Findings were then drawn out from the extracts, points of analysis and commentaries and are grouped together at the end of each section. These are followed by discussion sections which interweave the findings with the theory and explore what it all means. The data is analysed over the three findings chapters and it is only at the end of these chapters that a clearer overview of gender perspectives on 'equal but different' in the peacekeeping context emerge. In Chapter Seven *'Gender Perspectives and Transformative Possibilities',* alternative discourses are explored as well as possibilities for transformation.

2.16   Reflecting on my feminism

Reflexivity was an important part of this research study, not only to draw attention to the power dynamics between the participants and the researcher and to reduce bias but also to be able to map the internal development of the researcher alongside the external development of the process. For example, my identity as a feminist transformed during the years of the research study. While I was initially a 'closet feminist' not because I was ashamed of my feminist positioning but because I didn't feel the need to proclaim my identity as a feminist within the contexts that I was operating (working for a multinational organization) this transformed to being an 'out feminist' once I entered the university environment. My public identification with feminism escalated through my activism work on women's issues which I undertook as a volunteer with Amnesty International and with Women's Aid at the beginning of this study. This public stance as a feminist drew me into many debates with non-feminists (women and men) about the need for feminist activism in Ireland in the 21st century (many non-feminists argue that women's equality has been won so therefore feminism is now defunct). While initially my position was often defensive, as I integrated my feminist identity more fully my style of explaining and sharing my feminist position softened and became more confident.

As I became more deeply immersed in feminist circles, debates and activities my awareness of gender issues grew and my passion to shape the debate took hold. With my appointment as the co-ordinator of the Hanna's House Feminist Peace Project at the end of 2008 I was given a unique opportunity to facilitate meetings with diverse groups of women across Ireland to discuss the legacy of the conflict on this island, and issues such as gender based violence, women's role in conflict resolution and peace building activities. This kept me in touch with women who had experienced conflict, particularly those living in the North and along the border counties, and who were still dealing with the aftermath of violence and its impact on their families and communities. While the topic of peacekeeping was not high on the agenda the subject of militarism and violent masculinities was and the woman-centred approach to the project stimulated the question 'what does a feminist peace look like?'

In 2010 I facilitated a consultation with 200 women living throughout Ireland to inform the content of the Irish National Action Plan on UNSCR 1325. This diverse group of women included asylum seekers, refugees, and migrants from war-torn countries as well as women from the north of Ireland and the border counties. Their agreement to partake in the consultation was an act of great courage as many relived the trauma of conflict when they shared their experiences. Their views and perspectives as well as their emotions and concerns were recorded in my report which was circulated to the Consultative Group on UNSCR 1325 including government departments, academics, civil society organisations, non-governmental organisations, An Garda Siochana (the Irish Police Force) and the Irish DF.

There is no doubt that both of these projects developed my sensitivity as a feminist researcher and made me aware of the importance of having empathy and compassion for the people I work with as well as an analytical researcher's perspective. They also heightened my awareness of intersectionality and the cross-cutting positioning of women in the post-conflict moment depending on the context and individual subjectivities. For example, some of the refugee women I met were highly educated and some came from wealthy families in Africa but were experiencing discrimination in Ireland due to their status as refugees, their race, their issues and their economic dependence on the state as

well as their gender. These women were not being given opportunities to use their skills and knowledge and were trapped within the asylum system within Ireland for many years unable to work and provide for themselves; and unable to integrate within the local community. During that time they are dependent on the state and living with the fear of being sent back to their home countries at any moment, which would only be relieved if they were given refugee status. Throughout this process it was of utmost importance to me as a researcher and a feminist that the women I consulted with felt listened to and that they had their concerns taken seriously. It was also important that they felt the warmth of human compassion for their suffering. The helplessness I felt as I was unable to alleviate their situation was offset by the knowledge that at least their stories would be published in the consultation report and circulated to the relevant government departments to influence change to existing policies in Ireland on asylum seeking women. The resulting document, the Irish NAP 2011 included five recommendations as a result of the consultation.

2.17   Conclusion

This chapter outlined the methodological journey of the research study. It highlighted the overall aims of the research to find out what women bring to a mission; what inhibits them from accessing missions; and if there is potential to transform gender discourses through their presence. My rationale for using a feminist discourse analysis was explained along with the importance of moving away from the reductive notion that 'gender equals women' within mainstream IR. The research questions and aims were outlined as well as the methodological hurdles to be overcome in relation to accessing participants. Using a feminist methodology necessitated continuous reflection on the ethics of the study; care for the participants; openness and transparency; as well as communication with participants after the interviews. This chapter also discussed the rationale for using discourse analyse as an analytical tool as well as the limitations of this approach. It discussed my personal development as a researcher; the benefits of participant observation; and the heightened sensitivity of the researcher to both the theory and the participants as a result of exposure to a peacekeeping mission and camp. This chapter positioned my research methods within the field of Feminist theory and

discussed the need to develop a gendered understanding of IR, specifically within the peacekeeping context. The next chapter considers in more detail the importance of the concept of 'gender' as a feminist theoretical and analytical approach to this study. Gender as a theoretical and analytical tool reveals invisible power relations. Therefore, the theoretical field of IR is severely limited if it does not include a gendered analysis. Gaps in mainstream IR knowledge reveal the need to insert a gender lens into IR if we are to develop a holistic understanding of the security sector and peacekeeping more specifically.

CHAPTER THREE: GENDER & INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS

3.0 Introduction

The aim of this chapter is to assess feminist concepts of gender and International Relations and to evaluate them and their usefulness for this study. This chapter gives an overview of IR and its partial epistemology as it does not typically include a gendered perspective. It assesses IR philosophy and the different schools of thought such as Realism, Neo-Realism, and Liberalism and the development of critical theory in response to problem solving theory and how it is used in this study. This chapter outlines and explains concepts on gender and power and explains why feminists argue for the need to insert a gender lens into IR to increase its scientific knowledge claims. By looking through the 'equal but different' gender lens this chapter assesses the gendering of peace and war. By asking the over-arching question in this study: 'How does the "equal but different" discourse distribute power in different contexts and what impact does that have on women's inclusion in PSOs?' this chapter explores invisible power relations revealed through: gender binaries and hierarchies, femininities and masculinities, gender performance, gendered militaries, militarism and militarization. It also considers feminist theories on the need to make invisible women visible within IR and the transformation of discourses on power to co-operation rather than power over or domination. In response to the overarching aim of this study which is to explore the gendering processes within a military institution that position women and men in particular roles, such as 'the protector', which may support or inhibit women's access to PSOs, this chapter also assesses theories on violent conflict and its relationship to a cultural emphasis on masculinity and militarism.

3.1 Equal but Different & Violent Conflict

Today, wars are not conducted in designated battlefields with two opposing armies; they are conducted in the villages and homes of civilians. Violence against women and men is gendered. War is a time when masculine and feminine characteristics are most polarized (Tickner, 1992) with men assembled as fighters or warriors and women as supporters and carers for the injured and dying. Frequently the rationale for fighting wars is presented in

gendered terms, such as the necessity of standing up to aggression rather than being pushed around or appearing to be weak (Hearn, 2012). Some feminist theorists (Cockburn, 2004, 2012; Goldstein, 2001; Enloe, 2000) argue that there is no clear beginning or end to war, that it is a cyclical process stimulated and reignited by societal inequalities and the use of violence to resolve conflicts. Unequal gender relations and uneven power relations are the root cause of violence and militarism (Enloe, 2000; Whitworth, 2004; Cockburn, 2004). Both women and men encounter gender-based violence in conflicts. Gender-based violence is violence that is targeted at women or men because of their sex and/or their socially constructed gender roles (Valenius, 2007). For example, men and teenage boys are more likely to be targeted for execution, as in the well known case of Srebrenica, Bosnia where over 7,000 men and boys were killed (Carpenter, 2002). Women are more likely to experience sexual violence such as rape and are the highest percentage of internally displaced people and refugees along with children (Skjelsbaek, 2006). Women and children are rendered voiceless victims who men on all sides claim to be protecting (Freedman, 2012). Women are not protected from violence by men they are exposed to ever increasing amounts of it during conflict, often within the home as well as in the community. During conflict and war they are exposed to escalating levels of violence and terror and often left to protect themselves when the warlords and guerrilla fighters invade their villages to attack and kidnap them (Carpenter, 2002; Valenius, 2007).

> Most of both the spending and the killing is directed by and done by men. Men remain the specialists in violence, armed conflict and killing, whether by organized militaries, terrorism or indeed domestic violence. Men have dominated these individual and collective actions. In war and through militarism individual men, like women and children, may suffer, even be killed, but men's collective structural power may be undiminished, even reinforced. (Hearn, 2012: 37)

After a conflict women are not free from violence or protected by 'male protectors', in fact, there is often an escalation in certain forms of violence against women including domestic violence, sexual violence and sex trafficking (Mazurana et al, 2005). Another perspective on violence is that it is structural violence and therefore dependent on structures that operate to exclude specific groups from the benefits that the privileged groups receive (Galtung, 1996). For example, after a conflict women often have to

struggle against economic and political marginalisation in the shifting power struggles and the scramble for scarce resources. Structural violence can be observed in humanitarian and peacekeeping policies that write women out of the economic benefits of Disarmament, Demobilization and Re-integration processes by only including male combatants in these programmes and by not acknowledging the diverse roles that women play during conflict. If a PSO does not have a gendered perspective of the conflict and gender sensitive policies in place women's multiple roles as activists as well as victims will not be acknowledged and they will be disempowered in the post-war setting. Commenting on the post-war situation in Bosnia-Herzegovina Cockburn and Hubic state that:

> [Humanitarian relief often fails] to take account of gender inequities and the imbalance of power between women and men in the country on which they are billeted. They bring their own unreformed gender relations with them, failing to support women's struggle for change and, at worst, may even add to the oppression and exploitation of women. (2002: 103)

Therefore, it is imperative that peacekeepers and PSOs are fully conversant in gender perspectives and policies before they arrive in a fragile post-conflict country, because without this knowledge they may be guilty of exacerbating women's suffering and the perpetuation of inequalities. Civilian women who took part in the Cockburn and Hubic (2002) study also stated that peacekeepers from national militaries should spend time with women's groups in their own countries before being sent to a PSO. Because, unless peacekeeping missions and humanitarian relief agencies have already conducted research into gender perspectives in their own organizations and have a deep understanding of gendering processes they are unlikely to be able to support the reform of unequal gender relations in post-conflict countries.

The feminist concepts discussed throughout this chapter expose the private and public places where women are situated, during and after conflict, and create a route into discourses on women's positioning in the peace/war cycle such as, men as perpetrators of violence and women as victims of violence, leading to the dichotomous positioning of women as peacemakers and men as warriors. These concepts can help me to unravel how femininities and masculinities become polarized during war and how peacekeeper

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identities are created through the perpetuation of discourses about who protects and fights (men) and who cares and comforts (women).   This study will make use of feminist theorization on violence by observing how it is split between the public and the private; how it operates in multiple settings and forms; and how it is silenced or paid attention to (Kronsell, 2012a: 3; Tickner, 2006; Cohn and Ruddick, 2004; Jaggar, 2005; Davis, 2009). By considering forms of structural violence and how they inhibit women from accessing an equal share of the resources and privileges that men receive this study will identify unequal power relations within the participant discourses.

3.2 Feminism and International Relations

A key argument in this study is that feminist perspectives encourage a radical rethinking of concepts and categories in IR as they illuminate 'other ways of seeing, knowing, being in the world which could give rise to different standpoints and perspectives' (Steans, 2003: 161). International processes do have gender effects – from military and economic ones to the formation and diffusion of images that objectify women (Enloe, 2000, 1990). The language of international politics also suggests a strong conventional masculine and often homophobic content, with its emphasis on toughness and competition (Halliday, 1991). This study argues that the inclusion of gender perspectives are necessary from women and men; civilians and peacekeepers; INGOs and the UN if they are to make a difference. By drawing out discourses from the narratives of peacekeepers and analysing their central premise this study begins to paint a picture of how those discourses operate to position women and men, by revealing differences, multiplicities and relations of power within the peacekeeping context. Feminist theorization and concepts are useful for analyzing the question 'how does the "equal but different" discourse distribute power in different contexts and what impact does that have on women's inclusion in PSOs?' because traditional IR theorization does not adequately address the issue of gender, focusing instead on broad security issues such as the balance of power and war.

International Relations (IR) as an academic field has been in existence since the end of the First World War. It was developed out of a concern never to repeat again the inter-state actions that led to the deaths of millions of people and to find peaceful means to resolve conflicts (Baylis, 2001).   IR takes a state-centric approach to world politics and is

specifically interested in issues of conflict, competition, security and power relations between nation-states (Baylis, 2001. Realism is the dominant theoretical approach in IR based on the premise that permanent peace is unlikely to be achieved and that the balance of power between states needs to be maintained to prevent domination by any one state (Baylis, 2001: 256). 'Realism emphasizes the constraints on politics imposed by human nature and the absence of an international government; together they make IR largely a realm of power and interest' (Donnelly, 2000: 9). While recognizing that people are driven by passions other than those for power the primary emphasis of realism is the ego, and 'the tragic presence of evil in all political action' (Morgenthau, 1946: 203). There is a fear within Realism that this anarchism encourages the worst aspects of human nature which only hierarchical political authority can control (Donnelly, 2000). From a Realist perspective, security means a less dangerous and violent world rather than a safe, just or peaceful world (Donnelly, 2000: 9). In order to explain the causes of international wars, Realists look at three levels of analysis: the individual, the state, and the international system. Through an examination of these three levels of analysis, Realists seek to discover whether wars are caused by aggressive individuals, power-seeking states, or an anarchic international environment devoid of any mechanism to prevent aggressive behaviour (Booth, 2005). For example, Morgenthau asserts that all states try to maximise their power in order to protect themselves against the aggressions of others. And that states are populated by power-seeking individuals who project their aggressions onto the international system where this type of behaviour is rewarded as the patriotic duty of defending one's country (Morgenthau, 1967; 2005) through peacekeeping for example. However, he does not acknowledge the existence of interdependence or the likelihood of successful cooperation in IR.   Yet states frequently exhibit aspects of cooperative behaviour when they engage in diplomatic negotiations, with diplomacy working best when there is trust and confidence between the negotiators (Tickner, 1992, 2005).

Realism isn't the only philosophical approach within IR there are many other approaches such as neo-realism, liberalism, neo-liberalism, constructivism, cosmopolitanism and institutionalism.   While there are ongoing debates between these theoretical positions they all share the same epistemology. Generally speaking, neo-realists focus on security and military issues considered 'high politics', and neo—liberals focus on political

economy, environmental issues and human rights issues considered 'low politics' (Lamy, 2001: 193).   Within these two broad theoretical fields some of the most critical questions, such as, 'why war?' and 'why inequality in the international system?' are ignored.   For example, neither neo-realism or neo-liberalism explore the issue of lessons learnt from previous wars or that states may shift from a position of self-interest to one of common interest as result of what has been learnt by leaders and citizens (Lamy, 2001: 193) all important steps in planning for sustainable peace and the development of regional peace accords such as the EU.

While realists position the state as the central player in debates about international security, feminist theorists use broader perspectives, assessing the actions of non-state actors and individuals and by drawing attention to gender power relations and the role women play in IR, thereby highlighting the partial analysis and masculinist bias of much writing and theorizing on security issues (Baylis, 2001: 266) in mainstream IR.   A feminist perspective on national security includes not only an analysis of international conflict and war, but also an analysis of all types of violence including violence produced by unequal gender relations of domination and subordination.   Steans defines security as 'a state of being secure, safe, free from danger, injury, harm of any sort' (2003: 193).   But few IR scholars would accept such a pervasive definition.   Indeed, many would argue that such a state of being is neither possible nor desirable pointing out that an element of danger will always be a part of human existence (Steans, 2003).   Tickner (1992) rejects the analytic separation of explanations for war into indistinct levels and the identification of security with state borders, arguing that violence at the international, national and family levels is interrelated, ironically taking place in domestic and international spaces beyond the reaches of the law.   The assumption that there is order within and anarchy beyond the bounds of the community effects a divide between international and domestic politics that mirrors the public-private (men-women) split that feminist theorists argue perpetuate domestic violence.   This is also reflected within gender relations amongst peacekeepers, with women subjected to sexual harassment and bullying by some men who question their right to be there.   Feminist theories, 'speak out of the various experiences of women, who are usually on the margins of society and interstate politics' (Tickner, 1992: 6). Thereby, revealing a more holistic picture of the unequal systems and

structures that oppress and discriminate against women and proposing challenges to them.

Institutions matter because they are both enabling and constraining. Simultaneously, they represent and reify specific gender relations (Kronsell and Svedberg, 2012). Institutions such as the military and state defence organizations are central to the field of IR. They distribute privilege and create patterns of subordination (Locher, 2007) while providing opportunities (Kronsell and Svedberg, 2012). Interdependence theory developed by Keohane and Nye (1972, 1977) nests within Institutionalism and sits within the neo-liberal approach to IR. Interdependence theory argues that it is necessary:

> to increase linkages among states and non-state actors; to create a new agenda of international issues with no distinction between low and high politics; to recognise the multiple channels for interaction among actors across national boundaries; the decline of the efficacy of military force as a tool of statecraft. (Lamy, 2001: 189)

As foreign policy is about managing complex interdependency and responding to problems that threaten the economic survival of people around the world this approach within IR is of particular importance to this study. Interdependence theory explores how to narrow the gap between the rich and poor and argues for the creation of institutions that manage issues where states have mutual interests (Lamy, 2001). As the UN is the primary institution involved in deploying peacekeeping troops to intra-state conflicts, institutionalism and interdependency theory are important philosophical positions through which to assess the gendering of peacekeeping, however, as with all other IR theories they both lack a gender perspective. 'The military and security related institutions have historically been "owned" by men and occupied by men's bodies. This has influenced these institutions' agendas, politics, and policies' (Kronsell, 2006: 111). In some instances the hegemonic masculinity of these institutions directly corresponds to male bodies, as women are completely excluded through legislative acts from the military and defence institutions in many countries. 'A woman's presence can make gender and masculine norms visible, "break the silence", and completely alter the way institutions are perceived and understood' (Kronsell, 2006: 119). This study looks at how gender is carried out in everyday practices within institutionalized contexts of peacekeeping.

While there are differences between the academic institutions of IR and military and defence institutions the connections between them are highly relevant. It is the link between the military and men, and the exclusion of women from the military that is at the very core of IR. If IR is defined as everything that is not female as Tickner (1992) asserts, then it excludes the perspectives, experiences and behaviours of women within the field of security. This huge gap in its interests is a result of it operating with a relatively narrow concept of what is relevant to its subject matter, because IR has been 'constructed by men working with mental models of human activity and society seen through a male sensibility' (Tickner, 1992: 3). This study aims to broaden the field of IR to include women peacekeepers perspectives, experiences and knowledge alongside those of their male peers and reveal gendering processes taking place within PSOs.

Another important philosophical position developed throughout the 1980s is critical IR theory developed out of Marxist theory (Cox, 1996; Linklater, 1990; Horkheimer, 1937). Horkheimer's (1937) major contribution to the social sciences is his argument that there is a close connection between knowledge and power, and that social scientists are not like natural scientists because they are part of the society they are studying. This led to the development of post-positive methods of research, based on the theory that we each construct our view of the world in relation to our experiences and perceptions of reality. Therefore, as researchers we are biased by our cultural experiences and world views. Theory and practice are intimately related and are revealed through the reflexivity of the research practitioner as emphasized in this study.

Cox (1996) critiqued the idea of 'problem-solving' theory, which is similar to liberal feminism in that it takes the world as it finds it and aims to make the institutions and relationships within the system run smoothly by dealing with particular problems. Instead critical theorists, enquire as to how the current distribution of power came into existence; they see social structures as real in their effects, whereas they would not be seen as real by positivism since they cannot be directly observed (Smith, 2001). However, while this Critical IR theorizing makes a huge leap away from the narrow confines of Realism it does not yet take gender seriously. Unlike many IR theorists, feminists envision a future in which military power and perhaps also states themselves will be obsolete, a future where

hierarchy becomes equality and conflict gives way to harmony. They offer a transformative vision, a complete re-structuring through the global women's movement (Kronsell, 2012a; Tickner, 2006; Cohn and Ruddick, 2004; Jaggar, 2005; Davis, 2009; D'Amico, 1994).

The flourishing of feminist theories on IR began in the 1980s with the work of Enloe (1983 and 1989), Harding (1986), and Tickner (1988) amongst others, who were asking 'where are the women in world politics?' Whether women were prostitutes operating near a military camp, diplomat's wives or employed as cheap factory labour the importance of their activities in maintaining the functioning of the international political and economic systems became visible through the work of feminist researchers (Enloe, 1990, 1993, 2000, 2007; Tickner, 1992, 2005; Sjoberg and Via, 2010; Wibben, 2011). Feminist theorists raise questions about epistemology or ways of knowing. They reject the notion of 'objectivity' and assert that all human knowledge is subjective, that is, contingent upon who is doing the observing, describing and explaining. They also raise questions about ontology or being, and axiology or values/value judgments. An ontological focus on world politics asks: 'How did the current system of world politics come to be, and what is it becoming? An axiological focus asks: What values does the system privilege, protect, or promote? Which does it eliminate, ignore, or neglect?' (D'Amico, 1994: 68). Silence on gender is a determining characteristic of institutions of hegemonic masculinity and this is a key point. It indicates a normality and simply 'how things are' (Kronsell, 2006: 110). Deconstruction makes gender relations visible by overturning the oppositional logic that mystifies categories like woman/man, domestic/international, and peace/war (Kronsell, 2006). 'Breaking the silence is to question what seems self-explanatory and turn it into a research puzzle, in a sense by making the familiar strange. It means giving the self-explanatory a history and a context' (Kronsell, 2006: 110). Enloe (2004) encourages feminists to use curiosity to ask challenging questions about what appears as normal, everyday banalities in order to try to understand and make visible previously unseen power dynamics and their impact on social systems and structures. Throughout this study I adopt a curiosity about what appears 'normal' and 'natural' and often juxtapose 'men' with 'women' and vice versa to explore how gender positions, exclusions and expectations become assumed or 'natural' in the discourses. By juxtaposing one gender

with the other it can reveal gender hierarchies and the taken for granted social construction of subjectivities. For example, in one of my interviews it was mentioned that a woman officer, while on a mission, protected a senior official from the rain by holding an umbrella over them. *An Cosantoir*, the DF magazine, reported the incident under the heading *'The Dolly with the Brolly'*. If this description had been applied to a male officer it would have had very different connotations and most likely would not have been considered funny. However, because it was a woman the joke was considered inoffensive and acceptable within the institution. Incidents like these draw our attention to unequal power relations within the discourses and the subsequent positioning of (some) women (sometimes) as the butt of the joke. Feminists have identified woman as 'other' in terms of codes of inferiority, difference and any number of 'deviations' from the male norm (Carver, 2008). This is important because if institutions of hegemonic masculinity no longer rely on strict gender segregation, there is a potential for institutional change and development, and also of changing gender relations (Kronsell, 2006). It is this shift in gender power relations and the potential for institutional transformation that this study is hoping to reveal and influence.

3.3 Feminist Concepts in IR: 'Making Invisible Women Visible'

Currently there is a gap in our knowledge about how women peacekeepers perceive themselves and their role as peacekeepers; and their male peers' attitudes towards them. This study argues that it is not only important to reveal gendered perspectives on women peacekeepers and thereby make visible their contribution, but it is also necessary to consider how their contribution can influence and shift power relations within the military, the host nations and wider society.

This study draws on the concepts of 'deconstruction' and 'reconstruction' to make 'invisible women visible' by finding those places where women are and illuminating the roles they play. Deconstruction seeks to make visible the 'invisible women' in society in all their roles by seeking to place their activities, experiences and understanding into the study of 'human kind' (Enloe, 1990, Elshtain, 1992, Tickner, 1992). The 'reconstruction' project seeks to develop feminist epistemologies through the rethinking of fundamental

relationships of power, knowledge and society (Steans, 1998, 2002; Peterson, 1992). Tickner asserts that:

> It is necessary to go beyond an investigation of the reasons for women's absence from the subject matter of the discipline of IR by demonstrating the many ways in which women's life experiences have an impact on and are affected by the world of international politics, even if they have been largely invisible. Only through analysis that recognises gender differences but does not take them as fixed or inevitable can we move toward the creation of a non-gendered discipline that includes us all. (1992: 144)

'Women are protectors' is seldom a discourse drawn on or noted in the retelling of war stories. Even when it is well known that women have protected and hidden men during conflict (sometimes under their clothes) as well as their active involvement in smuggling arms and gathering intelligence at high risk to their own security (De Groot, 2000). This aspect of women's experience is typically muted or silenced. Many feminist theorists are bringing to light women's role as fighters, combatants and soldiers (Parashar, 2012; Goldstein, 2001: DeGroot, 2000) to provide a wider picture of what gender actually looks like during conflict. Throughout history women have fought in wars or supported war efforts in many different ways. Where they have fought they have shown exceptional skills as combatants. Sometimes they have fought with greater skill and bravery than their male comrades (Goldstein, 2001). 'Yet whenever their forces have seized power and become regular armies, women have been excluded from combat. Evidently, this exclusion is not based on any lack of ability shown by the women soldiers (Goldstein: 2001: 83). For example, Parashar (2012) describes how in Sri Lanka the split in the Liberation Tigers of Tamil Eelam (LTTE) ended the war for the women combatants and how 'this transition to the mainstream was not at all a happy story'. Most of the women conveyed that being in the 'state of war' held more opportunities to experience joy and fulfilment than an enforced peace or being 'out of war' (Parashar, 2012: 174). Her research reveals women in their fuller human capacity, taking pride in their role as defenders and protectors of their ethnic group, not only as passive victims of violence. It identifies how women get meaning from war and how it can often provide them with an opportunity to express the multiplicity of their subjectivity rather than confining them to the private sphere of the home. Parashar's research helps this study by discussing how some women find meaning in fighting for a cause the same way that some men do. This is

useful for developing my topic as it draws on the similarities between women and men and how conflict can provide them with an opportunity to express their multiple subjectivities rather than confine them to dualistic roles and fixed gender identities. Her research gives me new insights into why some women want to join armed forces and access PSOs and how they can transform outdated discourses that position all women as homogenous victims who need protection from men.

3.4 Power 'with' – Co-operation and Interdependence

The feminist re-positioning of dominance or 'power over' with co-operation and 'power with' is a critical analytical tool for this study. The importance of having 'power over' another is more commonly used by IR realists whereas amongst feminist theorists having 'power with' is viewed as a capacity, energy and competence (Hartsock, 1983). This view of power challenges IR as a system primarily characterized by force and domination in favour of a more cooperative vision (Hartsock, 1983; Hirschman, 1992). Feminist discourses emphasize human connectedness, dialogue and cooperation over dominance and violent confrontation (Dinnerstein, 1976). The interdependence of individuals, families, communities and states is typically overlooked in IR theorization. However, as discussed previously interdependency theory advances opportunities between states for co-operation (Keohane and Nye, 1977). It argues that institutions can provide a framework for co-operation which can help to overcome the dangers of security competition between states (Baylis, 2001: 262). The concept of 'power with' or interdependence is useful for this study to examine the gendered relations between women and men peacekeepers and how power is dispersed in particular contexts. For example, how individuals depend on each other to conduct tasks, carry out orders, and to provide safety for each other and for civilians in the host country is explored in the participant accounts. The concept of 'power with' is used within this study to assess how cooperation between women and men extends to the different jobs and tasks peacekeepers undertake on a mission. This study draws on Enloe's (2001) argument that unless women and men peacekeepers are equal members of an interdependent team one of them will lose out in terms of promotion, respect, financial rewards, excitement and challenge, and as a minority group within peacekeeping this group is most likely to be women.

The next few sections of this chapter examines 'gender' as a theoretical and explanatory discourse by drawing on theories of gender performance, gender binaries/dichotomies and hierarchies and gendered militaries, thus piecing together some of the key analytical components of this study.

3.5 Gender Binaries – Masculinities and Femininities

This research study challenges dualistic thinking about gender by looking for the multiplicity of peacekeeper subjectivities revealed through discourses and by drawing out those attitudes and behaviours that challenge gender binaries and stereotypes.   Gender is divided into femininities and masculinities, negotiated interpretations of what it means to be a man or a woman.   These interpretations condition male and female actions, behaviour, perceptions and rationality (Skjelsbaek, 2001: 47). Feminist poststructuralism deconstructs binaries to create multiplicities. This is an important step away from radical feminism which reinforces binary thinking with its emphasis on essential differences, whether biological or socially constructed. It was Connell (1987) who developed the concept of multiple masculinities and femininities and thereby the multiplicity of subjectivities disrupting monolithic concepts of how to be a man or woman. By the term *hegemonic masculinity* he meant the most acceptable way to be a man in any given society. 'In the contemporary context this is the form of masculinity we refer to as 'macho': tough, competitive, self-reliant, controlling, aggressive and fiercely heterosexual' (Bradley, 2007: 47).   Connell states that 'hegemonic masculinity is always constructed in relation to various subordinated masculinities as well as in relation to women' (1987: 183).   Subordinated forms of masculinity could include homosexuality, ethnically differentiated masculinities and the more empathetic and softer forms of heterosexual masculinity such as the "New Man" (Bradley, 2007: 47). The counterpoint to this form of masculinity is 'emphasized femininity' which is soft, submissive, sexually coy, alluring or flirtatious, concerned with domesticity and preoccupied with bodily appearance, although Connell does not assert that there is one dominant form of femininity (Connelll, 1987 in Bradley, 2007).   However, it is becoming more apparent that masculinities and femininities are not necessarily representative for men and women respectively (Gierycz,

2001). 'As Connell (1995) indicates, the range of characteristics identified as typically male is broad and not necessarily representative for each and every male, as some of them are adopted by females, and vice versa' (Gierycz, 2001: 29).   Masculinities and femininities are important concepts for assessing the gendering processes inherent in a peacekeeping mission and the development of gender norms within specific contexts and settings. Binaries imply fixity but the reality is that individuals change and move over time. Binaries are particularly relevant to the analysis of gender which rests upon oppositions between man/woman; masculine/feminine; public/private; nature/culture, carers/protectors and so on. Tickner argues that:

> The celebration of male power, particularly the glorification of the male warrior, produces more of a gender dichotomy then exists in reality. The reality is that most men would prefer not to fight. Military recruiters cannot depend on violence in men so instead they need to appeal to patriotism and manliness, creating sexual anxiety in men who are not prepared to fight by referring to them as 'ladies' or 'girls'. (1992: 40)

As contemporary power relations depend upon sustaining certain notions of masculine and feminine, and the appropriate roles associated with each (Enloe, 2004) the notion of binaries is a useful starting point for analysing participant discourses in this study.   For example, Whitworth (2004) encourages us to explore how gendered notions become fixed, for example, the idea that men are protectors/leaders/rational and women are carers/followers/emotional. Or an assumption of heterosexuality amongst peacekeepers; or that mother's should not also be fighters/soldiers.   All of these ideas presented as 'normal' or 'natural' limit women's and men's access to their full humanity as well as diverse resources, jobs and roles in society. The association of women with peace and non-violence has been so tightly woven into gender binaries that it is very difficult and indeed almost oxymoronic for us to conceptualize the female killer, the mother as murderer, the vulnerable male warrior, or the male rape victim (Carver, 2008). War and peace is a classic binary and like a medieval fairytale its complexity is overlaid with gendered stories of brave men going into battle to protect the 'Mother country' while their vulnerable women wait patiently at home for news of conquest.

Radical feminists draw on women's role as mothers to support the idea that women are inherently 'more peaceful' then men (Ruddick, 1989; Brock Utne, 1984; Reardon, 1985). This mothering role, they argue, is linked to women's heightened desire for peace because it is a 'biological' or 'essential' quality of women, as a way of protecting their young. However, they fail to acknowledge that men also provide care and nurture as fathers and women fight to protect their young. Critical IR feminists such as Tickner (2001) and Steans (2002) argue that the association of women with peace serves to reinforce the stereotype of women as 'incapable of functioning in the public realm and that this in turn taints obligations of family and childcare as uniquely women's work' (Steans, 2002: 119). This creates a necessity by which women are forced to speak about peace because they are not represented in the places where decisions about war are taken. For example, Elshtain (1987) argues that women as peace-loving along with conservative realist assumptions of women are used by the patriarchy to justify the exclusion of women from international politics. She uses Hegel's 'Just Warriors and Beautiful souls' dichotomy as a point of departure, that is, Western men are deemed fit to mastermind, conduct, and narrate wars; and Western women are deemed too beautiful, soft and motherly to be anything other than playing a supporting role, while waiting at home to receive tales of war.

Many accounts see war and peace as static, unitary concepts. They draw on binaries which position subjects and states as either peaceful or violent when in fact, lived experience shows that many people can be both. What of the many men who have devoted their lives to building justice and creating peace (Mandela, Dalai Lama, Gandhi, King) and the women who have incited or fought in wars (Margaret Thatcher, Cleopatra, Boadicea). Peace within the individual subject as well as within a site is a dynamic shifting state, it is not fixed. The idea that 'women are inherently peace-loving' is contradicted by the women who support wars; who encourage sons and husbands to fight; and who themselves take up arms. Further, not all women are mothers or have a mothering instinct; nor do all women have an interest or experience in providing care or nurture to others. These concepts of women 'as inherently more peaceful than men' based on their role as mother is an over-simplification of women's absence from IR and decision-making

on war and conflict and essentialises women as peacemakers and men as war makers (Cohn, 2004). Kronsell and Svedberg (2012) assert that 'associating women with pacifism is based on a simplified dichotomy (woman-peace, man-war) which also has the effect of excluding nonviolent men and, hence, it does not allow us to conceptualize nonviolent masculinities' or indeed violent femininities.

Parashar (2012) criticizes the association of women with peace in feminist IR theorizing stating that important aspects of the discourse on women, gender and the war question have been silenced, and therefore limit our understanding of women's subjectivity and agency in war and violent contexts. Her research draws on discourses of 'violent femininities' and argues that 'feminists have, at best claimed ambivalent agency for women who participate in any kind of political violence' (Parashar, 2012: 175). She goes on to assert that in most scholarship women's agency in war is treated as exceptional and not normal for women to be there and that violence does not empower them, even when they gain access to political spaces. Stating that 'this seems almost antithetical to feminist claims that the personal is political' (Parashar, 2012: 175). These concepts of the inherently peaceful woman and the unnaturally violent woman draw my attention to how women peacekeepers position themselves or are positioned by others within discourse as powerful agents with the potential to use force and violence if necessary; or as peaceful and benign women positioned dualistically with men's power and violence.

Our gender identities are not fixed, but constantly changing (Skjelsbaek, 2001) depending on socio-economic and other shifting structures in the course of a lifetime. This study uses poststructuralist feminist theory to reveal and analyse the multiplicity of subjectivities and to explore those shades of experience in between the polar opposites. As such, depending on the context of a PSO and its mandate, peacekeepers will have to perform a variety of tasks which will call on a multitude of gender performances including being: fierce and aggressive, sensitive and compassionate, courageous and supportive, humorous and hopeful. These attitudes and behaviours are often associated with either women or men but are available and utilized by both. Kristeva's (1986) concept of the 'third space' is useful here to examine those 'in-between-places', the multiplicity of subjectivities performed by peacekeepers, and thereby exposing gender fluidity. In the

next section the concept of gender hierarchies is discussed and its usefulness to this study, by assessing how informal and formal tasks are assigned to women and men on a mission, and the value inherent in those tasks.

3.6 Gender Hierarchies

The concepts of gender binaries is a key analytical tool when exploring gender hierarchies within discourses and how these play out in the different scenarios peacekeepers find themselves in.

> Strength, power, autonomy, independence and rationality, all typically associated with men and masculinity, are the characteristics most valued in those to whom we entrust the conduct of our foreign policy and the defence of our national interest. (Tickner, 1992: 3)

Thus defence institutions and the military machine maintain gender stereotypes and reinforce masculine dominance and war-making as a way of asserting national and international power and control. Gender hierarchies were revealed in the play *The Imitation Game*, about World War II, when a young woman soldier says:

> You know, on the anti-aircraft units, the ATS girls are never allowed to fire the guns [...] if girls fired guns, and women Generals planned the battles [...] then men would feel there was no morality to war. They would have no one to fight for, nowhere to leave their conscience [...] the men want the women to stay out of the fighting so they can give it meaning. As long as we're on the outside, and give our support and *don't kill*, women just make the war possible [...] something men can feel tough about. (McEwen, 1981: 2)

This extract highlights how women were positioned as supporters of men and motivators of male behaviour, to fight for, and to protect the homeland. If what the soldier is fighting for (the homeland or women and children) is also fighting alongside him, then how is he differentiated as the masculinised warrior/protector/hero? 'In drawing this sharp dichotomy of hellish combat from normal life, cultures find gender categories readily available as an organizing device. Normal life becomes feminized and combat masculinized' (Goldstein, 2001: 301). This is drawn out in this study as male participants' position women peacekeepers as providers of care and empathy which is identified as femininity while their focus outside the camp environment is on men and masculinity.

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Tickner (1992) argues that from an epistemological perspective gender hierarchies are not coincidental to but in a significant sense constitutive of Western philosophy's objectivist metaphysics. Positivist science, the expression of that metaphysics, identifies masculinity as objectivity, reason, freedom, transcendence, and control – against femininity as subjectivity, feeling, necessity, contingency, and disorder. Woman is seen as 'irrational' and as such 'not fully human' by her exclusion from the privileged 'rationality' and as such she is the passive object of man's active, transforming knowledge (Hekman, 1991). By using theories on gender hierarchies, women positioned as the symbolic embodiment of 'home' on a mission, and their embodiment of femininity and its association with feeling and subjectivity rather than with masculinity's reason and objectivity will be explored. The sub-questions 'How does the equal but different discourse operate to position women and men within specific gender roles within the mission?' and 'What are the costs to women soldiers for being part of a minority group?' will be used to draw out discourses that shed light on the gendering processes taking place within a mission camp and how they position women and men depending on the context.

3.7 Gender Performance

By exploring the performance of gender within peacekeeping we can assess how it disrupts or reaffirms relations of power in the mission, the camp and amongst civilians. Butler's (1990, 2004) theory of 'performativity' helps this study to consider the implications of women's inclusion into peacekeeping. It does this by drawing our attention to society's overlaying of differences onto women and men through the construction of gender (Butler, 1990, 2004). For example, gendered performances are often assumed, such as, women positioned as care-givers and 'naturally good' at communicating with civilian women; and men positioned as protectors and 'naturally good' at fighting or defending. The concept that it is through performativity that we 'do gender' was developed by Butler (1990, 2004). This performance is not necessarily conscious and is revealed by the clothes we wear, the words we use, the activities we carry out, and how we relate to others. 'By countless repetitions of these everyday acts we convince ourselves that our gendered selves are stable' (Bradley, 2007: 71). Butler uses the term 'performativity' to describe how one takes up a position, and this position is

developed through a process; it is not a single action but the repetition of it that creates the illusion of a stable self.

> [A]n identity tenuously constituted in time, instituted in an exterior space through a stylised repetition of acts. The effect of gender is produced by and, hence, must be understood as the mundane way in which bodily gestures, movements and styles of various kinds constitute the illusion of an abiding gendered self. (Butler, 1990: 140)

This production of gender is accomplished through culture and discourse, particularly through what Butler calls the 'heterosexual matrix' (1990) 'a set of precepts and practices through which notions of ourselves, our bodies and our sexuality are made intelligible to us within a predominantly heterosexual world' (Bradley: 2007, 74). For example, when a child is born depending on whether it is a boy or girl it may be dressed in blue or pink, it may be given cars or dolls to play with it, and it may be encouraged to dance or sing or to be good at maths or sport. 'All these choices parents make emphasize the differences between the genders' (Skjelsbaek, 2001: 51) and as a child grows to adulthood its experiences in the social world will shape its future choices and experiences because what we believe to be true will to a large extent condition our actions. These beliefs about gender and its performance are explored in chapter six particularly in relation to how women adopt certain performances to differentiate them from men soldiers without threatening those male peers. 'Butler does not fall into an essentialist view of "body as destiny" by bringing body as a material entity into the picture through the notion of performativity' (Bradley, 2007: 75) sexuality is used as an example to explain the theory on gender performance. For example, lesbians, bisexuals, transvestites and transsexuals have created a 'third space' by behaving outside the binaries (masculinities/femininities) of gender rules (Bradley, 2007). The theory of 'performativity' is helpful in assessing power relations in the DF by drawing our attention to whether gender performances (such as the lady, the tomboy, or the sister) (Sion, 2008) all sexually neutral positions which can provide a protective screen to ward off sexual advances. Women often adopt these types of performances to be accepted within the dominant male group without challenging or disrupting masculinities. Thereby, the theory of performativity will help this study by elucidating how the discourse 'equal but different' operates to position women and men within specific gender roles on a mission.

Kristeva (1986) developed the concept of the 'third space' a space where gender dichotomies between the feminine and masculine are rejected. As a result of her assessment of the liberal feminist discourse that women will have gained equality when they have equal access to the symbolic order; and the radical feminist discourse that rejected the male symbolic order and glorified women's difference and femininity; Kristeva asserted that a commitment to the equal rights of women must start with valuing women as they are right now. Unless we do this we risk glorifying women in their essential difference; a difference that is patriarchically constructed. Her argument is that we cannot settle for either 'equal' or 'different' but instead we need to hold them together with a 'multiplicity of subjectivities' (Ryan, 2001). The concept of the `third space' is valuable for this study because it challenges the reification of gender identity by offering a method for proceeding beyond the either/or status and bringing out the subjectivity of each individual participant and the fluidity of gender.

3.8 Gendered Militaries

In 2002, military spending worldwide was approximately US$1,000 billion, 20 times the amount allocated to development aid to relieve poverty (Hearn, 2012). This study argues that ideas about gender and gender inequality are integral to the way in which militarism works. For example, men's dominance of militarism is taken for granted to the point where men have become invisible within the system. Militarism is the underlying value system that permeates military organizations and war activities. Militarism does not necessarily imply an excessive use of military violence (Carlton, 2001) but supports the idea that a potential for violence and aggression is needed for the state and the nation's defence and well-being.   Although most wars are fought by men a gender neutral position on violence, warfare and killing has been adopted globally by IR theorists, governments, military strategists and the international media. Hearn points out men 'remain the specialists in violence, armed conflict and killing whether by organized militaries, terrorism or indeed domestic violence' (2012: 37) and that this is so taken for granted that it has become invisible. 'There is a functional relationship between masculinity and militarism because qualities like aggression and physical courage are defined as essential components of both masculinity and war' (Hutchings, 2008: 389).

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Despite the fact that individual men will be injured or killed during warfare men's collective structural power may be undiminished and may even be reinforced by their dominance in warfare (Hearn, 2012). There can be few more urgent tasks than 'interrogating the taken-for-granted character of male dominated militarism, whether for the sake of science, political justice or peace' (Hearn, 2012: 48).

Women also contribute to the militarization of society in both material and ideological terms by playing a vital role in encouraging men to 'act like men' (Steans, 2003). The militarization of a society is the process of preparing and engaging in war-related practices (Kronsell & Svedberg, 2012). One of the most insightful feminist critiques of militarism and militarization is the work of Cynthia Enloe, in her book *Maneuvers (2000)* she argues that:

> No nation starting with the question: how can the diverse interests of our people be best served, could conceivably arrive at massive investment in the military as an answer. In other words, the real promise for peace in liberalism may lie in the logic of its pluralism, its fragmentation, not in its generalizing of social interest. (Enloe, 2000: 78)

Enloe's gendered analysis of militarism demonstrates how it depends on societal trivialisation of issues such as wife battering, rape and pornography, and argues that militarism cannot be pushed back so long as dominance, control and violence are considered 'natural' dynamics within personal relationships (Enloe, 2000). She cites the Okinawa feminists who mobilized local anger after a schoolgirl was raped by American soldiers in 1995 and how they 'acted on the theory that dismantling both Japanese and American militarism was the only guarantor of physical safety and political agency for women' (2000: 298). Most commentators discussing the causes of war treat women and femininity as a side show; with the main event focused on public choices made by elite men and their performance of masculinities (Enloe, 2000). Her main argument is that militarization is not a simple or easy process and that military elites and government defence departments put considerable thought into gender and femininities in particular, as well as ways to manoeuvre women into their support of militarization while at the same time segregating them in such a way that they are unlikely to make connections between their subjective positioning and other women's positioning within the

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militarization process. Examples of these hierarchies include: soldiers wives and prostitutes; diplomats wives and women working in military base camps as cooks and cleaners; female soldiers and women working as cheap labour in weapons factories, therefore, making it challenging to develop 'broad-based feminist alliances' to roll back militarization (Enloe, 2000). Such an approach has real value, and it would be a mistake to underestimate it. It insists that military ideologies and coercive manoeuvres be discussed not simply in terms of technology and economics, but in terms of the sexist structure of the social order (Kronsell & Svedberg, 2012). Enloe's work draws my attention to those omissions as well as commissions of defence institutions to analyse the gender discourses within the participant's narratives and this will heighten my awareness of the trivialization or denial of issues related to women and femininities. The connection between masculinities, militarism and militarization are useful for this study because they give me a critical understanding of some of the 'invisible' processes, such as the positioning of masculinities with aggression and violence, taking place within defence institutions as well as society and how they influence discourses on gender.

Whitworth (2004) in her research on Canadian Peacekeepers criticizes the inherent masculinism of militaries as a cause of war and a problem in peacekeeping: 'the ideology of manliness required by militaries is one premised on violence and aggression, individual conformity to military discipline, and aggressive heterosexism and homophobia, as well as misogyny and racism' (2004: 16). While this study shares her concern that the military may not be the best institution to conduct peacekeeping, currently there are no other alternatives. However, this study also reveals different performances of masculinities most male participants did not exhibit the macho-warrior style of masculinity associated with soldiers. Instead, the male participants exhibited a multiplicity of masculinities from the macho combatant to the bureaucratic leader; from the scholarly officer to the fatherly commander, as is also borne out in studies into a European militaries (refer to Higate and Henry, 2004; Duncan, 2009; Carreiras, 2010). As such, masculinities are dynamic and contradictory. While some masculinities in the military may be violent they are often subordinated to more controlling and organizationally competent masculinities in more senior ranks (Carreiras, 2010). In fact, Whitworth asserts there is often a tension between the different types of masculinities in PSOs particularly between the warrior model of

masculinity and the peacekeeping model of masculinity (Whitworth, 2004). This theory has been borne out in this study. When asked about whether they see themselves as soldiers or peacekeepers there was a 50:50 split amongst participants in the DF. If the main priority or raison d'etre of a military institution is unclear, than this will have an enormous impact on the attitudes and behaviours of its personnel towards civilians, in particular women. A soldiering attitude is inevitably very different to a peacekeeping attitude and approach to civilians. For example, in certain contexts peacekeepers need to exhibit compassion and perform as peaceful negotiators conducting humanitarian work, a job more closely related to social work than soldiering (Valenius, 2007; Sion, 2008). The ability to switch to multiple positions is a core component of the 'ideal peacekeeper' an ideal which may not easily be achieved. In chapter seven discourses with this transformative potential are drawn out from the accounts and analysed to create an alternative vision for peacekeeping. (The feminization of peacekeeping versus the masculinisation of warfare is discussed in Chapter Four). Differences amongst militaries need to be understood in terms of the relationships between masculinities; as much as between masculinities and femininities; and their multiple subjectivities which are discussed in Chapter Six particularly in how they impact women peacekeepers as well as attitudes towards civilian women.

The social process of constructing masculinities and femininities is ongoing, complex and often a contradictory process that must be studied as such (Carver, 2008). Carver argues that warrior females and males are socially produced in infinite gradations and variety and that:

> Militarisation is notable for its "uniform" attempts to make warriors uniform, but this is of course a masquerade. No military is a well-oiled machine, and military personnel are not identical cogs in a mechanism […] as with all human production the results are mixed. (Carver, 2008: 7)

Gender is complexly interwoven with other structuring variables such as class, race and sexuality. Part of learning to be a proper man is to try on the identity of a soldier and part of learning to be a soldier is to affirm the identity of a certain kind of man, a militarised man (Cockburn and Hubic, 2002). 'For girls part of the learning to be a proper woman is

to try on the identity of being a mother' (Cockburn and Hubic, 2002: 126), as soldiers are made not born how does the social and military culture shape how a woman soldier is made? This is a key question as the answer addresses one of the problems faced by the military in re-shaping an army of men, by men and for men, to meet the needs of women, and the problems faced by women in adopting an identity normally projected as quintessentially masculine (Cockburn and Hubic, 2002). This study reveals that first and foremost women are positioned as care-givers, listeners, empathisers and normalizers of a mission camp in discourses drawn on by their male peers. This care-giving discourse positions women in a role that positively impacts on men's experience of a mission. Secondarily, women are present in men's discourses as of benefit to civilian women in the post-conflict setting, situating all women together. Where women are less visible is when they are performing a soldiering role such as leading troops on a recce or interacting with men from other militaries.

3.9 Gender Mainstreaming and PSOs

After years of strengthening international law and of implementing gender sensitivity norms in peacekeeping, a 'new international regime of gender mainstreaming in peace missions', has been identified as an important juncture in world history with new norms and institutions emerging rapidly after the unanimous approval of UNSCR 1325 (Carey, 2001; Carreiras, 2010). We know that in the conflict areas gender roles become more polarized before, during and after a conflict; inequalities between women and men are strengthened; gender based violence is used as a weapon of war; and poverty and disease are often rife (Strickland and Duvvury, 2003). Extreme demonstrations of violent behaviour are often performed by men and boys before they are initiated into the militia; women are often forced back into the home, to care for orphaned children, the sick, injured and dying (Skjelsbaek, 2006). Religious and cultural norms in the host nation can inhibit women's access to men outside of their family, tribe or community, particularly access to male soldiers or peacekeepers (Skjelsbaek, 2001). The cultural norms in the host country not only shape and control the gendered relations of its civilians but also impact on the gendered relations of peacekeepers, both within and between militaries; and between the militaries and the civilian population. Women symbolically represent the

culture of the nation through their behaviour, dress, and access to power, and all of these are severely controlled in traditionally patriarchal societies. As such, it is of utmost importance that troop contributing countries have a clear mission mandate that includes the gender perspectives of women and men in the host nation and how the conflict has impact their lives and what their needs are in the post-conflict situation.

> A flurry of "gender mainstreaming" reforms have been undertaken by both the UN and NATO in the wake of the adoption of SCR 1325 on Women, Peace and Security, which affirms the urgent need to address gender-specific harms endemic to war-torn societies and to incorporate a gender perspective in all stages of peacekeeping operations. (Hebert, 2012)

In relation to peacekeeping good relations with the civilian population are a prerequisite for its effectiveness (Dharmapuri, 2013).   In conflict societies where women and their dependents often constitute the majority of the population, as the men have either left for combat or been killed, it is an advantage to have a large number of women peacekeepers working in various capacities (Karame, 2001; Cockburn and Hubic, 2002; Valenius, 2007). In such situations experiences of local women and women peacekeepers indicate that it is easier for female peacekeepers to establish a dialogue with local civilians than it is for their male colleagues (Olsson, 2013). The UN states that women are 'better-placed' to carry out peacekeeping tasks through their work with women who have experienced gender based violence and sexual assault; women who are in prisons; women ex-combatants during their demobilization and reintegration into civilian life; and their mentoring of female cadets in police academies (Dharmapurni, 2013). In 2010 the news item below issued by the UN reaffirmed the importance of increasing the representation of women in all aspects of conflict prevention, peacekeeping and peace building operations in order to achieve a lasting and more secure peace.

> UN Secretary-General Ban Ki-moon launched a campaign in August 2009 to lift the percentage of women peacekeepers to 20 percent in police units by 2014, and to 10 percent in military contingents….

> The first all-female Formed Police Unit (FPU), deployed in Liberia in 2007, made a substantial difference to the women victimized in rampant sexual violence during the country's civil war, said a DPKO gender affairs associate (IRIN, 20 May 2010). The UN Mission in Liberia noted that after the deployment of Indian female peacekeepers,

the percentage of women in the national police force rose from 13 percent in 2008 to 15 percent in 2009. Women police were often placed in the front lines in riots, as they can reportedly help calm raucous crowds, and the presence of women in uniform also appeared to encourage Liberian women to report instances of sexual violence.

…countries that could send women sometimes refrained out of concern about the conditions they would be working under, and it was not always certain that they would be working alongside their male counterparts. Bangladesh, one of the largest troop-contributing countries, considered women as "low-ranked personnel, and puts them in the kitchen"…. [says DPKO gender affairs associate].

Women might constitute 20 percent of peacekeeping units by 2014, but… some officials thought it "completely unrealistic" to try replicating this on the military front. "It's a work in progress," … "A lot of member states are beginning to understand that when it comes to peacekeeping missions, you really do need to have both women and men in the military and police equally represented; they are beginning to understand the merits of that. (Lamptey, 2010)

This article highlights the complexity of modern peacekeeping, how it is gendered, and the multiple approaches that need to be adopted by PSOs. What rings out from this news item is the message that men are no longer needed as the majority group women in equal numbers to men are now considered necessary to a mission's success. Women are also considered to be a calming device and their authority as police officers is respected by the community and provides support to women who have experienced sexual violence. A report by Dharmapuri (2013) outlines that while the proportion of women officers in the Liberian police force rose from 11 percent in 2006 to 15 percent in 2010 there have been problems with their retention and promotion. Local women's groups were consulted about this issue and they pointed out that the new women recruits are not fully accepted within the police force because they entered via a different route to senior officers. Due to the conflict many women could not access their full education and a condensed version of a high school diploma was developed to support women's access to the police force. 'The general feeling is that the new female recruits are lowering the standards of the Liberian National Police because they did not meet the same requirements as older officers to enter the force' (Dharmapuri, 2013: 14). This' lowering of the standards' argument can be used against women if military or police forces adapt their entry or promotion requirements to support the inclusion of women, whether in physical

assessments or academic courses – revealing how gender mainstreaming is still not understood or accepted as a fair policy..

3.10 Conclusion

This chapter discussed feminist concepts of gender and assessed International Relations through a feminist lens. It discussed how gender roles become more polarized before, during and after a conflict; how inequalities between women and men are strengthened; and gender based violence is used as a weapon of war. By assessing feminist theories on gender and IR this chapter has begun to piece together the components of my particular neo-radical feminist approach to the study, which is to assess invisible power relations through discourses on gender within the participant's accounts. This chapter criticized the partial epistemology of IR, and discussed some of the different schools of thought within the field including Realism, Interdependency theory, Institutionalism and Critical IR theory; and the challenge this study makes to IR theory's androcentric approach by inserting a feminist lens into the landscape. This chapter outlined the feminist IR theoretical framework of this study and introduced, explained and elaborated on the concepts that will be employed in its analysis. Utilising the concept of gender within the IR framework supports my endeavour to find those opportunities where unequal power relations in gender discourse can be challenged, shifted, or transformed either momentarily or sustainably. These new discourses can then be used in discourse activism which consciously aims to transform oppressive ideas and to create opportunities to shape policy to create greater equality: within the culture of the military; the TCCs; and the host nations. Whitworth claims 'what is constructed can be reconstructed, and what is made can be remade' (2004: 86) this critical position sees IR as both accessible and subject to change, a necessary stance for conducting this study. By assessing feminist theories on Gender and IR this study has begun to gather the key building blocks for the discourse analysis of the participants' accounts. The next chapter, *'Chapter Four: Studies of Peacekeeping and Gender'* reviews and evaluates recent studies on Gender and Peacekeeping and outlines in more detail how the concept of gender within a feminist theoretical framework will be used in the analysis of the participant accounts in this study.

CHAPTER FOUR: STUDIES OF PEACEKEEPING AND GENDER

We know that women are good for the military, is the military good for women?
(D'amico, 1994)

4.0 Introduction

The focus of this chapter is to assess recent studies conducted by feminist researchers which examine women's integration into state militaries, alongside cultural issues and civilian concerns. By reviewing and discussing the contribution of leading academics in the field of Feminist IR through the lens of 'equal but different' this chapter reveals innovative analytic tools and approaches as well as gaps in their findings.   While evaluating each of the studies I am continually asking how they are useful to my research and in particular to my exploration of the question: 'How does the "equal but different" discourse distribute power in different contexts and what impact does that have on women's inclusion in PSOs'. This chapter begins by providing an outline of the role of peacekeeping and asks if the role is now more akin to social work than soldiering, depending on the specific context of the conflict. It then discusses dominant discourses in society that position women soldiers as 'unnatural' and looks at women's positioning within militaries today and historically.   This chapter considers research on how the presence of women in PSOs can change the way the mission is perceived by civilians. It also discusses how despite evidence of women's exceptional soldiering women's achievements have been played down and devalued by the military hierarchy throughout history. The feminization of peacekeeping versus the masculinization of warfare is discussed along with the impact this can have on women's inclusion in PSOs both positively and negatively. The silencing of and invisibility of women is discussed in case studies into Nordic peacekeeping countries and how women are tasked with either fitting into a male biased (gender neutral) system or being labeled as needing 'special treatment' because of their difference to men. The topic of culture in the host nations is explored and how women are used to demarcate the boundaries of cultural differences between the TCCs and the civilians in host nations. Case studies on what civilian women require from peacekeepers are assessed and their need for more women to be present as

peacekeepers. The necessity of gender mainstreaming processes to include men's as well as women's experiences and perspectives is argued for if unequal power relations are to be transformed within the post conflict area. The sexual harassment of women soldiers is discussed as a demonstration of the lack of acceptance of women within military institutions; and reflective of gender neutral policies. This chapter concludes by outlining the gaps that remain in our knowledge, and how this study can help to fill some of those gaps. Building on previous studies helps me to clarify the focus of this study; raise new questions; develop innovative approaches to conducting the research; and thereby create opportunities for new knowledge to be revealed.

4.1 Peacekeeping Today: Social Workers or Soldiers?

Technically speaking, peacekeeping, which requires the deployment of personnel with light arms, is a relatively easy medium with which a state can enhance its national identity (Ishizuka, 2004). For small powers, their presence as peacekeepers can be a display of military force; for middle powers peacekeeping can contribute to creating a new independence in their foreign policy; and for great powers, peacekeeping allows them to play the role of 'world policeman' (Ishizuka, 2004). From the IR Realist perspective the factors that motivate states to contribute to international peacekeeping operations are prestige and national identity (Baylis, 2001). Peacekeeping provides an opportunity to 'travel', and to participate in joint manoeuvres and training programmes with other militaries, these types of 'adventures' make it easier for militaries to recruit personnel (Ishizuka, 2004:9). 'They can enlarge their military scale by supplementing personnel and strengthening military equipment and facilities at the expense of the UN and other sponsoring organisations and states' (Ishizuka, 2004: 9).

Since 1990 the peacekeeping operation mandate has changed and now includes such diverse functions as training local police forces and the organisation of elections (UNDPKO, 2013). In some cases, such as Kosovo, international organisations even take over state functions. However, because peacekeeping can be violent, combat training is essential (UN DPKO, 2013).   Military training typically accentuates masculine characteristics such as aggression and strength while ridding the soldier of stereotypical

female attributes like sensitivity and compassion. But the peacekeeper must also be conciliatory and patient. Yet 'few conventionally trained male military personnel combine the qualities of soldier and social worker essential to the job. As a result UN operations have been marred by aggressive behaviour that exacerbates tensions' (DeGroot, 2002: 33). The role that peacekeeping forces play is by necessity contradictory. Armies are supposed to be macho and frightening and yet peacekeepers are meant to be approachable and helpful. All the peacekeeping paraphernalia of tanks and guns are at odds with the job they are sent to do (Whitworth, 2004). It may be easier for small armies such as Ireland to be considered peaceful and to have the capacity to be peaceful because they are not an offensive army and they are distinctly set aside as 'good peacekeepers'.

In multi-dimensional peacekeeping missions military personnel from different countries and cultures work closely together to bring about peace in fragile post-conflict countries. This mix of cultures, policies, practices and working styles need to be negotiated by individual peacekeepers and their contingents. The clash of cultures that can ensue as a result of bringing many different military personnel together to undertake the same mission impacts on the gender component of a mission. This can happen when militaries that include women in senior ranking roles come into contact with militaries that do not include women at all. For example, the top three troop contributing countries (TCCs) since 2000 are India, Bangladesh, and Pakistan, none of which have a significant number of women within their national forces and nor do they have national frameworks to encourage the recruitment of women (Dharmapuri, 2013). In 2013 the countries that led with numbers of women peacekeepers deployed to UN missions are: Ethiopia (360), South Africa (338), Ghana (269), Nigeria (263), Rwanda (231), and Bangladesh (224) (Dharmapuri, 2013). Norway has strengthened its promotion of women internally, in 2011 two women led the Norwegian contingent in Afghanistan, and in 2012 Norway actively championed the candidacy of the first woman force commander to a UN mission although she was not selected (Dharmapuri, 2012: 5). Sweden launched "GenderForce" in 2003 'focused on improving gender mainstreaming in the military, and it aimed to account for women's needs, experiences and expertise in international conflics and disasters (Dharmapuri, 2013: 5). The programme places Gender Coaches with senior

military personnel to inform their decision-making and has been considered successful in integrating a gender perspective into daily work.

4.2 Women Peacekeepers: A Feminist Agenda?

This study argues that women soldiers challenge discourses that position women as innately peaceful, thereby questioning gender stereotypes that position women and men differently and unequally on issues of war and peace. With men's experiences, knowledge and ideas valued more highly than women's. Women are engaging with militaries in many different contexts, jobs and roles and they have important new insights and knowledge as a result of these relations. Therefore, it is a matter of urgency that feminists also engage with these women to elucidate how power relations are operating within these institutions and the gendering processes inherent.

 In all societies today, there are ongoing debates about women performing the role of soldiering. These debates amongst academics, the military, governments and members of civil society, question whether women should be allowed to soldier and if so to what degree? Should they be given roles as combatants or non-combatants; and should they be positioned primarily in support work in offices and hospitals? The premise of some IR realist theorists (Morgenthau, 1955) is that women are unsuited to the 'high politics' of state security because of their perceived 'feminized' traits, such as being pacific, conciliatory, and indecisive' (Blanchard, 2003).   Yet, more than 580,000 women serve in the forces of 25 states. Three states (China, Russia and the USA) account for slightly under 85 per cent of the world's military women (Dharmapuri, 2013). These women comprise three per cent of the world's more than 22 million regular military personnel (Dharmapuri, 2013). Women are a small minority in most countries where they serve. Only in seven countries – Australia, Canada, China, New Zealand, Russia, South Africa and the USA –the data shows that women make up more than 10 per cent of the regular military personnel, although Israel, which provides no figures, could be added to that list (Skjelsbaek and Smith, 2001: 5). Worldwide out of 125,000 peacekeepers only ten per cent of military police are women and only three per cent of peacekeeping soldiers are women (UNDPKO, 2013).

Challenges to women's innate pacifist role in society are made by the presence of women soldiers in national militaries and this can make society feel uncomfortable. This was reflected in media coverage of the capture of Faye Turney (a woman) in 2007 along with 14 other British soldiers (male) by the Iranian government. The presence of Turney (a seaman) generated thousands of pages of news coverage. A woman who was a mother, serving overseas away from her children and her family, was considered by many to be incompatible with their idea of either a soldier or a mother. The Guardian newspaper on 19 April[6] 2007 there were 92 pages of blogs in response to Polly Toynbee's article: '*The liberation of the sexes from their pink and blue fates has hardly begun',* she stated that 'the media treatment of Turney exposes the mass of contradictory prejudices that continues to assail modern women' (Toynbee, 19 April 2007). The bloggers fell into two main camps, those who were enraged by the fact that Turney was a mother and a soldier and could not understand how she could leave a young family behind while she served overseas; and those stating that women should have equal access to all jobs including the one of soldiering, pointing out that men also have to leave young children and families behind when they go overseas.

While this debate was covering every square inch of the international newspapers, hundreds of women soldiers were working as peacekeepers in conflict zones all over the world, from the Lebanon to Timor L'este; from the Democratic Republic of Congo to Kosovo. However, these women peacekeepers have generated very little media coverage. For example, in January 2007, 103 Indian women, who made up the first all-female peacekeeping unit, arrived in Monrovia to very little media attention outside of the UN. The women, who were all police officers, had been sent to Monrovia to 'inspire Liberian women to join a fledgling police force struggling to recruit female officers' as prevailing gender stereotypes made recruiting local women a challenging process (Christian Science Monitor, 2007). It was also reported that the UN hoped that the presence of female officers would limit abuses perpetrated by male peacekeepers. From 2000 to 2010, 319 male peacekeepers worldwide have been investigated for abuses; of those 179 were repatriated or dismissed (UN DPKO, 2011). Richard Reeves, a research fellow at Chatham House, a London-based think tank says 'you get [these abuses] not just with peacekeepers

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[6] www.guardian.co.uk/Columnists/Column/0,,2051499,00.html

but with soldiers in general, and it gets worse the further they are from home and the more destitute the local population' (Christian Science Monitor, 2007). Pointing to the 'othering' of people from conflicted zones by some peacekeepers, rather than seeing themselves as bearers of peace, safety, or dignity for those traumatized communities. Despite the high levels of violence perpetuated by some peacekeepers both towards civilians and towards women soldiers, liberal feminists argue that it is only by having equal access to the military that women can gain full citizenship rights (Yuval Davis: 2001) and that women should be given equal access to all roles within the military and other national institutions. These feminists also claim that based on democratic principles, women should be given access to all combat roles in the military, with no differentiation between women and men's roles. Liberal feminists assert that the presence of women in these institutions will have many positive effects including the potential to create cracks in the military itself making it a more gender aware organisation (DeGroot, 2002). The idea is that these cracks will create new discourses on the necessity of women's involvement in issues relating to war and conflict; opportunities for new perspectives and methods of peacekeeping to take root, reflecting gender perspectives both within and without the military; the emergence of new codes of conduct in relation to human rights and women's rights and their rigorous enforcement.

> While there is no evidence to suggest that women make better peacekeepers than men, there is some evidence to suggest that their presence on a mission improves its chances of success as the presence of a man in a tense situation can be provocative, even if the man has no intention to provoke. On the other hand, women can calm stressful situations because they are *expected* to be peaceful, and male soldiers are less likely to assert their dominance if female soldiers are present. (DeGroot, 2002: 4)

This study tests the evidence discussed above that women's presence makes a difference to a PSO because they are expected to be calm by assessing whether such discourses are revealed in the participants' accounts. While 'right to fight' feminists have challenged governments and militaries to allow women into areas of combat from which they have previously been excluded, De Groot (2002) asserts that for most feminists the issue is symbolic; and that few women actually want to drive a tank. While De Groot argues that the naturally conservative military is not a very comfortable home for a woman keen to

rebel against social convention this study outlines how women soldiers themselves are often unconventional as only certain types of women are interested in immersing themselves into such a male dominated institution in direct competition with men. This study assesses women peacekeepers view of how they are positioned within the DF.

The liberal feminist position on women soldiers/peacekeepers is a useful starting point for this study. While it is democratic to open the military to women's inclusion alongside men some of the liberal arguments about how those women will change the institution from within to a more egalitarian one ignore the price those individual women are paying and will pay in the future to be part of an institution with such a strong masculinist bias. The 'equal but different' discourse while positioning women as the same and equal to men in some contexts, also positions them as different and requiring 'special treatment' in other situations such as access to maternity leave. If policies do not consider structural forces that create social inequalities between women and men than women will continue to be disadvantaged. If militaries adopt 'equal but different' personnel policies hierarchies of power that produce differences that become inequalities will be ignored. Most women soldiers are not feminist and do not join the military with the aim to transform it, its gendering processes or its relations with civilians. Having said that, the very fact that women are now present in militaries in a wide variety of roles, including combat and senior officer ranks, they are confronting society and the military institutions themselves with new and challenging feminine identities. There is evidence that if the numbers of a minority group are kept low than they have less opportunity to challenge the status quo (Dahlerup, 2001; Giercyz, 2001) but if the numbers grow to the tipping point of 30 per cent there is the likelihood that women's contribution will become more visible and this increase in visibility may have a transformative affect on gender discourses initially; and on social attitudes and behaviours eventually.

4.3 Women's Historical role in the Military

This section explores how women have been positioned historically by militaries, which is useful to this study as history can reveal how layers of a gendering process are laid down over time; and also how those layers get peeled back again to suit societal and military aims. These historical gendering processes help me to peel back the layers of the

question: 'how does the "equal but different" discourse distribute power in different contexts and what impact does that have on women's inclusion in PSOs?' by revealing the underlying motivations and goals of militaristic elites (governments, military institutions, and militia).

> Mythical or historical figures of women who have led the men to battle, like Boadicea or Joan of Arc, have existed for many centuries in the western collective imagination. However, like the Amazons, their main function has usually been not to point out that women are capable of warfare heroism like men, but rather to construct them as unnatural if romantic women. (Yuval-Davis, 2001: 95).

These 'unnatural if romantic women' have been written back into history by feminist IR theorists and historians who have made a major contribution to our understanding of how gender discourses, binaries, and performances have transformed over time (De Groot, 2000; Enloe, 1993, 1988, 1983; Yuval-Davis, 2001). By examining women's historical role in military institutions they have revealed how militarism and militarization are gendered and the complex ways gender is played out depending on the context. Their work outlines how militaries have always included women, in specific roles and contexts, but typically in supporting roles to male soldiers. They have also shown how women are repositioned into the private sphere by the state by encouraging women to return to their homes and to procreate future generations for the nation (Yuval-Davis, 2001). Up until the eighteenth century women involved in military work were called camp followers and they provided services such as cooking, cleaning, nursing, carrying water, and removing the wounded from the battlefield (Enloe, 1983). Down through the ages women in soldiering were only allowed near the 'front' or combat when they were supporting male soldiers, such as the 'Molly Pitchers' who were used to cool down the cannon guns with pitchers of water between each round of firing during the American Revolution (Enloe, 1983). The professionalization of the military in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries meant that the support functions women had previously performed were taken over by men. These functions were given a legitimacy never accorded when women did them (Enloe, 1983). This division of labour highlights the de-valuing of feminized roles and tasks within the military and then the re-valuing of the same roles and tasks when men are assigned them, an issue explored within this study.

In the first and second world wars the men who did all the same tasks as the women, such as carrying ammunition, nursing soldiers, or cooking were considered soldiers, whereas women were not. What gave men their soldierly identity was their masculinity (Enloe, 1983, 2000; De Groot, 2002) 'Men have a theoretic eligibility for combat, even though they may never actually fight. Because men could kill, they were soldiers. Because women were not supposed to kill, they could never be soldiers' (De Groot, 2002: 25). In Britain during WWII female members of mixed-sex anti-aircraft batteries participated actively in combat, came under fire, and suffered considerably as a result of enemy action. But because their service looked very close to being an active combatant, a clever distinction was made so that women could remain, at least in theory, non-combatants. They were prevented from loading or firing the weapons (they aimed them) in order to maintain the illusion that they were not actually killing. 'If the battery came under fire a man might subsequently be awarded a medal for bravery, but the woman who stood next to him was not eligible as she had not been in combat, therefore, she could not have been brave' (DeGroot, 2002: 27). De Groot argues that this distinction has continued to the current day because in many instances a nurse working close to the front in a casualty station will suffer doubts about whether she is a 'real' soldier while the man who organises entertainment for the troops, in a unit far from the front, has little difficulty demonstrating his right to be called a soldier (2002: 25).

Throughout history women's presence alongside men on military campaigns is well documented and while not considered soldiers due to their sex, women were considered assets to military planning, practice and success. The example cited below outlines how necessary women were to achieving the aims of military campaigns and the unexpected and expected differences they made to the mission.

> Among those present in the first winter encampment of the 1804 – 1806 Lewis and Clark expedition into the Northwest territories was Sacajawea, a member of the Shoshone Native American tribe. Sacajawea had joined the expedition as the wife of a French interpreter; her presence was proving invaluable to the security of the expedition's members whose task it was to explore uncharted territory and establish contact with the Native Americans to inform them of claims to these territories by the US. Although unanticipated by its leaders, the presence of a woman served to assure the native inhabitants that the expedition was peaceful since the native Americans

assumed that war parties would not include women; The expedition was safer, therefore, because it was not armed and not composed entirely of men. (De Groot, 2002: 37)

Women were also needed on Mao's Long March (1934-36) through China to liaise with the local population they met on the way and securing their cooperation. 'Because women seemed less threatening than men, they found it easier to obtain the trust of the locals' (De Groot, 2002: 32). These stories demonstrate how the presence of women on a mission can change the way the mission is perceived by local people and their expectations of how the soldiers will behave towards them, that is, less threateningly and more peacefully. These stories reveal how military planners make women visible on missions where the support of the local civilian population is necessary to complete the task, whereas they are camouflaged to fit in when they are operating as combatants, as is discussed in the next section.

Although women have been considered an asset as symbols of peace and providers of security for certain types of mission they have also been carefully camouflaged with their identities hidden in other types of missions. In Russia during WWI women were formed into all-female battalions as a last ditch effort to stave off defeat and to buttress the Provisional Government. On 9 July 1917, the first Russian Women's Battalion of Death went into action and performed well. The all-female battalion impressed senior male commanders and embarrassed German troops who surrendered to them. But, after the war, the incident was quickly forgotten and soviet officials and society ignored their achievement (De Groot, 2002). Again during WWII Russian women were deployed as fighter pilots. Although these women were flying substandard aeroplanes they performed with great distinction, but after the war 'they were considered a national embarrassment and were encouraged to go back into the home and have children' (De Groot, 2002: 27).

These historical studies highlight how women are made *visible* in relation to some military tasks such as interacting with civilians, defusing tension and creating a less threatening atmosphere; while they are made *invisible* when they perform tasks such as killing or fighting to defend the nation. Historical research on the way women are positioned by the military and within the military gives us important insight into the gendering

processes taking place within militaries and national institutions concerned with citizenship and national identity. The 'women are peaceful and less threatening' discourse is promoted and used by military commanders for specific military aims. While the 'women are exceptional fighters and protectors' discourse is camouflaged and written out of history when they are not needed, but as soon as women are 'necessary' again they are rewritten back into history and military practice in their role as fighters. Dominant discourses position men as the protectors and fighters and women as the vulnerable care-givers. Women are made visible in their 'difference' to men with the notion of women being peaceful and calm emphasized by the military. When women are doing the same work as men such as fighting and killing their role is minimized and their contribution to soldiering is made invisible.

Analysis of how women have been used by the patriarchy and military institutions throughout history reveals a well-worn 'gender path'. 'In its simplest interpretation, patriarchy is a system of power where men dominate' (O'Sullivan et al, 2002: 6) culturally we are situated within a matrix of patriarchal power. On this gender path women have supported soldiers; and generated enthusiasm and cooperation from civilians for warfare. On this path women have fought at the battlefront as soldiers and defenders of the nation; and they have also been pushed back into the home to become mothers and nurturers once the war is over. Depending on the goals of the state institutions women have been variously positioned and repositioned as peaceful nurturers or aggressive fighters. History reveals how women are needed as both soldiers and 'peacekeepers' depending on the context and that there is a clear distinction between the two roles. The former calls on the performance of aggressive actions and attitudes; and the latter calls on negotiating and influencing skills. Therefore, it becomes clearer why UNSCR 1325 has been interpreted by some (O'Brien, 2008) to mean that more women may be needed specifically in civilian-facing roles; and in 'gender policing' roles to limit male aggression, rather than as soldiers in their own right. If UNSCR 1325 is interpreted by TCCs as only increasing the numbers of women, particularly in women-facing tasks, then women soldiers and their jobs will become feminized and most likely devalued. The devaluation of these jobs links in to the confusion within militaries about their role as peacekeepers or

soldiers. And as a result of this confusion the gender component of a mandate may be devalued.

4.4   Military Culture and Gender Today

Central to this study is Carreiras (2010) theory that domestic and cultural structures within national militaries, such as the Irish DF, affect the impact of gender relations within international peacekeeping missions. Drawing on research by Carreiras (2010) this study explores specific variables to assess the levels of gender integration into a military and therefore into a mission; how masculinities and femininities are performed and valued by the military; how soldiers cope with cultural diversity both within other militaries and the host nation; the impact of gender on a mission; and professional identities as peacekeepers rather than as soldiers. Carreiras research argues that the extent to which the new "gender regime" in peacekeeping has potential to challenge dominant conceptions and practices of gender roles in military culture depends on gender balancing within the force; its experience and level of training and capacity building; the mission mandate and scope; social and cultural characteristics of local contexts; and legitimizing discourses on the importance of gender mainstreaming in peacekeeping missions (2010).

When considering the question 'how does the equal but different discourse operate to position women and men within specific gender roles within the mission?' I drew on Carreiras research which outlines how the military is not only dominated by men in terms of their numbers but men are also more likely to be positioned occupationally at the core of the institution's structure (operations, strategy and leadership) thereby giving them greater access to prestige and rewards as well as access to higher ranks (2010). The military is an extreme example of a gendered institution (Britton, 2008) because the military organisation structure is clearly based on gendered divisions both hierarchical (which limits women's access to power and opportunity) and sexual divisions of labour (which limit women's access to certain occupations within the military). In particular, women are usually excluded from certain units and functions considered the speciality areas for the performances of militarized masculinities such as the Ranger Wing in the DF (although women are not formally excluded from the Ranger Wing, there are no women present) (DF, interview, 2013). Carreiras research outlines how by 2008 the numbers of

women in the forces of all NATO countries had not only increased but women were also accessing a wider variety of positions and functions within those militaries (2010). However, when considering the question 'what are the costs to women soldiers for being part of a minority group' her research highlights how despite these advances women are still under-represented in peacekeeping missions; women have limited representation in powerful positions; and women are mostly excluded from combat related functions (Carreiras, 2010). Culturally traditional definitions of the military conflate with hegemonic masculine culture and ideology. The military is not only gendered it is also "gendering" as historically it has been a source of normative conceptions of gender. Images of the military are male and are reinforced by not only the numbers of men in the military but also by the masculinism that pervades the military function (Carreiras, 2010).

Higate & Henry's (2004) research highlights the diversity of masculinities within militaries. These different masculinities have different attitudes and behaviours towards women. Due to technological advancements in warfare and conflict resolution the hero archetypes in the military no longer dominate and Carreiras posits that it would be naive to think that they do, instead it is the rational-bureaucratic technologist who has more prestige. Men in combat units may see themselves as most macho but officers in combat support offer a different understanding that macho masculinities compensate for lack of technological and organisational skills (Cohn, 2004). Support functions have increased and the majority of soldiers are no longer combatants. This is why it is also important to understand militaries in terms of the relationships between masculinities as well as between femininities and masculinities.

There is diversity amongst countries in relation to the degree that women are integrated into militaries. While some armed forces give real access to a variety of occupations to women others keep women in symbolic spaces only. With numbers between 10 and 20 per cent (UK, USA, Hungary) Carreiras asserts that women are no longer peripheral to some militaries and argues that the important question to ask is not about the gender balance but about how the gender composition relates to the feminization or masculinisation of the work settings such as how jobs and tasks are gendered. For example, in the Irish DF the job of Paymaster has become gendered as a women's job and

has been devalued as a result (O'Brien, 2012). Carreiras argument is that how jobs and tasks are gendered is a central component to our understanding of the new gender regime within peacekeeping and is a useful theory for this study. However, I argue that gender balance is also an important part of the equation, the military is 'male dominated' by numbers as well as practices and policies that endorse the performance of militarized masculinities, therefore, increasing the numbers of women will create change by either deepening divides between gendered tasks and jobs and increasing stereotypes; or by neutralizing the gender differences; or by transforming the institution to one that encourages the a multiplicity of subjectivities, so gender balance cannot be overlooked.

Carreiras research is particularly useful for this study in assessing the levels of gender integration into discourses within the DF and therefore into a mission. However, her insistence that women are no longer peripheral to militaries is not accurate. The tipping scale is a ratio of 30:70 for a minority group to have influence over the majority group nowhere in the world do women make up 30 per cent of a state military. Therefore, her negation of the importance of gender balance does not reflect reality. However, where her research does push forward my agenda is by drawing my attention to how masculinities and femininities are performed and valued by the military and revealed through the gendering of specific tasks and jobs and through discourses on gender roles within specific contexts. How soldiers cope with cultural diversity both within other militaries and the host nation can also be built on by this study by examining how gender draws boundaries between and maintains cultural differences.

4.5 The Feminization of Peacekeeping and Divisions of Labour

This section continues the discussion on gender specific roles within peacekeeping and asks if 'a mixed gender peacekeeping mission is received differently to a male-only battalion by the host community or by other PSO militaries?' The feminization of peacekeeping versus the masculinisation of contemporary warfare while creating a context in which to encourage militaries to recruit more women soldiers, may also position these women *only* in gender specific roles, such as interfacing with civilian women. This would then not only reinforce the two-tiered hierarchy between women and men but would also devalue those jobs and tasks compartmentalized as 'women's

jobs'; as has been done historically by militaries and military institutions and outlined by Carreiras research into NATO militaries (2010). The feminization of peacekeeping gives peacekeeping a new image, one that is undertaken equally by men and women, built on notions of the need to protect the 'other women' from the 'other men'. Therefore, re-inscribing into national culture and PSOs the idea that women as well as men are necessary to protect foreign women from foreign men (Spivak, 1988). The concept of 'othering' a particular ethnicity or race is about transference onto another group that which we do not want to acknowledge exists within ourselves (Cockburn, 2004). This theory is useful for this study because the 'othering' of foreign women and men will be elucidated in the participant accounts and how women peacekeepers themselves are 'othered' will be drawn out.

The notion of peacekeeping as feminine and offensive combat as masculine has been well researched (Enloe, 2000; Whitworth, 2004; Valenius, 2007). Empirical evidence shows that increased participation in peacekeeping missions has led to a redefinition of the contents of traditional professional roles among certain military personnel (Whitworth, 2004). Research by Miller and Moskos (1995) amongst US troops in Somalia noted a marked difference between the warrior versus humanitarian positions adopted by the American soldiers. The warrior position focused aggression at the local population while the humanitarian position focused on supporting refugees, women and children. The researchers noted that women and black male soldiers and non-combat specialists were more likely to adopt the humanitarian position (Miller and Moskos (1995 cited in Carreiras, 2010). This feminization of peacekeeping missions may encourage the inclusion of more women into peacekeeping, as called for by UNSCR 1325, however, it may also undermine their position within the mission. In research conducted by Sion she states that 'women may not be welcomed in peacekeeping missions because of the soldiers' ambivalence toward the 'feminine' aspects of peace missions' (2008: 563) as the presence of women may further undermine their masculinity within the eyes of other militaries or challenge their own identity as hyper-masculine men. This is a real challenge to gender mainstreaming processes and practices if women are hived off into women-only spaces and excluded from mainstream peacekeeping. The military planners can tick the gender box without considering the long-term effect this will have on the advancement of

women soldiers or the needs of civilian women. Sion's (2008) research can be usefully employed in this study when analyzing discourses on gendering processes and interactions with 'other militaries', particularly in relation to how Irish women peacekeepers are positioned by other militaries and the impact this has on Irish male soldiers.

One of the most outspoken critics of gender integration in the military is Stephanie Guttman the author of *The Kinder, Gentler Military* who has tapped into a common fear about female soldiers, namely that their presence inevitably means a weakening of a nation's military strength. She claims that the 'feminization' of the American military means that it has become 'so politically correct, so exquisitely sensitive to their troops feelings, so hostile to their own warrior culture, that they may be unable to defend our interests in future conflicts' (DeGroot, 2002: 23). Military historian and strategist van Creveld (2008) voices concerns about allowing women into the military as he claims they may destroy militarism; and women may ridicule war-making which he glorifies. 'War, and combat in particular, is one of the most exciting, most stimulating activities that we humans can engage in' (van Creveld, 2008: 411). The stereotype being that women do not make good soldiers because they are both physically and emotionally weak and better suited to traditional roles of caring and nurturing rather than fighting and killing. However this is not relevant in modern PSOs as hand-to-hand combat is not typically how peacekeepers defend and protect. In fact, women have physical abilities that are becoming more relevant to modern militaries and PSOs, for example women often show greater speed and agility at fine motor skills which can be very useful for operating certain types of machinery (Goldstein, 2001). The critique of women's physical size seldom comments on the advantages of having troops who are smaller and lighter than some men, especially useful for climbing through narrow spaces or tunnels (Goldstein, 2001).

This segregation of military roles into feminine and masculine may also impact on the priority they are given by military officials and commanders, depending on the positioning of the troop contributing countries in the global military context. For example, in 1993, the Pentagon called a formal meeting of military officials and civilian social scientists where several speakers laid the blame for declining male enthusiasm on the US

involvement in peacekeeping. They asserted that soldiering in Somalia or Bosnia in the name of peace was 'not how a healthy American boy expected to earn his claim to manliness' (Enloe, 2000: 240). Enloe asserts that if Irish, Canadian, Fijian, Finnish, or Ghanaian military recruiters had been in the audience – militaries that have made peacekeeping a principal professional mission – this strategic assessment would have been met with disagreement (Enloe, 2000: 241). This concept of peacekeeping as feminine versus combat as masculine or macho will help me to further my research topic by allowing me to evaluate the theory of feminization within the Irish peacekeeping contingent and its attitude towards its own role as a peacekeeping army and its incorporation of women soldiers.

4.6 Silences on Gender within Military Institutions

By asking 'does the presence of women enable an inclusion of different voices and perspectives in peacekeeping' this study explores how 'silence' on gender is a key characteristic of military institutions with men considered the 'norm' and women having to adapt to this 'norm'. This theoretical concept of 'silence on gender' builds on theories of women's invisibility in specific contexts within male dominated institutions (Kronsell, 2006). My research uses both concepts of 'silence' and 'invisibility' to analyse power relations within participant discourses, an approach recommended by Kronsell and influential in my decision to use this method. Studying silences is an important step in peeling back the layers of the gendering processes revealed through the dominant gender discourse in the DF 'equal but different'. Kronsell argues that 'breaking the silence is to question what seems self-explanatory and turn it into a research puzzle, in a sense by making the familiar strange. It means giving the self-explanatory a history and a context (2006).

In her research into the Swedish Armed Forces (SAF) Kronsell notes that 'when women enter this workplace of hegemonic masculinity, institutional norms "appear" and mark them as different from men, who, according to these norms, are the "real" soldiers (2006: 123). Women's identities in the military are continually being negotiated as they have no feminine role models or notions of femininity in the institution (Kvande, 1999: 306; Davis,

1997: 185).   However, they need to 'perform' an important balancing act that of being considered as capable as men whilst not being seen as one of them (2006: 125).

> By women's very interaction with the institutional practices, the gendered norms of such institutions become visible, and hegemonic masculinity becomes "real" (Hartsock, 1983: 231-251), because what these women often do is struggle with the norms of hegemonic masculinity in the institutional setting of which they are a part. (Kronsell, 2006: 121)

Kronsell's research into methods of studying silences into state institutions (2006) points out how state defence organizations, which are central to the field of IR, represent and reify specific gender relations 'because male bodies dominate, they are institutions of hegemonic masculinity, and a particular form of masculinity has become the norm' (Connell, 1995: 77).   Kronsell proposes therefore studying gender dynamics through the deconstruction of texts and discourses emerging from these institutions, and 'sometimes "reading" what is not written, or what is "between the lines," of what is expressed as symbols and in procedures' (2006: 109).   She argues that this is necessary because 'Institutions both organize and materialize gender discourses in historically dynamic ways, while simultaneously enabling and restricting the individual involved in institutional activities' (Kronsell, 2006: 109). Through this study's assessment of dominant discourses on 'equal but different' in the DF it discusses if they are operating to position women and men differentially within the institution and the impact this may have on women's recruitment and retention and likelihood of accessing senior military ranks over time. As 'institutions are actively reproduced as well as changed through practice' (Kronsell, 2006: 109) and have an important role in forming subjects, transformative discourses are also extrapolated from the data in this study to envision how the military could create policies and practices that encourage the development of peacekeepers in their multiple subjectivities. Kronsell's work on feminist methods recommends that feminist researchers visit the field and military headquarters to observe military practices and exercises because important knowledge is attached to the study site (2006).   Her research influenced my determination to gain access to a peacekeeping mission in 2008 as I became aware that without observing peacekeepers in their 'natural' environment my research would be severely limited. I also wanted to interview personnel in situ as information would be fresher in their memory drawing on the mediate context and

experience of peacekeeping. The analysis of participants' accounts in chapters five and six highlight where and how women are silenced or invisible within the discourses.

4.7 The Norwegian Armed Forces and Invisible Women

One of the central aims of this project is the task of making visible women who are currently invisible in the discourses of male peacekeepers. By asking 'does the presence of women enable an inclusion of different voices and perspectives in peacekeeping' this study actively looks for references to women's inclusion within PSOs and how they are positioned within the discourses in participants accounts. Ireland works closely with Scandinavian peacekeepers on missions and throughout this study participants referred to Scandinavian peacekeepers as having a similar approach to peacekeeping as Ireland. Therefore, research on the inclusion of women in Scandinavian militaries is of particular interest to this study. Women have participated in PSOs with the Norwegian Armed Forces (NAF) since the end of WWII and in recent years have been six to 12 per cent of the deployed forces, in mostly medical and support functions (Laugen Haaland, 2012). 'The military culture is completely dominated by men in the sense that women are invisible and have to adapt to male norms in order to be accepted' (Laugen Haaland, 2012: 65). Laugen Haaland argues that NAF peacekeepers are not idealistic peace activists but are in fact working for a deeply conservative military institution and that this conservatism strongly influences its approach to gender relations both within the organisation and with the civilians in conflicted regions.   She outlines the arguments put forward by NAF to inhibit women's access to peacekeeping operations:

> That women would not be able to endure the physical strains of these operations; they would not be able to negotiate with male officers from the local forces without harming relationships between the UN and the host nation; troop morale would suffer if women had to share rooms with their male colleagues; women would be looked upon as sexual prey by male officers who were forbidden to have contact with local women; women could not be relied upon in crises; and male comradeship would be endangered by feelings of jealousy. (Laugen Haaland, 2012: 65; Norwegian Contingent Commander UNIMOG, 1990; Norwegian Contingent Commander UNIFIL, 1992; NAF Headquarters Defense Command, 1992; Karame 2001)

However, she goes on to state that the positioning of women in the NAF has changed in recent years with commanders understanding the benefits of including women in direct

relation to the protection and security of civilian women (Haakonsen and Jansen, 2010). These attitudes mirror those within the discourses of commanders within the DF. While none of these arguments listed above for women's exclusion from PSOs are formally included within DF policy, they do operate informally within the discourses drawn on by male peacekeepers in this study (refer to Chapter Six).

The focus of Laugen Haaland's research is the analysis of reports about missions written by NAF commanders and staff (between 1980 and 2000); as well as memory books; letters and reports between the Head Quarters of NAF and the Ministry of Defence and forces working at home and abroad. Her research accentuates the 'gender-neutral/insensitive' nature of the reports and written documentation. However, importantly for this study her research also reveals that while women are invisible in formal military sources they are more visible in the memory books and often referred to as "one of the boys" a phrase considered high-praise towards women. She noticed that while women's visibility appears constant it actually varies according to the type of mission and type of unit they are operating in (for instance, field hospital versus combat manoeuver units). Theories on visibility versus invisibility of women within militaries is a key analytical tool for this study and therefore Laugen Haaland's research is a useful building block from which to compare discourses on gender between military institutions such as the NAF and the DF.

There is evidence of the multiplicity in the performance of militarized masculinities depending on the culture of the nation in Laugen Haaland's research and she challenges Whitworth's (2004: 3) claim that soldiers are made by militaries by developing the most aggressive elements of masculinity, those promoting violence, misogyny, homophobia and racism. She found little evidence of these attitudes and behaviours in the reports she analysed. She did note however two distinct types of masculinities emphasized in UN and NATO missions. The UN missions place a premium on soldiers who have good skills working with civilians, are problem solvers and who understand the UN system; while NATO emphasizes military skill, hierarchy and discipline. Overall, her research revealed that the most valued qualities in the 'good soldier' are: endurance, a sense of humour and personal initiative attributes clearly visible in women as well as men and available to all human beings to personally develop. This research into the NAF and its gender-neutral

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policy is a useful comparison to the DF and its policies. Interestingly, the DF equality policy gives similar reasons to NAF as to why women should be curtailed from going on certain missions.

7.7 **Overseas Service**

Service overseas is considered an essential part of military service and contributes to the career development of soldiers. The opportunity to serve overseas is available to all trained personnel and selection for overseas service (volunteer or mandatory selection) will be based on agreed criteria and conducted in a manner that is non-discriminatory. Bearing in mind the mission area, discrimination may take place on the grounds of gender or race, to take into account local customs, religious beliefs, culture and the rules and procedures of international organisations under whose aegis such missions are undertaken. (DF, 2007)

There are contradictory statements within this policy document even though it clearly states non-discrimination in decision-making on who should access a PSO. However, the grounds of gender and race are considered potential inhibitors to accessing a mission and discourses on these will be looked for within the participant accounts in Chapters Five, Six and Seven.

Laugen Haaland does point out some of the flaws in her own research, for example, racism is not mentioned in the reports but other researchers have uncovered evidence of racism within the NAF; and therefore, while misogyny, homophobia, and violence are also not mentioned in the reports it does not mean that they don't exist. Her research lacks a method to interrogate the information to deepen understanding and to clarify issues raised. The participants in her research are predominantly male, so gendered relations within the NAF are only explored from the perspective of the dominant group. This study fills those 'gender gaps' by including women's accounts as well as men's and by comparing the discourses and meaning repertoires they draw on to position themselves reflexively and interactively. By conducting one-to-one interviews this study gives DF participants control over its content through their narratives and the accounts they chose to share specifically in relation to gender. As a result this study created opportunities for the conversation to go in exciting and unexpected directions, allowing space for new information and knowledge to be revealed.

4.8 The Swedish Armed Forces, Facilities and Sexual Harassment

By asking 'what are the costs to women soldiers for being part of a minority group' the negative impact of gender neutral policies on military women, are examined in this section. A case study By Eduards (2012) into the Swedish Armed Forces (SAF) considered some of the issues that make it difficult to recruit more women. Her research outlines how unequal power relations between women and men result in policies that force women who experience violence, such as sexual harassment, to take on individual responsibility for dealing with the abuse rather than being able to openly confront it and to understand it as a result of structures that favour men in a male-dominated environment. In her study she argues that there is a gap between state rhetoric on women in the SAF and the daily experiences of women. She does this by outlining how the discourse has moved from 'there are no jobs for women', to the argument that 'because women are different they should be included'. To the final shift in discourse which is that now SAF want to include the different experiences and competencies of women, however, they must be treated the same as the men (Eduards, 2012: 53; cited in Kronsell and Svedberg, 2012). These findings on the shift in discourse on women's inclusion in PSOs are explored within this study in the section on Divisions of Labour in Chapter Six where a diagram outlining how discourses nest together to create 'taken for granted' understandings about why women are included or excluded from certain PSOs and how these can position women in certain gender-segregated roles and tasks. The 'equal but different' discourse is also identified as dominant within the SAF and is examined by Eduards (2012) to reveal a gender neutral approach to the inclusion of women.

Eduards uses her research into shared facilities in the SAF and the issue of sexual harassment as an example of how the gender neutral policy forces women to deal directly and individually with sexual harassment and other forms of violence within the organisation. The policy within SAF on harassment was to advise women to be issued with a larger bath towel (SAF 2006-8 plan of action on gender equality). Other measures suggested that women stick together in numbers so that attack is less likely. There was no discussion on who the perpetrators are or how the perpetrators behaviour could be changed, thereby making the dominant group invisible while emphasizing the 'problems

caused' by the presence of the minority group of women. Eduards asserts that in SAF the 'best equality strategy is seen as not siding with either sex' (2012: 56) thereby adopting a gender neutral approach. In the SAF 2006-8 plan of action on gender there is no opening for discussion about power relations, conflicting interests, or the possibility of changing gender hierarchies. Instead women are advised to set clear limits with male peers and to say 'stop' directly if they feel someone has gone too far (SAF, 2007b; Eduards, 2012). Women are made responsible for how men perceive them but there are no special admonitions to the men who look and harass (Eduards, 2012: 54). The unequal sex/gender relation between women and men is made invisible by either naming no one or by only focusing on women (Eduards, 2012). The discourse on equal treatment constantly being challenged by women creates a need for 'special measures' to accommodate them, which further sets them apart. Eduards attempts to show 'how women and femininity are ascribed different values in varying contexts and how gender thereby is appropriated for different purposes' (2012: 57).

> Women in the rapid response units are expected to act as benevolent and understanding "sisters", to defend women in other countries, nota bene women that are "with us". Internally, however, women should defend themselves with a bigger bath towel and through working together, avoiding at any price to be treated as sex objects. (Eduards, 2012: 61)

The issue of sexual vulnerability and gender based violence of civilian women is considered a key area where women peacekeepers can make a difference. This idea colludes with the legendary formulation by Spivak, 'white men are saving brown women from brown men' (1993: 92).

> The difference from colonial times is that now white women, as soldiers and officers, should act as liberators. That these white women risk being subjected to violence and harassment in the international arena – by their own countrymen – is not part of the national concept. (Eduards, 2012: 61)

Research in the SAF notes that although sexual harassment is diminishing still 36 per cent of women officers and conscripts reported that they had been exposed to sexual harassment in 2005 indicating that gender mainstreaming is not working within SAF. 'Female soldiers and officers who call attention to sexual harassment embody the failure of the perpetrators to behave in an equal and respectful way' (Eduards, 2012: 59). Men

who harass and assault women break with the modern image of the peacekeeper. Yet commanders are not instructing men to respect women's bodily integrity, instead women are made individually responsible for how men perceive their bodies. There is no discussion on men and masculinities and the perpetuation of harassment, thereby making men/gender invisible, it is women who are the problem. Unequal gender relations are made invisible by either naming no one or by focusing on women.

Eduards' research reveals how three key contradictory discourses operating in the SAF undermine women and their possibility of questioning military practices, these are: 'difference versus sameness' and the whole notion of gender neutrality; women versus sexualized behaviour; and the term 'gender' meaning women and not men (Eduards, 2012: 52). The 'protection of women' discourse is revealed in Eduards study by her identification of which women need protecting and in what locations and contexts. The parameters continually shift depending on whether they are civilian women or women soldiers. Ultimately, women soldiers are burdened with the responsibility of protecting themselves in the SAF. Eduard's research is important for the analysis of participant accounts in this study by identifying the 'protection of women' discourse her research draws my attention to how it operates differently depending on whom women are being protected from, civilian men, guerrilla fighters, male soldiers from other militaries or peacekeeping peers. Chapter Six in this study discusses the issue of sexual harassment and how some women participants who have experienced it feel unable to report it due to the risk of further exposure to harassment and the negative impact that could have on their careers. This is where the 'special treatment' part of 'equal but different' discourse operates to undermine women as it is women who are most likely to be sexually harassed. The concept of 'special treatment' does not acknowledge the differences in women and men's social roles and positioning and how this makes them more or less vulnerable to harassment. This study builds on Eduard's research by assessing whether similar discourses on protection are operating in the DF and how they are perpetuated and controlled. This study will also reveal if the issue 'of invisible male perpetrators' and the inter-changeability of the 'protective' discourses is shared amongst PSO troops by examining if they are circulating within the DF. Thereby, highlighting a dominant discourse within military culture on gender; and exposing opportunities to challenge and

transform those discourses. Finally, my study will build on Eduards research by further analysing the limitations of a gender neutral policy and how it positions women unequally in a military institution.

4.9 Host Nation Culture as Inhibitor to Women Peacekeepers

This section responds to the questions 'How does the equal but different discourse operate to position women and men within specific gender roles within the mission?' by considering how the culture of the host nation impacts on women peacekeeper's access to certain missions, tasks and jobs. Drawing on the theory that women are used as signifiers of differences between groups, marking the boundaries of belonging to a cultural identity (Peterson, 1992) this study explores if women peacekeepers are being used by militaries to represent the cultural boundaries between the military and the host nations; and cultural boundaries between different peacekeeping militaries (for example, Irish, Nigerian, Pakistan). This positioning of women as the cultural demarcation between groups does not work to women's advantage and can severely discriminate against them. Cockburn's (2004) research reveals how in 1994 the Dutch government resisted the deployment of female UN monitors in former Yugoslavia, with the argument that most Moslems in Bosnia would not accept a female negotiator. The Dutch had to revise this notion when Scandinavian countries and the United Kingdom successfully deployed females as UN monitors.

Any peacekeeping force has two main concerns: the fulfilment of their mandate and the security of their troops (UN DPKO, 2013). A good relationship with the host society is of utmost importance to achieve both of those aims. In 2001 Karame conducted research in south Lebanon with NORBATT (the Norwegian Battalion) and argues that as the majority of civilian populations are women, and they have seen many actors at different levels in the conflict, that it is essential to have female personnel among peacekeepers, both in civil and in military functions otherwise local women will not be able to communicate directly with the mission (Karame, 2001:95). Her findings reveal that in the Lebanon there are high numbers of female-headed households with substantial numbers of women actively participating in the war, arguing that 'the Lebanese population is accustomed to women in uniforms, and thus female UN soldiers do not represent an affront to local

culture' (Karame, 2001: 7). She asserts that women peacekeepers in NORBATT contributed to a positive mission environment as well as increased access to valuable local information. Because of local women's active engagement in the war, it is important to be able to perform body searches at checkpoints and during patrols, to prevent the smuggling of weapons and explosives; and that without the involvement of women peacekeepers this would not be possible without disrespecting both the individual woman and the culture. As women are seen as transmitters of culture the security of UN personnel could easily be jeopardized if women are not present to conduct these searches (2001).

Karame's research challenges the discourse 'equal but different' as it positions women as unable to go on certain missions due to the culture of the host nation and offence that may be caused by their presence as equals amongst men. Many countries with a Muslim majority, or who define themselves as Muslim have women in their armed forces, and some of them serve in combat positions, for example, Iran, Iraq, Syria, Indonesia, and Nigeria are some of the nations in which Muslim women serve in single-sex or mixed-sex military units. Some are assigned to combat positions (Iran) or internal security positions (Pakistan) while others assign women to support roles (Indonesia and Palestine) (Karame, 2001). During the Iran-Iraq war of 1980-88:

> Many women [in Iran] opposed the war in silence, others went into exile, and a group of almost 300,000 women participated in the war. These women warriors, trained by the state as guerrillas, were sent off to the front to serve as cooks and nurses. Although we have no hard evidence on the perceptions of the mobilized women, it seems likely that they fully supported the state and its "Islamic" ideology as it was specifically derived from the Iranian tradition and culture. They were the urban poor and identified with a state that claimed to represent their class interests as mosta'zafn (the oppressed). (Karame, 2001: 99)

Major Britt TB Brestup, a senior woman officer in the NAF (who served on a UN mission in the peace zone between Iraq and Kuwait, after having served in Lebanon and who later became the first woman observer on the Golan Heights; and headed a multinational unit composed of 20 persons, seven of them women in Kuwait) told Norway's biggest newspaper that she did not find it problematic to be a woman on duty in a Muslim country, stating: 'When I arrive in uniform they conduct themselves in accordance to that'

(Karame, 2001). Karame's research reveals that other women soldiers agreed with her on this, and explained that as long as they behave according to normal Norwegian standards, Muslim and Druze men show them respect. This 'behaving according to normal Norwegian standards' is key to peacekeepers acceptance. Research has shown peacekeepers are more likely to misbehave and not adhere to their own cultural norms the further they are away from home (Christian Science Monitor, 2007). It is this misbehaviour, such as sex trafficking, use of prostitutes and other forms of abuse towards the local populations that erodes the trust between peacekeepers and civilians. Women peacekeepers are considered necessary to a UN mission because they can monitor unsanctioned behaviour by male peacekeepers an build trust with civilians thereby improving the peace building prospects in the host nation (Bridges and Horsfall, 2009; Karim and Beardsley, 2013; Dharmapuri, 2013).

Major Brestrup quotes a conversation she had with a male officer from Pakistan, who was her superior in Iraq, when he asked her why she had never applied for service in Kashmir she explained the NAF's attitude against sending women to Muslim countries. He was upset and told her bluntly that he was tired of Western countries using religion to cover up their own sexist attitudes. Karame sums up by stating that:

> During the last few years the UN system has become more demanding and outspoken concerning equal rights for women in all fields. The need for more women in peace operations is no longer a subject for discussion it is a given. Clear guidelines from the UN system concerning which posts women may hold will encourage more women to enlist, and also facilitate their introduction into international peace forces. The matter is too important to be left to individual preferences or decision-making on the national level (Karame, 2001: 95).

Karame's research brings to light important evidence about women's relationship with the military in Muslim countries and how it is often racist attitudes and unreconstructed gender hierarchies in Western militaries that influence decisions to inhibit women peacekeepers access to specific missions, countries or regions. However, she also takes for granted that by creating clear guidelines on jobs for women this will encourage more women to enlist making an assumption that these will be the types of jobs women peacekeepers want themselves which is not always the case (refer to O'Brien, 2010).

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Also, she does not discuss ways the numbers of women can be increased without perpetuating militarism and the very structures and systems that disproportionately oppress women in the first place. Nor does she consider how gender inequalities within Muslim societies sustain and maintain the continuation of conflict and power imbalances. This case study is useful for my research because not only does Ireland historically have a close peacekeeping relationship with the Lebanon and also with NAF, but Ireland also has a policy on cultural relativism and the need for women peacekeepers roles and tasks to shift to accommodate cultural norms in the host country so as not to offend civilians, this policy will be assessed alongside gender discourses on culture through the 'equal but different' lens to reveal invisible power relations. Karame's research shows how women are positioned as cultural symbols used by institutions to demarcate the boundaries between and within cultures, it is women peacekeepers who are expected to acquiesce by shifting position to accommodate traditional gender norms within another culture. Her study draws my attention to assumptions about Muslim cultures and how civilian women are positioned homogenously in relation to the military and to war; and how it is often military culture rather than host nation culture that is inhibiting women peacekeeper's access to PSOs. Her research moves my study along by giving me insight into 'taken for granted' discourses on the positioning of women in Muslim cultures when in fact each war and region is culturally differentiated and in times of war Muslim women have actively participated in offensive soldiering activities. These 'taken for granted' assumptions position all Muslim women as lacking power and present them as a homogenous group when in fact, gender intersects with class, race, ethnicity, ability and sexuality to either empower or dis-empower particular groups of women at any given time in history. Feminist praxis has provided us with the knowledge that even though individual women and groups of women wield power in their communities, women are overwhelmingly excluded (or if they are present few have access to senior ranks) from institutions were decision-making on war, IR and conflict resolution takes place (Tickner, 1992). If a military is genuinely providing peacekeeping services it must acknowledge civilian women's experiences and knowledge of conflict and conflict resolution; PSOs and peacekeeper contributing countries must have as part of their mandate policies and

practices that include civilian women in the formal decision-making and planning of the mission.

4.10 Civilian Women and Peacekeepers in Bosnia-Herzegovina

By asking 'is a mixed gender peacekeeping mission received differently to a 'male-only' team by the host community or by other PSO militaries' this study argues that PSO mandates need to position gender mainstreaming as a necessary component of policies and practices. And that these gender mainstreaming policies need to genuinely consider the experiences and needs of women and men; and not conflate gender to mean women; and therefore hive off women's needs into one section of the mission. In particular, peacekeepers should be aware of not re-inscribing 'powerlessness' onto civilian women, particularly in Muslim cultures, by positioning them as uniformly oppressed or as a homogenous group. PSO militaries, defence institutes and individual peacekeepers need to understand the relationship between gender and power and to be able to speak about gender and the need to transform oppressive gender norms (Cockburn and Hubic, 2002). This is necessary if PSOs are to support the maintenance of peace; as this can only be achieved by transforming unequal gender relations and power imbalances within their own organisations and between women and men in the host nations.

Cockburn and Hubic (2002) asked civilian women in women's groups and NGOs, in post-conflict Bosnia-Herzegovina, 'how can the UN, NATO, EUFOR, and peacekeeper contributing countries respond to women's needs?' Out of that discussion they developed praxis that outlines tangible and visionary concepts about how these transformations can begin. First and foremost Cockburn argues that all military institutions need to be much more knowledgeable about gender: sex distributions, sex stereotypes, gendered cultures, gendered identities, gendering as a social process and gender as a relation of power. They need to learn and speak a language that can express concepts of this kind. They need to redesign structures and strategies in gender-intelligent and gender-constructive ways. If peacekeeping forces are not rethought along these lines, they will step into post-war situations and risk contributing directly to the malign gender relations operating locally. They will aggravate the situation, and fail to

contribute what they could to the transit to peace, legality and equality (Cockburn and Hubic, 2002).

> International institutions sent to bring humanitarian relief to a war-afflicted region, to pacify it and assist in post-war reconstruction, often fail to take account of gender inequities and the imbalance of power between women and men in the country on which they are billeted. They bring their own unreformed gender relations with them, fail to support women's struggle for change and, at worst, may even add to the oppression and exploitation of women. (Cockburn and Hubic, 2002: 103)

To support the reform of gender relations Cockburn and Hubic's (2002) research reveals that the majority of women are in favour of increasing the presence of women amongst the soldiers; and for those women to be at all levels of seniority and rank (if women are not respected inside the military they are unlikely to be respected in the community). Civilian women want women peacekeepers to retain their femininity, bringing with them their interests and concerns as women. For some military women (but not all) to be given a specific CIMIC brief and responsibility for liaison with women's organizations; as they want and need other women to report and discuss what happened to them during the conflict; stating that if there are no women present in peacekeeping missions, they will not be able to do this (Cockburn and Hubic, 2002: 114). From their in-depth study Cockburn and Hubic created a post-conflict reconstruction 'wish list' with the civilian women and it includes the need for peacekeeping troops to exhibit: military assertiveness; recognition and respect; accessibility and communication; co-operation and partnership; sensitivity to local culture; and humanity and warmth. In relation to military assertiveness the women argued that peacekeepers should have had more power during the war to intervene to save lives. In the post-war setting women want peacekeepers to 'do their real job' and speed up the arrest of war criminals. This would make their lives safer by helping to rid their towns of criminal gangs (Cockburn & Hubic, 2002). Peacekeepers could develop cooperation and partnership with local women's organizations by developing the CIMIC role and adopting gender conscious policies. They want to be respected as women and for the usefulness of their local knowledge and the effectiveness of their work in re-integrating Bosnian society to be recognized and acknowledged within the PSO. The women want peacekeepers to realize how intimidating their military uniform and weaponry can be, and the need for PSOs to create

opportunities for women's organizations to go into Military Camps to meet with senior officers to exchange military data for local information; and for openness in relation to addressing problems that peacekeepers are implicated in, such as, criminality, prostitution and sexually transmitted diseases. The women's organizations called for peacekeepers to be more co-operative and to enter working partnerships with them on the basis of respect and equality. Women said they would like peacekeeping troops to be well-educated, in the history and culture of the host nation, and the distinctiveness of civilian expectations and needs. They also said that peacekeepers should be wary of misperceptions and imposing their own values onto civilians or of patronizing the host nation. Finally, the women's organisations said they would like peacekeepers to 'be a human being first and a professional second' (Vesna, A*nima)* linking with ideas in Penttinen's research on action competence encompassing a spiritual vision and a planetary awareness that emphasizes the interconnectedness of all life (2012) and O'Sullivan's (2002) theory on transformational learning that argues for planetary and spiritual awareness within an individual to develop critique of dominant structures and systems and to envision alternatives.

Cockburn and Hubic's research into the experiences of civilian women in the post-war moment is a major contribution to the field of IR and was one of the original motivations for me to undertake this study.   Their work provides my research agenda with useful insights into the specific needs of civilian women post-conflict; and by highlighting how unreformed gender relations in the peacekeeper contributing countries can create new and potentially very destructive problems for the host nation, such as sex trafficking. Cockburn and Hubic's study provides important research into the perspectives of civilian women who are so often written out of IR and post conflict reconstruction. By making these civilian women and their needs visible Cockburn has created important new knowledge for IR, for PSOs and for peacekeeper contributing countries, considerations that should be included in UN member states NAPs on UNSCR 1325. My study will build on their research by assessing how civilian women are positioned within the narratives of Irish peacekeepers. This study will also consider how discourses are being transformed to reflect a more gender equal approach to peacekeeping; and will look for discourses on

'bringing femininity' to a mission and the positioning of military women in 'women-friendly' jobs.

4.11   Finnish Military Police as Providers of Security to Civilians

In this section of the thesis I ask 'where is the inclusion of women challenging dominant discourses and creating space for alternative discourses to take root' and considering the findings of a case study into the performance of Finnish women military police officers. Research conducted by Penttinen (2012) argues that If multiple gender perspectives are included in all aspects of the planning and practice of PSOs then peacekeepers will be encouraged to develop their own internal 'gender balance' between the feminine and masculine aspects of themselves, which could create transformative discourses on gender.   Penttinen calls this 'action competence' and describes it as 'the capacity to manage oneself before going to manage others' (2012: 163) she compares it to emotional intelligence (Goleman, 1998) and argues that the current focus on increasing the numbers of women in peacekeeping ties in with the need for a new type of security agent who embodies action competence (Toiskallio, 2004).

> Action competence is not only about knowing what right action is but indeed recognizing what is appropriate and acting upon that recognition in the particular moment in time, even if it would exceed the mandate. It is one thing to know what to do, and another to have the courage, the intuition, the mastery to do it, as the events and circumstances unfold in a specific moment in time. (Penttinen, 2012: 159)

Action competence is sometimes mistaken for a feminine quality, but it is not, it is a holistic concept of what it means to be human. It defies binary logic by emphasizing the human being as a living mind-body-spirit always connected to the world (Pennttinen, 2012). Toiskallio (2004) introduce the idea of the human being understood as four modes of existence: physical, mental, social and ethical, thereby, moving beyond the dualism of the mind-body concept influential in the formation of gender dichotomies. Qualities like empathy and intuition only look like feminine qualities, 'as long as the dualistic concept of a human being is unquestioned' (Penttinen, 2012: 156). Right action stems from a deep understanding of the connectedness of oneself with others in the world and the acceptance of the present moment as it is (Penttinen, 2012). This links in with O'Sullivan's theory of transformative education models which emphasizes the need for both spiritual

and planetary connections within the imaginations of those who are being transformed and which is discussed in detail in Chapter Seven on alternative discourses.

Penttinen's research draws on in-depth interviews with Finnish female police officers and their accounts of the provision of security in post-conflict situations. Using the Finnish NAP on UNSCR 1325 as the starting point for her study she was interested to know 'what is it that women are expected to contribute? What kind of competence is in demand?' (2012: 153). She outlines the assumptions made about the presence of women in peacekeeping operations as being: more sensitive and empathic to the needs of women and children; easier to approach by civilians; and male colleagues will be less likely to engage in misconduct when female colleagues are present. She is fascinated by how much 'faith' and 'hope' is placed on women as peacekeepers and peace makers when feminist IR literature had already debunked the myth that women are always more peaceful and empathic than men (Parashar, 2012). Although governments claim to be proactively working towards gender equality if they only focus on civilian women in their programmes and homogenize them as voiceless victims (Freedman, 2012) then they reinforce gender difference and inequalities. For example, research by Jones (2006) demonstrated how women are capable of perpetrating violence during conflicts; and Masters (2009) research has shown how women also misconduct during peacekeeping. Penttinen's research outlines how the Finnish women police officers she interviewed have become masters of their work in crisis management, employing right action at the right time which becomes valued as the gender woman; while their male colleagues empathy, intuition and sensitivity go unnoticed because of the unquestioned binary logic. To achieve the flow of action competence, the police officers explained, they have to give up all prejudices about the 'other' and not demand them to change, whether it is culturally different colleagues from other militaries and countries, or the locals civilians. In other words right action develops a sense of acceptance of the present moment as it is and a deep understanding of the connectedness of oneself with others (Penttinen, 2012: 161). This acceptance of difference without devaluing it is a key component of her theory and links in with the concept of the 'third space' posited by Kristeva (1986) and used within this study to create a bridge from dominant discourses on gender to alternative transformative ones and position women and men peacekeepers multiply.

Although feminist literature is about change Penttinen voices her disappointment that recent literature on war, peacekeeping or security has said very little on what is working well in crisis management and placed very little attention on those exceptional spaces where something positive can be created by a dialogue with security agents and populations in the host country. Discourses on healing, recovery and empowerment are rarely addressed, but instead it is common to focus on inequality, gender subordination and violence (2012:161). I find Penttinen's questions and theories exciting and they mirror this study's aim to engage with peacekeepers to find out what is working and what is not; where are those moments of empowerment and transformation and where is the gender wheel stuck in IR on the problem of war-making? Her findings highlight the element of surprise that the local civilians have in response to the presence of a female peacekeeper; how women officers feel they have to work twice as hard as men to prove themselves; that the Finnish nationality itself is seen as an advantage as a people who gained independence from Russia and who do not have a past as a colonizing nation; and that for many women the motivation to take on peacekeeping work was to demonstrate 'what a woman can do'. Her research focused my attention on discourses drawn on by women peacekeepers about how they 'surprise' civilians and have to 'work twice as hard' as men to be recognised as equals. It also focused my attention on discourses that position Irish peacekeepers as more sympathetic to the plight of civilians because of Ireland's history as a once colonized nation. Penttinen's research also reveals a culture of excessive drinking, partying and promiscuity on missions (for Finnish male peacekeepers) and while some Finnish women do also indulge in this type of socializing, it tends to be a lifestyle that they want to differentiate themselves from. Her research outlines how things that would not be tolerated at home are accepted on a mission and misconduct leaks out into the surrounding community. 'The resentment for this masculinist culture creates a demand for change and it is indeed perceived that female police and military will break this culture of hegemonic masculinity' (2012: 162). This is a key finding and it supports the theory that the further soldiers/peacekeepers are away from home the more they tend to misbehave. The consequences of this behaviour have the potential to undermine the entire mission (Christian Science Monitor, 2007). Nordic female peacekeepers discussed how male peacekeepers found it easier to share worries or

difficulties with female colleagues, because women are associated with empathy and care; and while some women take on this informal task; they do not go on missions to provide care to their male colleagues. Penttinen asks an important question: 'are women being sent on missions to protect the image of national militaries, through their surveillance of male peers, and empathic support, rather than in their own right?' (2012: 163). To sum up Penttinen argues that UNSCR 1325 is a 'politics of hope' and that NAPs on UNSCR 1325 are not so much about 'add women and stir' but about 'add women and hope' (2012: 164). Hope that women will embody action competence; and hope that men will behave better when women are around. These are enormous tasks for women (and unrealistic) especially as there are so few of them on any one PSO. Penttinen argues that a politics of hope is a weak mandate where one gives up one's own power to influence an outcome when one merely hopes for something to happen. Instead of a politics of hope she argues for a plan of action to encourage and support the balancing of masculine and feminine subjectivity, and self reflexivity and responsibility in each of the peacekeepers on a PSO. Her research is thought provoking and helpful for this study however it does not discuss how patriarchal systems both within military and within the culture of the host nations may inhibit a peacekeepers access to 'right action' competence based on cultural norms and unequal gender relations and places unrealistic expectations on individual women and men to change oppressive systems. The research was conducted amongst women so we don't hear men's perspectives nor do we hear from the local populations and their response to the Finnish women peacekeepers. Women peacekeepers are presented as embodying 'action competence' therefore making them 'perfect' peacekeepers, yet even though she refers to men's empathy and intuition being ignored by military institutions she herself ignores them in her work by focusing solely on women. For me this is a serious weakness in her research as she herself employs the concept of homogeneity to women as a group, something she says she is critical of and that she wants to disrupt through her work. Having said that, Penttinen has skilfully deconstructed discourses on gender binaries and the dualistic positioning of male and female and woven together a colourful mix of concepts to explain how human qualities considered feminine are indeed shared by everyone, but how certain qualities become hived off in the cultural imagination, as male or female. I will build on her research by

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exploring notions of binary logic and gender dualism in the discourses discussed in Chapters Five, Six and Seven of this study.

4.12   Gender Mainstreaming and Peacekeeping

By asking 'Does the presence of women enable an inclusion of different voices and perspectives in peacekeeping?' this section discusses the process of gender mainstreaming and argues that it will only challenge deep rooted sexism and inequalities within post conflict settings if it is applied to men as well as women, civilians as well as mission personnel (Valenius, 2007).   And only if it is adopted whole-heartedly by institutions including the UN, state militaries, and newly constructed institutions in post-conflict countries. As a result it would have the effect of highlighting the intersection of power and inequality within gender relations and thereby create new knowledge that would enable institutional reform; dismantle gender neutral policies; and create transformative programmes and PSOs.   Gender mainstreaming, a term often used but little understood, is the process of assessing the implications for women and men of any planned action, including legislation, policies, programmes and research in all areas, and at all levels (Valenius, 2007).   There are three typical approaches to incorporating gender issues within policymaking: equal treatment, positive action and mainstreaming (Rees, 1998).   Equal treatment 'implies that no individual should have fewer human rights or opportunities than any other' such as the right to equal pay for equal work.   Rees argues that while an equal treatment approach is an essential element in any equal opportunities policy it is nevertheless flawed as it fails to address causes of sexual inequality in the informal 'gender contracts' among women and men (1998: 32) and is therefore gender neutral in reality.   Positive action emphasizes the shift 'from equality of access to creating conditions more likely to result in equality of outcome' (Rees, 1998: 34).   Positive action involves the adoption of specific actions on behalf of women in order to overcome their unequal starting positions in a male-dominated society, at its extreme it may take the form of positive discrimination, which seeks to increase the participation of any under-represented group, such as women, through the use of affirmative action preferences or quotas (Hafner-Burton & Pollack, 2002). Positive action is considered a controversial and divisive approach by many as it raises questions about 'fairness and the individual rights

of men who are thus [considered to be] discriminated against' (Hafner-Burton & Pollack, 2002: 342). What critics of positive action fail to acknowledge is the structural inequalities in society that perpetuate the discrimination of women and the unearned privileging of men.

Gender mainstreaming while potentially revolutionary is also a demanding concept that requires all central actors in policy making to adopt a gender perspective, many of whom may have little experience or interest in gender issues (Hafner-Burton & Pollack, 2002). There are two approaches to gender mainstreaming the 'integrationist' approach and the 'agenda setting' approach. The integrationist approach introduces a gender perspective into existing policies and the agenda setting approach involves a fundamental re-thinking not only of procedures but also of the end goals of policymaking (Hafner-Burton & Pollack, 2002). Perhaps not surprisingly most institutions that have adopted gender mainstreaming are using the integrationist approach (Hafner-Burton & Pollack, 2002) which is often considered little more than a tick box approach. Feminists while broadly supportive of gender mainstreaming have critiqued the piecemeal way in which many institutions, including the UN have adopted it. Barnes argues that 'gender mainstreaming fails to challenge the binary oppositions of modernity, and the gender element is merely added to state-centred and patriarchal structures' (2006: 19). This has been called the 'Add women and stir' approach. Väyrynen (2004) asserts that the UN discourse around gender and peace building has been constrained within the confines of modernity, and that 'through these discursive strategies, women are assigned a certain type of agency and identity, namely women are the objects of protection action and they occupy mainly the civilian space' (Väyrynen, 2004: 137). Critics argue that in fact the operative maxim seems to have become 'add women and do NOT stir' as living up to the gender mandate generates uncomfortable situations and offers too few rewards for the international community (Barnes, 2006; von Braunmuhl, 2002). Where studies of gender mainstreaming have taken place they show that diversifying the composition of military, police and civilian forces promotes operational effectiveness and situational awareness (Valenius, 2007). Valenius (2007) examined gender mainstreaming in ESDP missions and she maintains that for gender mainstreaming policies to work effectively within peace building they must apply to men as well as women. Ignoring male victims' needs in

mainstreaming policies, will not serve any constructive purpose, not all men have power, and the exclusion of men results in their alienation and their hostility towards women and gender mainstreaming policies. If only women are paid attention to in gender mainstreaming then this will create further burdens for women because marginalized men refuse to take on further responsibilities.

> When men are included and their experiences are taken seriously they are also more willing to understand the hardships women have faced, and a healing process can start in the whole society. In the end, this is a question of morality and human rights. The suffering of one group (men) cannot be tolerated because another group (women) has also suffered. Two wrongs do not make a right. (Valenius, 2007: 24; Chant and Guttman, 2001; Carpenter, 2006).

Valenius (2007) highlighted in her research how much of a peacekeeping missions' role today is akin to social work and working directly with civilians to gather evidence of crimes and atrocities. She states that while there will always be a need for physically tough fighters for combat tasks, 'the traditional monolithic ideal of the soldier as warrior is not well suited to the tasks of peace support, which often have more in common with policing, training, re-education and even "social work" in the midst of fragile, traumatised post-conflict societies' (Valenius, 2007:34). This argument draws a clear distinction between peacekeepers and soldiers a line that is often blurred by militaries themselves, as discussed previously in this study. She argues that gender mainstreaming, as a strategy and a tool is often misappropriated and explained in simplistic terms essentializing women and men into strictly feminized and masculinized roles. Analysis of the UN, NATO and INGOs point to the idea that women should be included in missions for quite traditional and stereotypical notions of femininity and womanhood by drawing on discourses that women are inherently more peaceful than men; they are grouped as homogeneous; and are positioned as 'victims' and therefore have more understanding of the local civilian populations where they operate (Dittmer & Apelt, 2008). While these discourses have historically operated to exclude women from military service they are now the ones that are arguing for their inclusion (DeGroot, 2000). Through these discourses the UN is reinforcing traditional gender roles; and variations in masculinities and femininities are being ignored.

Valenius argues that part of the social/peacekeeping work of a mission should be to examine inequalities between women and men in the host nations; that perpetuate the power that men have over women; and to look at ways to transform it. This study highlights how the DF could reinforce inequalities if it adopts an equality policy that does not examine cultural inequalities within host nations with the aim to challenge or transform them. This links with Cockburn & Hubic's (2002) research into post conflict Bosnia-Herzegovina and women's experiences of peacekeeping and peace building processes and how they want to be valued as experienced agents within their own right rather than homogenized as oppressed victims. Hebert asserts that examining gender inequalities requires implementing strategies that:

> Interrogate the relational construction of femininities and masculinities, expose the processes behind socio-cultural tolerance of male exploitation and abuse of females and engage males and females alike in resisting and transforming harmful gender norms. (Hebert, 2012: 114)

If gender mainstreaming is to address the issues to which UNSCR 1325 alerts us it must involve everyone, increasing the numbers of women participating in the military is only one part of a wider effort to change the culture of the military (Valenius, 2007: 31). For example, women peacekeepers need to be present in a wide variety of roles and tasks and in different ranks of seniority. Valenius asserts that the 'mere presence and participation of women does not change the mechanisms that endorse gender hierarchies, nor do they of themselves lead to equality between men and women' (2007: 30). However, the inclusion of women by making visible gendering processes (Kronsell & Svedberg, 2012) can create cracks in the military facade and confusion amongst the military hierarchy (Enloe, 2000). Papering over these cracks can be time consuming and ultimately futile for military elites if the numbers of women increase to such an extent that their presence can no longer be ignored forcing institutions to reform military structures and systems. Bringing more women into the military if it is with the specific aim of civilizing and pacifying military men is dubious as it shifts the responsibility for men's behaviour onto women (Valenius, 2007; Penttinen, 2012; Simic, 2010). Shrugging off bad behaviour of men with a 'boys will be boys' attitude is never acceptable, the men who violate military standards should be punished and military commanders should

ensure a well disciplined team, it is this that will make the local civilian population feel more secure (Valenius, 2007). This emphasis on the need for a PSO to be highly disciplined is echoed throughout this study but there are findings that it is not always upheld by commanders who often turn a blind eye to misbehaviour so as not to diminish troop morale.

> The tasks of modern armed forces are diverse, and in reality, very few male soldiers measure up to the image of the ideal soldier. There always will be demand for the physically tough fighters in special or elite forces. However, for the majority of soldiers, male and female, there is no need to even try to fit the traditional image of the ideal soldier. Today's militaries cannot therefore adhere to outdated and monolithic notions of soldier hood. Female soldiers should not be made feel that they are accepted by their peers and superiors only if they are 'as good as men': the 'ideal soldier' is no longer the ideal. Instead there should be many different ways to be a good soldier and equal among peers. In a complex security environment only an organisation that truly accepts and respects differences between its members can be effective (Valenius, 2007: 44).

If the 'equal but different' discourse means that women peacekeepers are positioned as unequal and less powerful than their male peers then these inequalities will be communicated to local populations as 'normal' and systems of power and control will go unquestioned and be perpetuated, thereby continuously turning the gender wheels of conflict and war-making around and recreating unequal power systems and structures both at home and abroad.

Valenius' study aids this study by drawing attention to misunderstandings about gender mainstreaming as a concept, in particular how it can be used to re-inscribe essentialist ideas about gender roles onto institutions involved in post-conflict reconstruction and nation building. Her argument for deeper understanding of gender mainstreaming and its application within military institutions; the UN, NATO and the EU; international peacekeeping; and institutions within host nations pushes this study forward by drawing attention to the inadequacy of half-hearted mainstreaming policies or those that exclude an analysis of men's experiences as well as women's.

4.13 Conclusion

This chapter looked at women's inclusion in the military both historically and today and examined some of the inhibitors to their inclusion on an equal footing with men. Such as, the women are peaceful/men are warrior's discourses that dualistically position women and men within specific gender roles within society. Where and when women have been recruited into the armed forces, there has always been controversy about their proper role. It is widely felt that women should not be in the military – and further, that if they are there, their roles should be strictly limited. Dominant discourses about gender roles thus significantly shape women's experiences in institutions, nations, or social processes such as armed conflict. When women have participated in war, by subterfuge or in an emergency, their contribution has subsequently been discounted in order to limit the effect upon the dismantling of gender stereotypes. The gendering of institutions was discussed and the particular hurdles for women to overcome in a male dominated military when jobs become corralled as 'feminine' and retained for women often leading to the devaluation of those jobs. The confusion that can result when a peacekeeper identifies with a soldiering role rather than a peacekeeping one was discussed; as was how the feminization of peacekeeping versus the masculinity of combat can operate to de-value the work of peacekeeping for some nations such as the US who would rather send their soldiers into combat zones. The needs of civilians were outlined including how women would like peacekeepers to interact with them as equals, respectfully, with knowledge of gender relations and having listened to women in their own countries talk about their needs before coming on a mission. In most of the studies discussed in this chapter the researcher has worked either with women or men but not both. It is important to research the views and perspectives of men as well as women, and to be able to compare discourses between the two groups. Thereby, one of the key aims of this research is to fill a gap in the literature on men's perspectives on women peacekeepers, both as colleagues and as peacekeepers. In the following Chapters Five and Six a detailed analysis of extracts from participant's accounts is discussed to draw attention to dominant discourses that reveal invisible power relations, and the impact these have on how women are positioned within PSOs and the military.

CHAPTER FIVE:

DISCOURSES ON WHAT WOMEN BRING TO A MISSION

5.0 Introduction:

Through the use of interpretive discourse analysis this chapter sheds light on the gendered social relations within the DF with a particular focus on what women peacekeepers bring to a mission. This chapter along with Chapters Six and Seven are the evidence sections of the thesis. By using the research and theories in Chapters Three and Four to analyse the participant accounts, this chapter utilizes discourse analysis to reveal invisible power relations. AS was discussed previously in Chapter Two discourses can be understood as frames that contain certain ideologies contributing to the creation and production of collective attitudes and behaviours. Therefore, it is necessary to deconstruct dominant discourses to reveal invisible structures of power and social and political control that leads to dominance and exclusion. By drawing out dominant discourses alongside muted alternative discourses relations of power and their creation and circulation within the 'equal but different discourse' are revealed. Throughout this study dominant discourses refer to how some ways of making meaning are 'dominant or mainstream in a particular order of discourse while others are marginal, oppositional or 'alternative' (Fairclough, 2001: 29). Uncovering discourses operational within the DF enables us to see previously invisible power relations which create formal and informal barriers to women's acceptance into the institution; their likelihood of accessing decision-making and leadership roles; gaining promotion; and being retained within the organisation. It does this by revealing dominant discourses circulating within the institution which individuals internalize as normal, natural or taken for granted, ideas, 'knowledges' and truths. By pulling out discourses within participants accounts we can lift the lid on how power, self-regulation, the production of subjects and identities are formed, performed and distributed within the DF.

While the overarching question is: 'How does the "equal but different" discourse distribute power in different contexts and what impact does that have on women's inclusion in PSOs?' the sub-questions explored in this chapter are: 'Is a mixed gender

peacekeeping unit received differently to a 'male-only' unit by the host community or by other PSO militaries?'; 'How does the equal but different discourse operate to position women and men within specific gender roles within a mission?' and 'Does women's presence enable the inclusion of different voices and perspectives?' The overall findings presented in this chapter are: A. Discourses on women peacekeepers as providers of role models for civilian women; and challengers to gender stereotypes within militaries and within host nations. B. Women peacekeepers surprise and delight local civilian women. They can create communication channels between the PSO and civilian women. They can gather information and intelligence from local women. This can diffuse tension between the PSO and local community/host nation. C. Men peacekeepers position women peacekeepers as primarily 'bringing care-giving' for them to a mission camp which normalizes the PSO environment and creates opportunities for men to be listened to and empathized with.

These findings align with the theories in the conceptual framework that position women's inclusion in a PSO as necessary to create communications channels and role models for civilian women in conflict societies; and that normalize the mission environment for male peacekeepers. The first section of the chapter focuses on how women work within the mission context with civilians, and how they overcome cultural barriers, and gender inequalities within the host nation and within the mission. The second section of this chapter looks at the benefits women bring to men on the mission, their male peacekeeping peers in the DF. It was notable that when asking the question 'what do women bring to a mission' most male participants first discussed how the presence of women enhances the mission environment for them rather than for civilians.

5.1 Analysis of Discourses

The overarching themes emanating from the narratives are: culture, care-giving, protection, divisions of labour, segregation of facilities, and civilian women. The discourses or meaning repertoires, drawn on by the participants to explain why certain themes are important, are explored in detail through the analysis of specific extracts from their accounts. Extracts from participant accounts were chosen to illuminate particular recurring themes and the multiple discourses around those themes. Some of these

discourses are subtle or muted and others are powerful or dominant. Dominant discourses in this study tend to be those that are operating as 'truths' amongst male research participants because as the dominant group within the DF (94 per cent of the total numbers) they have the most powerful influence over discourses and their creation and dissemination. However, women do also internalise and draw on some of these discourses as they are taken for granted and assumed to be normal or natural within the culture within DF and society more broadly. A discourse is not a language or a text it is a socially, historically and institutionally specific structure of statements, categories and beliefs, habits and practices (Ryan AB, 2001). To identify discourses I am looking for the representation of a specific part of the world, and how it is represented from a particular perspective (Fairclough, 2003). Each extract has a number and a title and participants have an anonymous identifying marker, such as: M1 or W2 (man 1, woman 2) for example means the first man or the second woman interviewed in the research process. Participants are numbered in the order that they were interviewed using three separate interview schedules depending on the stage of the research, for example, *Schedule I* was used at the beginning of the interviewing process in late 2006 and *Schedule III* was used at the end of the process in late 2008. After each extract, there is a short commentary raising awareness of contradictions, similarities and tensions between and within participant accounts and emerging findings. With the longer or denser extracts I have emphasized particular moments or images in the text and these are described as points of analysis. Findings are then grouped together at the end of each section. These are followed by a general discussion section which interweaves the findings with the theory and explores what it all means.

The first extract below is from a meeting with the Chief of Staff in 2008, Lieutenant General Dermot Earley, who has since passed away, but who gave me written permission to be identified and to go on record[7]. This extract is included to create a framework for the rest of the chapter by setting the scene.

1. Women are not Equal but they are Different in Host Nations

[interviewer] This is something that has been coming up in my research quite strongly is the cultural awareness side of peacekeeping, and all officers have brought it up with very little prompting from me, but what isn't clear to me is how women's roles on PSOs have changed or developed because I am getting two different messages from the officers, mainly the women are saying that they now have access to full operational roles in PSOs, but a lot of the male officers are saying that they still see women mainly in support roles not in operational roles. I find this fascinating and I am trying to work out are women given access to full operational roles in certain countries or are they not?

Lt-Gen Dermot Earley: *Society has moved on in my opinion, we're taking females into the DF since 1980, when we took them in we were going to have a women's service corps, we did away with that, integrated everybody in the same way, even if it meant administrative changes and so on even the number that the female got when she came in was changed to comply with her place in the whole ranking system and [...]that's the way it is, I see in the future more [pause] I know a young lady, a captain, in the Curragh, I met her the other day, and she has deployed all over the place, as a leader as a commander and another lady I was in Lebanon, one time I went out with [minister XX] just to bring him out, for a day or two days and the Quick Reaction Force was commanded by a female, and she gave the briefing and took us on a patrol and she was the leader, but she knew that if she had to deal with something, she would say, [to a male subordinate] you know, "deal with it, come back to me and tell me and I will give you your instructions now what do to do next".*

[The reference here is to civilian men not communicating directly with women in certain countries, the Lebanon was most frequently cited as causing problems for women peacekeepers in relation to them being unable to carry out their full set of duties due to local men not wanting to work with them. This issue is explored further throughout this chapter and chapter six].

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[7]In 2006 the Chief of Staff established a Centre of Excellence for Cultural Awareness education.

So under the constraints that I'm just saying about cultural awareness now I'm also very much aware of the practical situation where fellas [men] are all equal saying "listen this is a nuisance" and you know I'm being honest I'm being totally honest, but there are, there are growing pains or teething pains all the way through, and had more of the females stayed with us and continued on I'm sure that we would have very high ranking at least Lieutenant Colonels with us now and to get up to that rank because that has slowed down.

Commentary:

While women are positioned as leaders within this account there is also a discourse operating that the inclusion of women within the previously all-male domain of the DF was seen as a 'nuisance' by some particularly in relation to cultural concerns in host nations. Women were positioned as the nuisance rather than the culture and how it was being interpreted and responded to. Although, administratively the DF had to undergo enormous changes to incorporate women fully into the institution, at the time of this interview (2008) there were no women in high ranks (there are now three women ranked as Lieutenant Colonels, 2013). In the thirteen years since UNSCR 1325 was adopted the numbers of women peacekeepers have increased from one percent to three percent globally; women military police have increased from three percent to ten percent; and thirty percent of all civilian personnel on peace support operations today are women. However, recent research indicates that although numbers of women are increasing within national militaries the numbers being deployed on missions are still low (Schjølset, 2013; Olsson and Möller, 2013).

5.2 Women's Accounts

This next section of this study uses the 'equal but different' lens to analyse a series of extracts from the participants' accounts. This first section discusses discourses drawn on by women participants that relate to the sub-question 'Is a mixed gender PSO received differently to a 'male-only' mission by the host community'?

2. Women Peacekeepers Surprise Civilians

What was the local civilian's reaction to a mixed group of female and male soldiers?

There would be an element of surprise, and I'd say the only place where that would have been quite or there would have been a potentially negative reaction would have been in the Nippur (during the late nineties), and it didn't happen, so it was fine. When we went out training, went running, we could never wear shorts out running because it would be an insult to the culture and the sensitivity and that's something that was fine, you know we, you're in somebody's country, you're invited in, you're not going to push your culture in their face. you know you have to be very aware, and things like I would never shake hands with, a man in Nippur, because they don't shake hands with their women, but I would shake hands with the women, it was just the simple things. but you don't go barging in and you have to respect their cultural sensitivities and I was, some of the men would shake hands with me, but I never offered them my hand, that's why the cultural awareness is very important for peacekeepers. (W4, 2006)

Points of Analysis:

• There is an important point of departure in this account when the participant states 's*ome of the men would shake hands with me, but I never offered them my hand'*, here a shift in power is happening when some civilian men see women peacekeepers as equals.

• The woman participant interactively positions herself within this account '*they don't shake hands with their women, but I would shake hands with the women'* by offering civilian women her hand she is resisting the cultural norms in the host country and within the military and treating the woman has her equal.

3. Men in Certain Muslim Countries won't talk to Women Peacekeepers

Has the culture of a peace keeping host country impacted on the performance of your duties? The fact it's Muslim although it's quite a moderate Muslims community, has the culture including the religion impacted on your peace keeping performance?

I think out here because it's a modern Muslim country out here that it doesn't affect it at all. Like we've met local Muslims and they come up and they shake my hand and they will actually if I ask them a question they will converse with me so it's grand in that way here.

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In the Nippur as I said to you, the local male population wouldn't converse with you at all. They would in Ammon but in Elam they wouldn't really either. Now, I'm not sure what religion they were in Elam but it was still, you were kind of looked down on and you should be in the kitchen, or the same kind of thing. But out here I find it grand, it's one of the more relaxed missions that I've been on as regards dealing with local people. But in saying that it's the first time where I've been having to go to different meetings every day of the week. (W14, 2008)

Point of Analysis:

- This woman participant was interactively positioned by local men as 'other' or less equal with the words '*the local male population wouldn't converse with you at all* and '*you were kind of looked down on and you should be in the kitchen, or the same kind of thing'.*

Commentary:

These two extracts (2 and 3) reveal how women peacekeepers can illicit surprise from civilians and how in they are responded to differently by civilian males in different contexts. These two accounts link with the theory of gender binaries and hierarchies and discourses on what the 'natural' or 'normal' roles that women and men play in society. As peacekeepers are typically male women's presence illicits surprise. Through PSOs and UNSCR 1325 women are now being made visible in soldiering roles. Discourses on cultural differences within and between conflict zones can actively position women peacekeepers within the Camp depending on discourses about civilian males' acceptance of women peacekeepers.   While some cultural issues were noted in relation to gender by women participants who conducted missions in the 1990s (see also Chapter Six), in most recent missions the participants report that they are accepted by male civilians and able to conduct their full set of tasks and duties. These accounts reveal a new discourse 'women are accepted as peacekeepers' which is also a creative challenge to the norm of the all-male peacekeeping contingent. With the presence of women the male-domain has been transformed into a mixed unit, even though the numbers of women are small (see also extracts in Chapter Seven on Transformation).

4. Women Peacekeepers gather Intelligence

Do you believe you were ever asked to complete a task specifically because of your gender? (For example, talk to a local women's group because you would be perceived as less threatening then a male soldier or vice versa?)

No. Yes – I was asked to find out information because they thought it would be easier for me to get as a woman.

Who were you getting the information from? *From military men.*

Did you ever get the impression that local combatants or civilians were more or less relaxed around you (because you were a women/ or because there was a mixed unit of women and men)?

Yes absolutely, by giving more information they're prepared to tell you more, they think the woman wants to hear the human interest side of things, they might give you entirely different information. Somebody gave me information in [African Country] it completed a picture, it wasn't top secret or anything but it built up a better picture of what we were dealing with. (W8, 2007)

Commentary:

This account makes women's intelligence work visible by revealing the discourse that women can gather 'different' types of information than men because "*they think the woman wants to hear the human interest side of things*". While there is a strong discourse within the DF that women soldiers are necessary for gathering certain types of information from civilian women this account highlights how a military woman can be used to gather intelligence from 'other' military men, an advantage not commented on in other accounts. This account reflects the theory on gender binaries that position women as care-givers, listeners and empathizers in society and demonstrates how this influences assumptions about women's interests and how they are perceived by military men as the providers of care.

5. Women Peacekeepers expect to be treated differently by Men in Host Nations

Have you noticed the reaction of the population to you as a woman soldier?

Going into a village they might be surprised the first time they meet you. The commander would have responsibility, everybody goes at least once [pause] yeah they would be surprised to see you, if you explain what you are and who you are – they've been there for so long they know who the platoon commander is they know who the section commander is and they are all exposed to different media now… particularly as they are in central Europe. Africa is different, different experience in Elam, you know, in Uruk we had a briefing there by the gender advisor that was working with the UN, she was saying in very simple terms if you remember one thing the woman out there is rated lower than the donkey, and she said when you are going to introduce yourself to men keep using your head, don't be insulted or don't take it to heart because you must remember that you are lower down then the donkey in the pecking order. You can't impose your culture on theirs, that's an occupational force not a peacekeeping force. (W15, 2008)

Commentary:

This extract highlights differences between the missions; differences between PSOs and offensive operations; and cultural attitudes towards women and gender relations in some of the host nations. In this account women in Chad are being positioned as powerless by gender advisors and this affects how the peacekeepers perceive them, '*the woman out there is rated lower than the donkey*'. This account links with the theory that peacekeepers re-inscribe powerlessness on to civilian women by homogenizing them as uniformly oppressed which is likely to de-value their contribution to a PSO.

6. The Limitations of Information Gathering from "Powerless Civilian Women"

[Preamble] Were there any other responses to you as a woman; anything else that you've noticed?

Yes, I suppose the whole issue of whether having more women on the patrol, physically on the ground, not in a support role but in an operational role, does that increase accessibility to females in the civilian population, I think it does but then you are in the situation: (a) The women know what the lie of the land is, but they have no political sway –em they won't

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know what was said at a council meeting because their husband won't come back and tell them. Em so while you can get a certain amount of information from them, particularly related to IDP and refugees because the majority of them would be female. In relation to villages and that type of thing it's limited. Because, unless the indigenous culture mirrors the increase in instance of females as a military force you're limited. I have IDP refugee situation from what I saw – you also need to be careful. If women are seen speaking to a military force that can also leave them wide open to retaliation and so, yes it increases the accessibility of the female population to a military force but then you have [unclear] problems in relation to the validity of the information they might have and what danger you might put them in by speaking directly to the force. (W15, 2008)*

Points of Analysis:

- Increasing the numbers and presence of women peacekeepers in operational roles can improve accessibility for civilian women.

- This account draws attention to gender norms in the host nation and how they can impact on the gendering of a mission with the words '*unless the indigenous culture mirrors the increase in instance of females as a military force you're limited'.*

- In this account the woman participant interactively positions herself as having concern for civilian women and their potentially increased vulnerability if they are seen communicating with peacekeepers.

- Civilian women are positioned as less powerless than civilian men and as a result concerns about the 'validity' of their information are raised.

- Discourses of 'women lack power and legitimacy' are highlighted by the concern with the relevance of the information supplied by civilian women due to their unequal social positioning in the host country.

Commentary:

This extract draws attention to differences amongst women, for example, unequal relations of power between civilian women and women peacekeepers. Although the presence of more women soldiers can create greater access for local women to the peacekeepers, this may also jeopardize the safety of the local women and thereby make them vulnerable to gender based violence from within their own community. This is the only account that discusses this issue and which specifically highlights the need for gender

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mainstreaming in PSOs by giving the needs of women and men equal value and attention. Intelligence gathering can be divided into key areas, such as: political, conflict areas, social and human rights issues. Therefore, a lot of valuable information is not 'spoken' but can be witnessed or 'seen' as well as sensations of fear or foreboding that can be 'felt in the body'. These women may have more information relevant to the mission then is stated in this extract, due to their closeness to the conflict. This account links with extract 5 on how civilian women's powerlessness is emphasized by gender advisors.

7. White UN Soldiers can be Providers of Hope

What impact do you think the presence of female soldiers has on male soldiers?

[…]I had already said that Elamians (in 2004) viewed females as second class citizens [pause] I didn't feel or I believe that they didn't view us, as in the peacekeepers, the female peacekeepers, I don't think they viewed us as second class citizens, they were very much, not in awe, but they were very much respectful of the presence of the white soldier and the white soldier had such a hope about them and even the fact that you were a female white soldier, they certainly didn't think oh they're female, you weren't perceived as second class, they still had this kind of awe about them, and your gender really didn't seem to make a difference which I actually was shocked about over there because I was very aware that I'm now working in a country where they view females as second class I don't think that happened. (W7, 2007)

Point of Analysis:

• UN women peacekeepers were interactively positioned by civilians in Liberia as bringing 'hope' to the post-conflict society.

Commentary:
Gender binaries are dissolved in this account as are cultural discourses that position powerful women peacekeepers as offensive to civilian males in some contexts. In this extract race (white) and western power (UN peacekeepers) was most important to civilians, not the gender of the peacekeepers. Discourses on the importance of women peacekeepers to adhere to 'cultural norms' and the need for the 'subordination of women peacekeepers' to civilian males are challenged by this extract. Local civilian women and

peacekeeper women are positioned separately and differently as the participant claims that while she was '*working in a country where they view females as second class*' she was treated with awe and respect indicating how gendering processes are influenced by the societal roles ascribed to women, in this case the women soldiers were powerful while the civilian women were positioned as powerless.

8. Women Peacekeepers Inspire Civilian Women

I believe that the presence of women soldiers has a very positive influence as it helps local women to open up. Local Kosovar women are not allowed to talk to men who are not members of their family so we need female soldiers, it changes a lot. I think it is very positive. It does make a huge difference (having women) because the presence of women in powerful roles influences and inspires local women – including women becoming soldiers. (Woman interpreter, Kosovo, 2008)

Point of Analysis:

• This extract interactively positions women peacekeepers as more powerful than civilian women and that they can therefore create channels for local women to access important peace building institutions such as the UN/EU/NATO/DF.

• This account positions women peacekeepers as role models to civilian women and how they create alternative ways of being for civilian women, who may also wish to become soldiers/peacekeepers.

Commentary

As part of this research an interview took place with interpreters working for the mission in Kosovo who worked regularly with the CIMIC and LMTs operating out of Camp Clarke. This account links with the next extract by asserting that civilian women need other women who are in powerful positions within the PSO to provide channels for civilian women to express their needs or to recount an experience. This account challenges the theory that women soldiers must remain invisible so as not to disrupt the masculinist bias of militaries and supports the theory that the UN and military elites need women in specific jobs and roles on PSOs particularly in relation to civilian women.

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5.3 Women's Accounts

This section discusses discourses drawn on by women participants that relate to the sub-question 'Is a mixed gender PSO received differently to a 'male-only' mission by the host community?'

9. Women's Presence can give Civilian Women a Voice

Is there anything else you've noticed in relation to men's reaction to you as a woman soldier or woman military police and women's reaction?   So we've talked about a few different areas now is there anything else you haven't mentioned yet?

[…] A lot of females would come up and talk to us, another girl down towards the slum lines […] the minute I said hello she was over to me and talking to me, she was telling me about, herself […][the interpreter] was telling me last night that even her aunties and all they were talking to me that if I had been a male soldier that they would have sat there quietly and not talked. But a lot of the locals what they feel is by having females here it gives them a right to voice their opinion because they wouldn't voice it to a man because of the way they are brought up. They don't speak until they are spoken to, and this sort of, there's a lot of very sensitive subjects that they wouldn't talk to men about. That they had talked to us about, like I know that a lot of the men probably don't know as much about what happened to the females as what I do[…]some men have a tendency if you tell them something horrific has happened to you, they see the atrocity every time they see you, instead of seeing you, if you know what I mean. Whereas we can tell, the girl, can tell me what happened to her and although I can be compassionate about it I can still see the person, I hold onto the person you know and so she's not this person that was raped, she's a nice person. So she said that a lot of locals feel that they can share what happened to them in the war and how it affected them, […] she feels and her families feels that it's great that they can tell us, they feel that females normally are interested but they have a right to talk to us about it. And she said that some of the crimes of you know the abuse and the rapes would never have come out if there hadn't been females here on mission. (W10, 2008)

Points of Analysis:

- In this account the participant argues that women can be interactively positioned by men as objects with the words: '*they see the atrocity every time they see you, instead of seeing you'.*

- The participant reflexively positions herself as being able to see the humanity in somebody first and the atrocity or difficulty is seen separately, with the words: '*I hold onto the person you know'*.

- In this account women peacekeepers are interactively positioned by civilian women as a positive element on a PSO with the words: '*she feels and her families feels that it's great that they can tell us, they feel that females normally are interested'*.

Commentary:

This is the only account of a local woman talking directly to a woman peacekeeper about their attitude towards women peacekeepers and how they can make a difference to a mission by giving *'them a right to voice their opinion'* and providing a space for civilian women to discuss the crimes committed against them during conflict. However, this extract sits in tension with extract 48 in Chapter Six which expresses a concern that women peacekeepers will be placed in 'touchy feely ghettos' working on 'women-friendly' tasks, which are not of interest to all women peacekeepers, many of whom would rather work in technical, strategic planning or operational military jobs that do not involve frontline interaction with civilian women.

The power relations between the woman peacekeeper and the interpreter are less extreme because the interpreter is comfortable with sharing this information but also she wanted the participant to recount this meeting for this study. While other accounts by both men and women participants, refer to contact with local civilians at weddings or parties this type of account where the local civilian women openly discuss the benefits of women peacekeepers are not recounted elsewhere. This account supports the evidence in the UN DAW report (1994) that women peacekeepers can create communications channels for civilian women.

10. Women can be seen as less threatening

What difference do you think women make to the DF, what do you think women bring that is something that's fresh or new or different?

Maybe when I was in Elam because I was in charge of the locals, I see that maybe they kind of saw me as not threatening they could actually talk to me because I found them all to be friendly and very welcoming to me anyway you know and I could stop and have a chat with them that's how I found it anyway that maybe we were just seen as not as threatening or aggressive if you like, that's how I felt anyway. (W6, 2007)

11. Women can Diffuse Tension

How did you deal with conflict between you?

I was at a negotiation meeting – the brigade commander in North Eridu (2001) was meeting the commander in South Eridu– during the first few days I was there – I was brought along and we met in a camp along the border – I got talking to the commander on the Southern side and found that we both knew a particular retired Irish Army Officer, the same person – it diffused the tension between the two sides – and all the soldiers wanted a picture taken with me, because I was a woman and I was taller than most of the locals, a novelty. (W8, 2007)

12. Flowers & Women used to appease civilians

What do other armies do, regarding cultural issues, anything different to the DF?

I hear that on patrols the Dutch and the Americans – say in Afghanistan the Americans would break down the door of a house and make no apologies even if they found nothing, the Dutch break down the door and come back the next day with flowers – the women soldiers apparently deliver the flowers – [I'm sure they'd prefer a new door] *but it does create a better reaction amongst the locals.* (W8, 2007)

Points of analysis:
- In extract 11 the participant reflexively positions herself as different to the military men she met, by describing herself as tall, a woman, and a novelty.

- In extract 12 the American and Dutch militaries are interactively positioned with each other to highlight cultural differences between these institutions.

Commentary on extracts 10, 11 and 12:

The discourse that 'women are less threatening' nests together with the discourses that 'women are accepted by civilians' as discussed in extract 2 and also with the discourse that it is 'easier for women to access certain types of information' as discussed in extract 11. All of these discourses are present in the findings within the UN DAW report (1994) and are borne out in this study. They also reflect theories on gender binaries and how women and men are positioned dualistically within discourses thereby reinforcing notions that women and men have different attributes and capacities and the multiplicity of subjectivities is not acknowledged.

5.4 Findings on what women bring to civilians on peacekeeping missions

The set of findings below outline how the empirical data in this study reflects or disputes feminist IR theory. By asking 'Does women's presence allow the inclusion of different voices and perspectives?' and 'Is a mixed gender PSO reacted to differently than an all-male mission?' this study reveals discourses that position women peacekeepers in powerful roles and jobs on a PSO and the impact this has on civilians.

- There is a discourse operating that 'women peacekeepers surprise civilians' in a number of accounts; and that in most contexts they are accepted as equal to male peacekeepers.

- There is a discourse operating that in certain Fundamentalist Muslim conflict regions (particularly the Lebanon for example) 'civilian males have difficulty in accepting or cooperating with women peacekeepers'.

- There is a discourse that 'local civilian women are uniformly oppressed' which positions them as powerless and devalues their importance to a mission.

- There is a discourse that 'the presence of women peacekeepers allows for certain culturally prohibitive tasks to take place' such as the searching of women civilians.

- There is a discourse that women peacekeepers are useful for gathering certain types of intelligence by drawing on cultural assumptions that women are more interested in listening and empathizing than men.

- There is a discourse operating that 'women can diffuse tension and are perceived as less threatening and more approachable than men'.

- Civilian women will not talk about crimes and atrocities they experienced when men are present, these stories will only be shared with other women, the discourse that 'women are necessary for local women to report crimes and abuses' has become a dominant discourse. Women are used to appease local civilians when the military make a mistake or need to apologise for their behavior, thereby, drawing on the 'women are less threatening' and the 'women are more calming' discourse.

- Women interpreters find having women on CIMIC or LMTs enables local women to voice their concerns; and women peacekeepers inspire local women with their powerful and leadership positions, they have the potential to disrupt gender stereotypes in host nations.

5.5 Men's Accounts on Mixed Gender Missions

The extracts in this section respond to the question 'Is a mixed gender PSO received differently to a 'male-only' mission by the host community?' within men's accounts and reveal that men position women peacekeepers within the discourses as necessary for a mission, specifically to communicate with civilian women.

13. Women can talk to Women

What are the positives [of having women on a mission]?

[…] for instance you can maximise your females where they can give greatest benefit in the civil-military co-operation, dealing with the military police dealing with the local community particularly in third world environments especially Muslim environments, in poor countries more or less, by and large, women don't have the same status as men and it's easier for a woman to speak to a woman, especially where there is any kind of violence or sexual violence or absolutely, [pause] it's great to have women that women can approach and discuss women's issues[…] I would have used them [women] with the men to

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interface with the local community and we also took on an orphanage, and again there was women and children, and there was a lot of abusive things, I think going on and I had reason to believe that and again I used RUC women to come with us, they were Irish women serving in the police and worked very well with us in the orphanage....and I found that it was great to have women in that capacity. (M9, 2008)

Points of Analysis:

- In this account there is an assumption that women peacekeepers understand how to communicate with local women despite differences of race, class, ethnic group, religion, sexuality or potential lack of interest in women's issues.

- Male commanders interactively position women as a homogenous group who understand each other's needs identified in the delegation of tasks to women that involve the issue of sexual violence and abuse.

Commentary:

There is a discourse that links women peacekeepers to civilian women and children in this account; and homogenizes women. 'Women's issues' such as sexual violence, poverty, low status, and inequality are considered to be 'naturally' understood by women peacekeepers positioning all women as the same and less powerful than men. Other accounts by male participants also position women peacekeepers work as important in relation to communicating with women civilians. However, discourses also exist whereby local women are considered to be powerless and unimportant in relation to the overall mission and are positioned as the responsibility of NGOs and non-military institutions, therefore gendering this work as 'women's work' (refer to extracts 5 and 6).

14. Women and Health Linked Together

Were there times when you needed a woman on the peacekeeping team because she would have been able to talk to local civilian women who needed information?   So were you ever in a situation where there wasn't someone to talk to local women, say they were Muslim women, or the local women needed information directly?

I think the scenario where we could be advising local females overseas is largely from a medical point of view and I know the DF have sent female medical officers overseas in the past and I think that has been they have been very successful in their dealings with the local population from the point of view of looking after women's health, they could advise on issues like contraception and I presume if they are suffering abuse at home they may be in a position to do something about it now I haven't seen it happening but I just think its most likely scenario that could arise but in most missions NGOs deal with those kind of issues we wouldn't as such as the DF get involved with those issues. (M3, 2006)

Point of analysis:

• Although this account moves away from the notion of women peacekeepers as 'natural' carers to one where trained and specialist skill sets such as medical officers are needed be able to deal with issues of abuse, it still positions women within the care-giving role within a mission.   Thereby drawing on dualistic notions of femininities and masculinities within PSOs and how they are positioned affectively or instrumentally.

Commentary:

There is an assumption that women peacekeepers would be best positioned to discuss health issues with civilian women however there is also an acknowledgment that women need to be trained medical professionals to take on advisory roles on health issues. This discourse nests with those in extracts 13 and 15.

15. Female civilians will not talk to male peacekeepers

What have you noticed in terms of the DF changing to accommodate women into the DF over the years? What have been the major changes that you've witnessed over your career?

The biggest plus factor from my own experience here is that females add a huge amount of quality in terms of operating in the main a Muslim type area. And it's very, very difficult, very difficult and one of the biggest aspects of the mission in Kosovo is a matter of situational awareness. By that I mean, we have troops on the ground on a continuous basis and they are trying to determine the mood of the population because it is perhaps a very benign security environment, it's not a hostile environment as I said before. So it's very important to know what's happening on the ground. And that information can link in with other pieces of information and that gives us a common, what we would call a common operational picture of the whole area. And in the context of women for example, operating in villages, and some of these villages are very poor villages and have very traditional values etc. but females will not talk to males. So this is the biggest differentiation I would see. [...] one of the major areas is this whole situation of vehicle check-points. It's very difficult if you have a male operating on the check point on his own and you have females in the car, you can't search. So the fact we have females there, but I think in the context, I see no difference. And I think that's the most important factor, everybody appears to say that oh females are different to males, overseas there's no difference. Absolutely no difference. (M13, 2008)[8]

Points of Analysis:

- This extract draws on 'similarities' between women and men and de-emphasizes 'difference' reflecting the gender neutral policy within the DF: *'overseas there's no difference'.*

- However, at the same time the participant draws on the discourse that a particular advantage of having women soldiers on a mission is for them to relate to women civilians,

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[8] M13 is a senior officer with over 30 years experience in the DF.

especially on checkpoints or to conduct body searches (thereby contradicting the 'no difference' discourse).

• This account identifies the discourse that 'women peacekeepers are needed, especially in Muslim countries, to interact with civilian women' because *'females will not talk to males'*.

Commentary:

This extract contradicts concerns in other accounts that by including women at checkpoints you may antagonize local populations (see inhibitors to women's access chapter six). It presents a shift in discourses on culture that reposition women peacekeepers as 'offending' local civilians to one where women peacekeepers are 'necessary' to communicate with local civilians because local *'females will not talk to males'*. The discourse that 'women as necessary' and 'women are the same as male soldiers', contradicts discourses in accounts in Chapter Six that focus on differences and the problems that women create.

5.6 Men's Accounts on Gender Roles

This extracts in this section respond to the question 'How does the equal but different discourse operate to position women and men within specific gender roles within a mission?' There is a gap in our knowledge about how women peacekeepers are perceived by their male peers. In this study I make the argument that it is not only important to reveal gendered perspectives on women peacekeepers and thereby make visible their contribution, but it is also necessary to consider how their contribution can influence and shift power relations within the camp, the military and wider society. The purpose of this section is to outline the ways in which the dominant group of men benefit from even having a small percentage of women on a mission. The impact that women have of 'normalising' a mission has been voiced by many male participants as one of the key benefits of women peacekeepers. The central premise of this 'normalization' discourse is that women bring 'home' or 'nation' into the camp environment. The discourse states that this feeling of 'home' created by women's presence reduces tension and relieves the pressures of an all-male environment.

16. Women Normalise the Camp Environment

Interview Schedule III: I have spoken to some senior officers who have worked with men only and then have worked with women and men and they have commented on the difference in their experience of the mission, I wondered if you have a similar experience where you have been on a mission where it's been all men and then on a mission where it's mixed and you've noticed a difference. It could be subtle differences but you've noticed maybe you feel they are happier or there's a kind of more congenial atmosphere?

I would say okay in the context of a male/female organisation overseas there is differences. I'll give you a simple example…in the context of social interaction, you have in the old days, you have all the males together in the evening time and you have a certain structure and a certain way of living. I think the females working with the males there's also a social aspect to it. In the context that the females bring a normality which was quite similar to what the males would be used to at home. So it's a very reinforcing type of situation. I also have experience where…certain situations where the females would be a lot more open as opposed to the males. With that it can bring certain problems too in terms of dealing with the problems of females overseas. But the one good thing is that we have a structure in that we have female NCOs and female officers and they are well able to deal with the female problems or female concerns overseas […] But I would give both sides, I would not assume that the female is softer than the male or the male is softer than the female. I don't see it that way, you do your job […] And there are benefits to both sides. Of course the male will be perked up if there is a female aspect in overseas operations because he doesn't want to let himself down. And she doesn't want to let herself down either. (M13, 2008)

Points of Analysis:

- The way this question was asked 'differences' are vague and open and then the words 'happier' and 'congenial' are highlighted as the possible outcome of a mixed team. I have also stated clearly that 'senior officers' have noticed a difference thereby potentially influencing the response. The question is active and directional in content and makes the assumption that women do make a difference, building on findings from interviews conducted earlier in the process.

- 'Women' and 'home' are linked in the same discourse and there is an assumption that the two go together: *'females bring a normality which was quite similar to what the males would be used to at home'*.

- Women's emotional openness is commented on as positive but it also creates unspecified problems: *it can bring certain problems too in terms of dealing with the problems of females overseas'*.

- There is a discourse within this account that women and men can galvanize each other into higher standards of performance and that this is utilized by commanders.

Commentary:

In this account the theory on gender binaries is reflected in the empirical data. A number of accounts by both women and men draw on the discourse that positions women as 'providing normality for men on a mission' which is considered a benefit of women's inclusion (see extracts 17, 18 and 19). This discourse nests with the discourse that 'women provide balance' mentioned in many of the men's accounts. However, it rejects the notion that women are *'softer'* than men and positions women and men as equals who bring different qualities to a mission.

17. Women empathize with Men

Just focusing on gender again for a bit, what impact do you think it would make to a mission, looking specifically at peace support operations, if all the women were pulled out and it became a male only domain, what would you notice or be aware of?

*I suppose there's no balance to anything, you know, at the moment all males operate in a certain way, even though we are all different individuals at the end of the day we are all males together with testosterone, you know and in a male dominated environment you need a balance, you need a different aspect, different opinions and you know there's only male and female, so it's nice to have a female opinion you might not agree with it but at least it's a different slant, getting the male slant the whole time you know, I suppose women in general are more, they empathize more than males because it's not a male thing to empathize or sympathize, you know. Women empathize more, they talk more…I suppose, I don't know if it's relevant but occasionally you might find yourself flirting unbeknown to yourself but it happens. (*M12, 2008)*

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Points of Analysis

- While acknowledging the differences between men and performances of masculinities this extract draws on the discourse that 'testosterone is a uniting force amongst men' creating a universal commonality with the words '*we are all different individuals, at the end of the day we are all males together with testosterone'.*

- The participant interactively positions himself as enjoying female company '*so it's nice to have a female opinion'* and positions women as providers of empathy and sympathy as '*it's not a male thing to empathize or sympathize'.*

- The participant reflexively positions himself as unconsciously '*flirting'* with women.

Commentary:

Despite the question being open and broad the focus on women's presence benefiting men indicates that women are visible in how they improve the quality of men's lives first and foremost; and less visible in their instrumental role as peacekeepers. This extract draws on the discourse that 'women talk and empathize more than men' therefore the inclusion of these gender differences creates a more balanced environment for male peacekeepers. The discourse in this account nests with the discourse in extract 15 of women creating a more 'normal' environment for men and reflects the theory that gender binaries position women and men in unequal relations of power with women providing affective care-work and men providing the more highly valued instrumental work of 'soldiering' and this is reflected in the following extracts.

18. Women Understand Our Wives

[...] Do you find that having women as part of your troops, it makes a difference, or do you not find it makes any difference?

Well I think on the one hand you want to try and treat the female soldier the same as the male soldier because that's the way they want to be treated, but on the other hand you have a female there who might have a better understanding of what your wife has an understanding of, so the tendency might be, you know she becomes a buddy and you can really confide in her. It hasn't happened to me, [because I've been the commanding officer and I had to have a degree of aloofness] but sometimes you wonder you know 'I'd love to

be able to talk to somebody' so I think there is slightly home comfort without it ever being a sexual thing that soldiers might be able to play on and it may be to their advantage and they might go to another female for advice, I simply don't know, but I never felt anything other than 'these are good for us, these female troops are good for us. (M7, 2007)

Points of Analysis:

- This account draws on a discourse that the woman soldier can be seen as 'similar but different to the military wife' with the words '*a female there who might have a better understanding of what your wife has an understanding of'.*

- The participant interactively positions women as having a role in making the man's life more comfortable. This is implied with the words '*I think there is slightly home comfort without it ever being a sexual thing'*, also highlighting the possibility of friendship without sex between colleagues.

- The participant interactively positions women soldiers as '*good for us, these female troops are good for us'* whilst privileging men's care needs as primary.

- The participant reflexively positions himself as needing a friend on a mission with the words '*I'd love to be able to talk to somebody'* and the implication that it is women men talk to not other men, thereby revealing a type of masculinity in operation within a PSO one that is self-contained and unemotional.

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Commentary:

In this extract the response to the question is considered from the perspective of how women benefit male soldiers rather than how they benefit the overall mission, the needs of men are positioned as the primary concern. The discourse in this extract nests with the discourse in extract 18 that women can provide emotional support to men whilst overseas. It is noteworthy that women's benefit to local civilians or the mission more generally is not commented on and that women's instrumental role as soldiers seems to be invisible.

19. Women Reduce the Coarseness of an All-Male Environment

What about [including women in] a mission that may be considered to be more dangerous, because a soldier maybe very lightly armed?

There's another point I wanted to make about women reducing the coarseness in the environment I just can't think of it now – yes because I had an all-male unit and to try to reduce the coarseness aspects of it I used to bring in NGOS, particularly on a Saturday night and have a barbeque for them and I'd say bring as many females as you can, but no staying overnight, and we'd have a great time they'd come in and I'd say look don't sit with the officers mix with everybody and I didn't purposely have an officers' mess cos I wanted them to mix as a unit we have to work as a team and it built up great spirit in the unit and some of the NGOs would come over and I'd say look we can talk business another day this is an opportunity to mix, don't mix with me, mix with them because they haven't seen a woman for a month or three weeks, just to talk with them and talk about their families, much easier for men to talk with women and that's a huge influence. (M9, 2008)

Points of analysis:

• In this account women represent people with different experiences and perspectives and as providing something from home that the men miss *'because they haven't seen a woman for a month or three weeks'*.

• The positioning of NGO women in a social situation with peacekeepers has been used as a deliberate strategy to boost male morale by a company commander.

• The subtext is that the presence of women both relieves men from being hyper-macho and from the boredom of an all-male environment.

Commentary:

This account emphasizes women's difference in the 'equal but different' discourse dominant within the DF. Women are positioned as care-givers to men; normalizers of a mission camp; and reducers of the coarseness of an all-male contingent. It nests with the discourses in previous extracts 17, 18. This extract also reveals a co-operative understanding between Irish NGOs and military personnel on some missions and opportunities to support each other socially as well as professionally.

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20. The presence of women can draw attention to gender stereotypes

Interview Schedule III: In this extract the participant discusses how depending on the ethnic minority group he was working with in Kosovo women and men were leaders in those communities and there were times when he needed a woman peacekeeper to communicate with civilian women.

Had I women with me I would have used them with me there and I felt that was something I lacked.

How would you have used them?

I would have used them with the men to interface with the local community [...] I think women soften the sharpness of men in an all male environment for instance it was normal to have pictures of nude women in workshops and billets and personally I thought it was dehumanizing women and I never liked it, I made them take it down and I was seen as an old crony or whatever, a spoiler, we don't display those in public, for instance in a work environment, and I never felt comfortable about it even in an all male environment, and it just makes it easier to justify getting guys to take it down in their eyes.

Would they have them in the barracks?

In their lockers discretely but not in people's faces but I never left it in public but in workshops and things I used to asked them to please take it down and if it was too obvious in billets I'd say please take that down, and it was a morale factor they didn't like it but they'd understand it better if there's women especially if there is a woman sergeant going around with me on inspection and I'd say look it just makes it easier for me to justify I'm not prudish but just respect basic respect and but you know not to have it too public and I think myself from my own observation is that, obviously working with women back in Ireland as well. (M9, 2008)

Points of Analysis:

- The participant positions himself interactively with other men as needing to justify why he is asking the soldiers to remove pornographic pinups from the wall '*just makes it easier to justify getting guys to take it down in their eyes'.*

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- The participant reflexively positions himself as respectful of women with the words *'I'm not prudish but just respect basic respect'*.

Commentary:

Women are not homogenized in this account and are acknowledged as being positioned multiply within the community. Women soldiers are also visible as their gender. The participant positions himself multiply as being respectful of women and also wanting to appease the men under his command. Rather than drawing on a discourse of 'prudishness' the account emphasizes the female colleague as a reason to remove the pornographic images, in this way the speaker retains his militarized masculinity. Women's presence makes gender visible and creates an opportunity to promote respect and equality amongst troops.

21. Women Can Be Calming

Have you noticed anything else from a gender perspective that changes when women are present? The UN say women are perceived as less threatening and that they have a positive impact on male soldiers, so they have a list of behaviors that they think are affected by women have you noticed anything or not really?

I would agree with most of it. I would say you know from my own experience when we have female soldiers abroad with us, they do have a calming effect on our own soldiers, and they do break an awful lot of the monotony, in that it is not all male company, so at night time when you're in the canteen you can actually have a bit of banter and you can have a light sense but when you are out on the ground and something happens it's great to have female soldiers as well with you they do bring that calmness, they do calm the situation down. (M10, 2008)

Commentary:

This account draws on the discourse that 'men are more aggressive than women' and therefore need the feminine presence as a calming device, linking in with the theory of gender binaries (and with extract 16). The second discourse drawn on is that women '*calm the situation down*' nesting with the discourse in extract 19 that women *'reduce the coarseness'* of an all-male environment.

22. Women Galvanise Men into improved performance

Another senior officer told me that soldiers buddy up anyway gender doesn't make a difference because it's just one soldier protecting another soldier. Do you think that's the case or do you think the female aspect makes a difference?

[...] But looking at it from an academic point of view when I was conducting mission exercises for [country x] and overseas before I went to [country y] I set up platoons some with no women and some with some women and some with a lot of women, for instance maybe 25% of one platoon, 10% of another platoon and 5% of another platoon and then 0% for the others and I never said anything to anybody and I monitored them and this was heavy endurance stuff, this was carrying packs, this was going over mountains for several days, sleep deprivation, as tough as it gets, 25 clicks over the mountains, 15 clicks [kilometres] in one day, [...] but on a statistical basis the platoons with no women had the greatest numbers of dropouts and had the first dropouts, the platoon with the most women had no dropouts, and the platoons with varying degrees of women no man dropped out before a woman dropped out, but the minute a woman dropped out two or three men dropped out very shortly after, so it does galvanise the men and that's a statistic just for my own, and I watched it over the years after that and that held. (M9, 2008)

Points of Analysis:

- Maintaining hegemonic masculinities in the presence of women (even with small numbers of women) can place pressure on men to perform physically in endurance tests: '*so it does galvanise the men and that's a statistic just for my own, and I watched it over the years after that and that held.'*
- The need to outperform women can be harnessed by military commanders to '*galvanise*' men into even more physically arduous competition with each other and with women.

Commentary:

This account highlights a discourse that 'men are physically more able than women' and how it galvanizes men into improved performance if women are present. The importance for military men to outperform or to be *'better than women'* is discussed in future

extracts (see extracts 39, 40 and 41) usually when talking about promotion competitions. This discourse sits in opposition to discourses that claim women alleviate tension and create calmer environments, as in specific contexts women increase the pressure on men to perform to higher standards.

23. Women Boost Men's Performance

Have you noticed a difference when you have women serving alongside men and when it is an all-male battalion?

I would have yeah. The fellas are a bit more conscientious around women [...] they are more aware of the impression that they are creating, for example, as an observer we would fire our team out to an observation post for seven days eh and we normally have a woman, the roster how it's worked out – when it came to the after-hours conversation, if all fellas were there the subject matter might be different than if females were there. At the same time, they are treated as normal they are expected to do the same kind of things, obviously they approach it a little bit differently but at the same time the overriding fact is that they are there to do a job, the job is black and white so you do it, how you do it varies slightly and even that would vary from nationality, we'd 23 different nations working together so that's the people issue but also it was quite a big thing because conscripts versus fighting? So it was a factor but no more so than if I was someone from Estonia or Australia or from Chile, that would have the same kind of change to the dynamics if this was a female or not, it is one factor among many. (M11, 2008)

Commentary:

The social impact of women's presence is a dominant theme in men's accounts. While women are treated the same as the men and are expected to perform their duties to a high standard there is an awareness that everybody undertakes their duties slightly differently and that this is not just about gender but it is about the intersectionality between nationality, race, ethnicity, class and rank as well as gender. There is a discourse operating that women bring something 'different' but this is not seen as inherently feminine, as the participant notes that soldiers from other peacekeeping countries who are male but have a different cultural inheritance also create difference and interest.

5.7   Findings on What Women Bring to a Mission in Men's Accounts

- The narratives in this section emphasize the benefits *to men* of women's presence. The male participants draw on discourses that position women peacekeepers as normalisers of the camp environment by providing a 'home away from home' atmosphere and by reducing the coarseness of an all-male environment.

- These discourses also position women as the creators of balance to the testosterone fuelled mission through their difference, and by being empathetic and willing to listen to men's concerns. The narratives draw on the similarities between women soldiers and soldier's wives; and women are therefore positioned as providers of advice and sympathy to men on domestic or marital issues.

- There is a discourse that the presence of women can be used to highlight sexism to men and as a rationale for pornography to be removed or hidden. Women's presence makes gender visible and creates an opportunity to promote respect and equality amongst the troops.

- While women are positioned as creating a calming effect on a mission they are also positioned as galvanisers of men, pressurising men to perform to physically high standards or their masculinity may be questioned, especially if a woman outperforms them.

5.8   General Analysis on What Women Bring to a Mission

This section discusses the findings on how women are positioned within the 'equal but different' discourse while working as peacekeepers within a PSO. By asking 'What are the differences in how a mixed gender peacekeeping mission is received compared to a 'male-only team?', and 'Does the presence of women enable an inclusion of different voices and perspectives in peacekeeping?' this chapter has revealed discourses on culture within host nations and the impact this has on women peacekeepers inclusion in missions.

Discourses one and two: 'Women peacekeepers can provide role models for local women' and 'inspire local women to challenge traditional gender roles'

These discourses reveal that a mixed peacekeeping mission is received differently to a male-only mission and that the presence of women peacekeepers can foster greater trust and confidence amongst civilian women as well as providing role models as indicated by the UN DAW report (1994). Women peacekeepers are visible to civilian women and girls and this links in with the theory that women are made visible by military planners when they are needed to pacify or engage with civilians (Enloe, 2000; DeGroot, 2000). When women peacekeepers are recognized as their gender, they can elicit surprise, creating opportunities for connection and dialogue between peacekeepers and civilians. This surprised and delighted response reveals the discourse that 'women peacekeepers can provide role models for local women' and that they can 'inspire local women to challenge traditional gender norms'. Therefore, the presence and visibility of women peacekeepers can potentially help to dismantle gender hierarchies by creating new discourses on women's roles, responsibilities and positioning within a post-conflict society. These findings support the evidence in the UN DAW report (1994) that women peacekeepers can create important communications channels for civilian women.

Discourses three and four: 'women can gather information from local women' BUT 'local women are de-valued within the overall mission'.

By asking 'Does the presence of women enable an inclusion of different voices and perspectives in peacekeeping?' this chapter has outlined how women can have better and important access to civilian women in a host country. However, there is no evidence that civilian women's differing experiences and perspectives on war and peace are gathered and valued by peacekeepers. Whether local women's access to a mission is increased by the presence of women peacekeepers depends on the jobs and tasks assigned to those women peacekeepers and how they are advised to interact with civilian women. If women peacekeepers are not visible within civilian facing jobs such as CIMIC, LMTs, or the military police then they are not easy to access and can be difficult to identify due to their uniforms. Karame's (2001) research identified that it is often military culture rather than

host nation culture that inhibits civilian women's access to missions. 'Taken for granted' assumptions that position certain groups of women (such as Muslim women) as lacking power and views them as a homogenous group, when gender intersects with class, race, ethnicity, ability and sexuality to either empower or dis-empower particular groups of women at any given time in history.

Women peacekeepers can play an important role in the host country by making it acceptable to search civilian women and to gather intelligence from them in a way that would have previously been impossible. Information from civilian women which is often considered 'soft' data is at least as important if not more important for the success of today's complex multidimensional missions. However, assumptions about women's vulnerability and lack of power, reinforces traditional cultural and gender roles. Variations in masculinities and femininities are ignored within many of these accounts. Amongst civilians the 'victim' identity is a survival strategy to enable women to get their needs met (Freedman 2012: 128). PSOs along with aid agencies and UN agencies further reinforce local gender inequalities when they do not include women in the planning and implementation of programmes. Civilian women positioned as helpless victims without agency are depoliticized; the positioning of civilian women as victims essentializes them and presents them as voiceless with no agency (Freedman, 2012: 132).

Women participants have drawn on contradictory discourses in their accounts. While some have adopted a gender biased approach to peacekeeping, focusing on men as the powerful actors within a conflict; others have deliberately sought out civilian women to discuss their experiences. However, the relevance of this information to a mission is not clearly understood by most of the research participants. Although multi-dimensional missions focus on a wide variety of non-military tasks such as: humanitarian relief, refugee return, de-mining, civilian policing, demobilization, human rights monitoring, elections, and nation building the accounts in this study reveal a split between military thinking and peacekeeping thinking and there is no evidence that women peacekeepers encourage women to take part in elections or human rights programmes as indicated by the UN DAW report (1994). The split in military versus peacekeeping thinking is creating confusion about UNSCR 1325 and its call for gender perspectives to be included within a

mission mandate. This is indicated by participant accounts that dismiss women's information as of little value due to their unequal social positioning within host nations (see extracts 6 and 25) and reveals differences amongst women, for example, there are unequal relations of power between civilian women and women peacekeepers. These misunderstandings are likely to impact on how femininities are perceived and valued more generally within the DF and within a PSO. By engaging with civilian women's experiences and knowledge of a conflict PSOs can support their inclusion in formal decision-making processes and institutional reconstruction post-conflict.

Discourse Five: 'Women peacekeepers understand civilian women'

In response to the question 'Does the presence of women enable an inclusion of different voices and perspectives in peacekeeping?' there is a dominant discourse within men's accounts that position civilian women and women peacekeepers as a homogenous group with mutual experiences and understandings. This discourse is based on assumptions of shared understandings between women regardless of sexuality, status, race, ethnicity, class, or economic power. The notion of homogeneity implies a sameness among women that does not exist in reality. For example, it would be difficult to gather information and intelligence without having specific training or understanding of the social, cultural and political issues that are impacting on women's lives. Many women would have no experience or understanding of poverty, homelessness, living in terror, child abuse, domestic violence, rape or other traumatic events that happen as a result of warfare. Therefore, they would be uncertain about how to approach these subjects and may in fact be extremely uncomfortable about being in a situation where civilian women share sensitive information with them as they may not know what to do with it. Professionally trained or psychologically trained experts who can spot the symptoms of sexual violence are needed in operations, and these need to be both men and women (Valenius, 2007) because male civilians and boys also experience GBV and trauma. Most victims of sexual violence and rape will not speak out, because it is considered a taboo subject in all countries worldwide, not just conflict regions (Womensaid, 2007; Rape Crisis Network, 2010; Amnesty International, 2005). The fact that these accounts assume that women have an automatic understanding of other women's different experiences of GBV is evidence that women are positioned within the sexualised/victimised body discourse

within the military. This implies that gender mainstreaming is not happening within PSOs undertaken by the DF nor is the gathering of gender perspectives from civilians.

Discourses Six and Seven: 'Women are Camp Normalizers' and 'Women Galvanize men into Action'

By asking 'How does the equal but different discourse operate to position women and men within specific gender roles within a mission?' the accounts reveal how women are not immediately visible in their instrumental role as peacekeepers to male peers. Within these accounts they are clearly drawn in their informal role as carers and empathizers and positioned as the creators of balance in the camp environment. This finding links in with theories that women must fit into male dominated institutions in a way that does not draw too much attention to them or disrupt the masculine status quo (Laugen Haaland, 2012). Power relations depend upon sustaining certain notions of what it is to be male or female, masculine or feminine, and the appropriate roles associated with each. Gender binaries imply fixity but the reality is that individuals change and move over time (Sjelsbaek and Smith, 2001). In these accounts femininities are associated with empathy and care and women are positioned as the embodiment of 'home' for men and act as reminders of where they belong and who is waiting for them – their wives/girlfriends. Women peacekeepers are primarily positioned by male participants as benefiting individual men first and foremost, and then the local populations and the mission. Research carried out into organisations by Alvesson and Billing (2009) demonstrates that in all-men working environments gender is active in the creation of workplace culture. Beer drinking and talk about women in sexual terms underscore this shared masculinity. Rough joking between men, for example giving each other insulting nicknames, also fulfils this function. Women's femininity and 'calming presence' is considered a balance to this hegemonic performance of masculinity; women are positioned as complementary to men; and as a positive way to diffuse tensions between men, thereby confirming the theory that women are perceived to be calming (see De Groot, 2002). Women are also positioned as supporters of men and motivators of male behaviour. Thus, confirming feminist theories that gender categories become an organizing device. Femininities are seen as beneficial to the provision of *normal life* within the camp; while masculinities are

associated with instrumental peacekeeping work outside the camp (see Goldstein, 2001) this is discussed in more detail within the sections on protective discourses and divisions of labour in chapter six.

Discourse Eight: 'Women Listen to and Empathize with Men'

By asking 'How does the equal but different discourse operate to position women and men within specific gender roles within a mission?' the accounts in this section reveal that women's presence is considered a benefit to men, particularly in relation to their emotional landscape through their care work. In research by Bird (1996) into homo-social relations (not previously discussed) she argues that hegemonic masculinity is not expressed and maintained through excessive emotionality. This distinction separates the boys from the girls as well as the men who fit the hegemonic norm from those who do not. 'Through emotional detachment, the meanings formed in regard to masculinity are exaggerated so as to distinguish clearly that which all men are not, that is, female' (Bird, 1996: 126). This exaggeration of detachment can create emotional silos and men can become vulnerable to psychological distress and isolation if a problem occurs (Bird, 1996). Therefore, the presence of women can create a space where men can express their feelings more openly. Relationships with women provide men with a *refuge* from the dangers and stresses of relating to other males which can be intimidating (Pleck et al, 2004).

> Men's dependence on women's power to express men's emotion and to validate men's masculinity has placed heavy burdens on women. By and large, these are not powers over men that women have wanted to hold. These are powers that men have themselves handed over to women by defining the male role as being emotionally cool and inexpressive. (Pleck et al, 2004: 60)

While women can provide men with a safe place to recuperate from the stresses they have absorbed in their daily struggle with other men, 'if women begin to compete with men and have power in their own right, men [may be] threatened by the loss of this refuge (Pleck et al, 2004: 63). This sets up a binary between instrumental or active masculine roles and affective or interior feminine roles within the imaginations of men on a mission, presenting themselves through the work of 'caring'. Lynch says that through

their unwaged care and domestic work women free men up to exercise control in the public spheres and that, deep gender inequalities operate to the advantage of men when it comes to the doing of care and love work. 'In general, men are more likely to be care commanders and women care's foot soldiers' (Lynch, 2007: 550-570). In the discourses drawn on by women they do not emphasize this care work, while they do acknowledge it exists, they focus on their instrumental work as peacekeepers. De Groot asserts that the new multi-dimensional approach to PSOs may actually enhance the potential for women's participation in them because of attributes commonly associated with women such as, 'a gentle nature, conciliatory attitude and the ability to control aggression' possibly making them more effective peacekeepers than men (2002: 24). While other feminists refute these claims they are also open to the idea that 'women's presence in the military could […] affect its social and political role. If wars are fought for the sake of 'womenandchildren' (Enloe, 2000) then the presence of women next to the men on an equal footing might undermine at least part of this macho myth (Stiehm, 2001). Enloe's observation that 'caring, emotive human beings who feel a connection with other human beings are not, it seems what most militaries are looking for' (2000: 111) is refuted by these accounts. Caring qualities are certainly informally if not formally acknowledged, but perhaps not surprisingly these caring duties are predominantly linked to women peacekeepers in these accounts.

5.9 Conclusion

This chapter on 'What Women Bring to a Mission' has shown how women peacekeepers are visible within men's accounts predominantly in their care-giving roles. Women's accounts draw on discourses that position women peacekeepers as inspiring to local women and as necessary for communication with civilians. This chapter highlights how women peacekeepers are needed by the military in their 'feminized' roles as care-givers; and reveals how they are used by militaries to appease and reduce tension in specific contexts with civilians and within the camp environment. However, women are often positioned as a homogenous group within men's accounts, with all women positioned as understanding each other despite differences of race, class, education, job and economic and political power. Overall, women are visible to men when they are benefiting them by

improving conditions in the camp through their empathic and calming energy. Civilian women are disempowered within the accounts and there is no evidence that gender perspectives of civilians are gathered or known by the participants (except for in one extract 9 where the participant met with a local woman who was working as an interpreter for the mission). Whilst there is more to the gender story yet to be unravelled and revealed it is becoming clear that women's presence as peacekeepers provides the potential to increase accessibility to civilian populations, particularly civilian women and girls; raise awareness of gender issues within the military and the host nations; motivate male soldiers to perform to their highest standards; and provide inspirational role models for civilian women which could lead to the transformation of gender relations within host countries.

Chapter Six identifies discourses that can inhibit women's access to missions, tasks and jobs because they position women as 'different to men'. These discourses draw on notions of 'men as protectors' and in turn the protective discourse can influence formal and informal divisions of labour; the segregation of facilities; women's access to missions, tasks and jobs; and their promotion opportunities within the DF.

CHAPTER SIX

DISCOURSES ON WHAT INHIBITS WOMEN'S ACCESS TO MISSIONS

6.0   Introduction

In contrast to the previous chapter which focused on what women bring to a mission and how a mixed peacekeeping mission is received differently (and overall more positively) to an all-male mission, the aim of this chapter is to reveal and analyse discourses within the participant accounts that formally or informally inhibit women's access to jobs, missions, tasks and roles. The sub-questions explored throughout this chapter are: 1. 'How does the "equal but different" discourse position women and men within specific gender jobs and roles in a mission?' 2. 'How is a mixed peacekeeping mission received by the host community?' and 3. 'What are the costs to women for being part of a minority group?' These questions are explored within thematic sections on: culture, protection, divisions of labour/promotion, segregated facilities, and sexuality and reveal how femininities are valued or devalued in the discourses of peacekeepers.

This chapter reveals how contradictory discourses on gender are operating within participant accounts depending on context. The main discourses revealed in this chapter include: on the theme of culture, **'**Muslim men/tribal chiefs will not work with women of any rank'; and 'Non-Western male peacekeepers cannot work with women peacekeepers because of traditional gender norms in their own countries'. On the theme of protection discourses include: 'women soldiers cannot be equal to men because they do not have the physical capacity'; and 'some missions are too dangerous for women'. On promotion competitions discourses operating within men's accounts include: 'women are favoured by promotion boards'; 'women use their sexuality to win promotion competitions'; 'women do not have to work as hard as men'. Women's accounts reveal contradictory discourses such as: 'women have to work much harder than men to be considered equal'. On divisions of labour**:** women say 'some jobs are gendered/as women-friendly jobs'; there are discourses on 'women who fit in' and 'women who need special treatment'. On the subject of segregated facilities the following discourses are operating: **'**facilities are segregated to protect women and men from each other sexually'; 'sexual harassment is

dealt with on an individual and private basis'; 'the presence of women or "mixed-sex" units can cause problems for commanders by breaking down discipline'; 'women are home wreckers' and it is they who cause issues for men in relation to affairs; 'it is unfair to deploy only one or two women to a mission' and an understanding that commanders can reject these applicants on the grounds that there is not suitable accommodation for a minority of women in a mission camp; 'separate facilities isolate women from the dominant group highlighting their difference and making it difficult for them to have social contact with male peers'. By analysing specific extracts from participant accounts this chapter reveals how discourses are uncovered and analyses what they mean and how they may formally or informally inhibit women's inclusion within a mission.

6.1 Men's Accounts

This section of the study includes extracts that reveal discourses responding to the question: 'How does the 'equal but different' discourse position women and men within specific gender jobs and roles in a PSO?'

24. Muslim Men will not deal with Women Peacekeepers

How did the local civilians react to a mixed group of female and male soldiers?

In Nippur the Irish were very sensitive to the [cultural norms]. There would have been problems if the Irish had females in operational and command roles on a road or a checkpoint in south Nippur because if there was an incident, the Muslim man wouldn't deal with her, and that was a religious thing and the way of life out there. I think the Irish knew that and didn't want to put their females in that situation. When I was out there the war was still going on. Back in the 1980s there were incidents at checkpoints everyday of the week and we lost a lot of people out there. But you could not take a chance of exacerbating an incident where you had a female on a checkpoint in charge of Irish army troops particularly when you're dealing with the male populace of the place. I think the Irish command were very sensitive to this. Five or 10% of the battalion were female they were mostly in administrative roles. In saying that during my trip the battalion commander placed females officers in operational command roles on UN posts, [however] there was a provision that the male platoon commander stayed on the post as well but it was just to

give the [women soldiers] the experience of being out on the post because it had never been done before. If something happened obviously the male took over and dealt with it. (M1, 2006)

Do you remember was it because women soldiers lobbied him?

That I don't know but it certainly was a nice gesture I thought. In fairness to the females they understood the politics of the place out there. They understood why they weren't there in operational roles and I don't think there was a major problem with it, I never came across anybody who had a major problem with it anyway. [...]The females tended to be grouped in the headquarters, as there was a reluctance to send them out to the companies or out to individual posts for their own well being. (M1, 2006)

Points of Analysis:

• This extract is referencing the participants deployment to a Middle Eastern country from 1999-2000.

• The word 'sensitive' is used to illustrate the cultural awareness of commanders to gender inequalities in the host nation.

• Women soldiers are positioned as secondary to men with the words '*it was a nice gesture'* that the Commander 'allowed' women to work alongside men on the checkpoints.

• The discourse on men's need to protect women is also indicated with the words '*for their own well being'*.

Commentary:

Discourses on gendered cultural sensitivities while operating to appease local men, '*the Muslim man wouldn't deal with her,'* can also operate to inhibit women soldier's access to their full set of duties, and corral them in administrative roles in the Camp. Discourses repeatedly voiced throughout the male narratives can be understood as dominant discourses on gender relations within these accounts. There is an expectation that women will accept the curtailment of their duties by not complaining. This account draws on the 'protective discourse' and 'for their own good' discourse, both operating within the

men's narratives when discussing why women's jobs may be curtailed in certain contexts. In this account women's silence is understood as agreement with military policy. Women's silence is mentioned in other accounts by women in relation to sensitive issues.

25. Tribal Chiefs will not talk to women

Do you think that there should be more women in peacekeeping units and battalions?

In terms of in Africa if there was 11 women on the team that we were on, and they were all from the nationalities that we were from, that were deploying the team that I was on, I don't think they would have done their job anymore effectively, they possibly might have had more problems because of the fact that the tribes and the elders and those guys and it's nothing to do with bias or anything else from my point of view, they just do not and will not defer or accept it from a lady involved. If you were the chief of whatever you were the chief of and you had 75 girls with you who were all superb negotiators and there was one bloke who happened to be your driver or something, they'll turn around and they'll talk to him and it's nothing to do with me or you or anything else. It's just basically their culture and their tradition and that's what I've seen [...] it depends if you're bringing the money or you're the president of somewhere fine it's something different, because talking to you equals X dollars and that's another big factor in a lot of the way they react as well the dollar factor, but if there's no dollars involved [...].

The environment you put them [women] in you need to be very careful about that because you don't want to do somebody who supplied their country a disservice either, and you fire a woman out into the middle of the Muslim dominated "we all hate women tribe" and let her off to do her job, that's not fair to someone you can't expect her to perform in that thing that's not something that you're looking to deal with but if you could put her in the same mission and put her in the operations cell or put her in the military police, which I spoke about, there are specific jobs, and that has happened, certainly. (M4, 2007)

Points of Analysis:

• In this extract the question 'should there be more women in peacekeeping?' is not directly answered and a series of examples of how women cause problems is outlined in "imagined scenarios".

• The reality of dollars/money is positioned as more powerful within the host country than gender: '*talking to you equals X dollars and that's another big factor in a lot of the way they react as well the dollar factor'.*

• This account draws on the 'cultural' and 'protection' themes that position women as 'other', for example, it is asserted that women should not be exposed to the '*we all hate women tribe'* for their own protection*.*

• Discourses on the necessity of a sexual division of labour because certain jobs suit women are drawn on to position women within certain sections of the mission, for example, '*put her in the operations cell or put her in the military police, which I spoke about, there are specific jobs'.*

Commentary:

In this account cultural gender norms underpin the argument against increasing the numbers of women soldiers and this is highlighted with the example that a Tribal Chief would speak to the male driver of 75 women negotiators rather than with them. By creating "imagined scenarios" rather than drawing on factual events there may be some exaggeration of discriminatory attitudes towards women in this account. Men are positioned as privileged by having the power to decide what role women should or should not play in peacekeeping "*put her in the operations cell or put her in the military police"*.

There is a discourse operating in this account that powerful local women do not exist, *"we all hate women tribe",* so the subtext is that it is pointless to send women peacekeepers on a mission to seek their views. There is a discourse operating within some of these accounts that as gender relations are so unequal in host countries that civilian women are of little value to a mission. This account is drawing on a discourse within the UN that women's presence creates more effective missions, while at the same time contradicting

it by maintaining that women will not be able to communicate directly with key decision makers (who are the men) in the host nation.

26. No Car Searches or Observation Posts for Women

Were you ever in a situation on a mission where you chose not to allow women officers or women soldiers to partake in a particular set of duties?

I was conscious as most Irish commanders would be of the fact that you wouldn't put an Irish female soldier on a checkpoint duty that where they'd be expected to search cars, for no other reason than the cultural standard within that country [Lebanon], so there's a cultural difference there which you have to respect. The searching of cars of locals that's something which we were led to believe is a little bit taboo because it's not something that the culture of the country would tolerate so you'd be a lot more sensitive to that em and it was not normal for us to put female soldiers out on observation post duties in isolated posts where the facilities and the conditions weren't sufficiently developed to have them we'd stay in their own quarters em but apart from that they carried out their duties just the same as anybody. (M7, 2007)

Commentary:

In this account discourses are drawn on that position women as needing protection; that host nation culture inhibits women's access to their full set of duties; and that a lack of appropriate 'facilities' can inhibit women's access to certain tasks and jobs on a mission. Discourses drawn on by men that could inhibit women's access to missions are also active in other accounts refer to extracts 27, 28 and 30.

6.2 Findings on Gender Roles in Host Nation

This section of the study outlines how discourses on the 'culture of host nations create barriers to women's inclusion on PSOs'. Discourses are operating within these accounts that 'Muslim men and tribal chiefs will not deal with women of any rank'. These discourses privilege local men over women peacekeepers, whose jobs and tasks are moved or changed to appease the local men.

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6.3 General Analysis of Discourses on Gender Roles in Host Nations

By asking 'How does the "equal but different" discourse position women and men within specific gender jobs and roles in a PSO?' and 'What are the costs to women peacekeepers for being part of a minority group?' this section of the study examines taken-for-granted assumptions about gender stereotypes, and how they create barriers to women's inclusion on a PSO. Historically, specifically whilst on missions in the Lebanon during the 1990s women were often prohibited from taking on their full set of duties due to policies that emphasized adherence to cultural gender norms in the host nations, which sometimes meant that women had to take a step back from certain tasks outside the camp which included communicating with local men (they were advised by the DF to ask a male subordinate to communicate directly with civilian males).   However, women's accounts reveal that they are able to undertake their jobs and tasks on a PSO regardless of cultural norms in host nations (see extracts 4, 10, 11, 12) if their commanders allow them; and when they have had difficulties they have been minimal. Culture is a discourse and is continually reproduced through discourses expressed at different sites belonging to a nation or the military and it constructs meanings of the self and others and influences actions (Burroughs, 2012).   In many conflict zones such as the Lebanon most of the civilians are women, elderly men and young boys and girls (Karame, 2001).   Women peacekeepers are now considered essential to the mission to engage with a greater diversity of the local population (Dharmapuri, 2013).   Karame (2001) argues that it is racism amongst western militaries that discourages women peacekeepers from interacting with local males not the culture within the host nations and that differences are exaggerated to suit western militaristic aims. Gender inequalities in host nations need to be examined as well as inequalities within the military to fully assess inhibitors to women's inclusion within PSOs.

Discourse one: 'Muslim Men and Tribal Chiefs will not deal with Women' AND Discourse Two: 'Cultural and gender norms in the host nation inhibit Women Peacekeepers access to missions/jobs/tasks'

In response to the question 'How does the "equal but different" discourse position women and men within specific gender jobs and roles in a PSO?' the accounts in this section reveal how women are used as signifiers of differences between groups. Women peacekeepers are used by militaries to represent the cultural boundaries between the military and the host nations as well as cultural boundaries between different peacekeeping militaries (for example, Irish, Nigerian, Pakistan). One of the most frequent arguments used against the presence of women in military functions in peace operations is that it might offend local culture or religion, particularly Muslim countries. This discourse that 'women peacekeepers offend civilian men' is acting as a 'knowledge' or 'truth' within male participant's accounts. Alongside this women are expected to 'self regulate' by fitting into the cultural gender norms of the host nation. However, Karame's (2001) research provided evidence about women's relationship with the military in Muslim countries and how it can be racist attitudes and unreconstructed gender hierarchies in Western militaries that influence their decision to inhibit women peacekeepers access to specific missions rather than gender norms in the host nation. The finding that women are discouraged by the DF from offering their hand to local civilian men in Muslim societies in case it causes offence is contradicted by the response from local men who sometimes shake hands with women and often communicate directly with them, as outlined within participant accounts in Chapter Five. Cultural sensitivity training is important but militaries need to be careful that they do not re-inscribe gender stereotypes onto civilian women and men that can border on racism. For example, the concept of 'cultural oversensitivity' (Hassan, 2010) can stereotype women and men's roles in host nation societies as fixed and static (Kronsell, 2012). Cultural inequalities need to be examined as part of the mandate for a PSO (Valenius, 2007). By focusing on 'cultural differences' and traditional practices that endorse patriarchal norms without challenging them, is akin to sticking a plaster over a gaping wound without cleaning it beforehand, it will become infected and need further treatment at a later stage if it is to heal. PSOs focus on 'problem solving' rather than critical thinking, for example, by allocating women

officer's tasks to male subordinates (such as negotiating with male tribal/religious leaders) and by conducting their duties without questioning the structural inequalities in the society and the injustices that local women experience within those societies. While civilian women are positioned homogenously as powerless and devalued within the participant accounts; civilian men are positioned homogenously as powerful and of value to the mission. This ideology keeps in place the notion of women as oppressed victims and reinforces the idea that women lack agency or instrumentality within their communities (Freedman, 2012). While the patriarchal/domineering masculinity of the tribal/Muslim leaders is left unquestioned or critiqued by the PSO and its peacekeepers, critical analysis of the structures of the post-conflict society and the inequalities inherent can be de-emphasised, marginalised or ignored. Cultural sensitivity goals within PSOs may undermine efforts to implement gender equality policies (Freedman, 2012). For example, the encouragement of traditional ways of negotiation or arbitration may reinforce the power of those already dominant, often older men, and give them license to acts of oppression because their judgments may reinforce unequal gender relations (Freedman, 2012; Harrell-Bond, 1999). In UN agencies such as UNHCR there is a resistance to gender equality policies because universalism 'is used to deny the validity of treating women as a separate category' (Freedman, 2012: 129) and 'associated with privileging one group over another in a zero-sum game' (Baines, 2004: 63).

> Gender equality then, is regarded by some staff as a cultural imposition, undermining the principle of non-intervention embedded in UNHCR culture. That gender equality is perceived to be a Western-feminist imposition is defended by staff who maintain a certain cultural relativism in their belief systems, despite their loyalty to principles of universality. (Baines, 2004: 63).

Baines (2004) highlights how the problems within the UN system are due to the privileging of traditional cultural norms and a male bias rather than prioritizing women's rights and equal access to power and decision-making within the refugee camp environment. It is this concern with cultural sensitivity by militaries and the different actors within a post-conflict situation that can marginalise civilian women within PSOs.

These concerns about gender and cultural norms in host countries confirm Cockburn's theory (2002) that unless peacekeepers reform their own gender relations they will re-

inscribe essentialised and dichotomized power relations into the mission and its interactions with civilians. In this section on cultural discourses it is women peacekeepers' 'difference' that is highlighted as causing offence to civilian men. The 'equal but different' discourse in this context positions civilian men as needing 'special treatment' by the DF and the PSO, to respect their masculine norms. This special treatment protects them from interactions with women peacekeepers who are positioned as 'unequal' to the civilian men in these cultural discourses and therefore it is they who may need to shift in the guise of developing trust with the host nation.

6.4 Military Culture: Men's Accounts

This section exams gender discourses and cultural norms amongst non-western peacekeeping troops and responds to the questions 'How does the 'equal but different' discourse position women and men within specific gender jobs and roles in a PSO?' and 'What are the costs to women peacekeepers for being part of a minority group?'

27. Foreign men can't work with Irish women

Did you notice any differences when women were present on a peacekeeping mission? Were the men more relaxed? Did it help to create other kinds of differences within the unit that you would see as positive?

The second trip [to Nippur] I was on in the FMR[9] (Force Mobile Reserve) there was no way the females would be allowed serve on it, it just wouldn't happen because a number of the nationalities eh are not able to deal with women of any rank really, we would have had women [...] but you couldn't put them into the FMR because they, they wouldn't have been able to, the Indians the Neps would have created eh problems that you just didn't need. (M5, 2007)

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[9] **Force Mobile Reserve** (FMR) is a multi-national mechanized high readiness reserve able to react to incidents anywhere in the United Nations Interim Force in Lebanon (UNIFIL) area of operations, it no longer exists. Today there are Quick Reaction Forces operating instead which are not multi-national but operated by individual PSO countries with soldiers from their own country.

Points of Analysis:

- The question while framed positively towards the benefits of women's presence is not answered directly. The response is evasive and the focus is placed on the 'nationalities' that wouldn't be able to work with women.

- Females are positioned as secondary to men with the words *'no way the females would be allowed serve on it'*. The word *'allow'* as opposed to 'encouraged' emphasizes this positioning of women within the discourse even though they are also officers.

- In this extract nationalities unable to deal with women 'of any rank' are 'othered' or differentiated from the DF peacekeepers.

Commentary:

Discourses of 'ethnic and racial difference' and the 'othering' of soldiers from the militaries of developing nations is a theme woven throughout many of the accounts. This 'othering' of non-Irish UN peacekeepers reveals a clash between military cultures and the problems that exist in multi-national missions. The discourse 'that foreign soldiers are sexist' is dominant within the accounts (see extracts 28, 30, 31, 32, 33, 34). This discourse if it nests with discourses such as 'women peacekeepers are vulnerable to sexual harassment by 'other' peacekeepers' can inhibit women's access to certain jobs and tasks on a mission.

28. 'Foreign' soldiers see women peacekeepers as camp followers

The response below is part of the discussion with the participant before any specific questions were asked in the interview.

But I got close to these guys [Pakistani officers ...] professionally and background wise we had a lot in common compared with some nationalities. I remember we were driving up one day, through the Namibians on the way to a social event or whatever, I said, "god isn't great to have these Namibians [women soldiers] there we're still struggling to get even 4% [women soldiers in the DF]" and his Pakistani colleague said "ah no sir they're just there for morale purposes, you'd never see them with a rifle". Now what he meant was that they were prostitutes or whatever like, and again it was a culture clash between the Pakistanis,

because of their culture women were very much in a [pause] non to the fore role, but these girls they were there they were carrying the rifles [...] I had seen myself that they were on checkpoints doing lots of work but [the Pakistanis] perceived them as camp followers or a worse kind. (M6, 2007)

Points of Analysis:

• This account draws on themes of 'similarities' and 'differences' between the Pakistani and Irish militaries.

• Pakistani soldiers are interactively positioned as 'others' who are 'othering' women peacekeepers

• The participant draws on a discourse that 'non-western male peacekeepers objectify women' and are seen as less egalitarian than their Irish counterparts.

• The participant positions the Pakistani soldiers multiply as he also acknowledges that Irish peacekeepers 'had a lot in common' with the Pakistani soldiers.

• This extract reveals an institutional discourse within the Pakistani military that women are present in PSOs to *'boost the morale of men'* rather than there as peacekeepers in their own right.

• The participant reflexively positions himself as aware of women as soldiers in their own right and the negation of the Namibian women's role as soldiers by the Pakistani officer despite the factual evidence.

Commentary:

The presence of the Namibian women peacekeepers in such large numbers challenge gender discourses that 'men are protectors' and 'women need protecting'. Discourses on 'women soldiers as camp followers' ('or a worse sort' meaning prostitutes) serves to undermine their presence as soldiers and challenges their right to be there. While there are few accounts that refer to women soldiers directly as prostitutes elsewhere in this research, there are many that position them as 'morale boosters' (see men's extracts in the Benefits of Women section in Chapter Five). These discourses imply that women's primary role as peacekeepers is to provide a more supportive working environment for men.

This account exposes how women's peacekeeping work is invisible to some military men. This invisibility or - not seeing - creates themes of difference that operate to position women in historical and imaginary roles that fit the dominant discourse of 'difference', such as women as camp followers or prostitutes.   Discourses that underpin gender stereotypes and sexist attitudes position women and men differently in relation to their work and create gendered boundaries between those who are perceived to have agency and power and those who do not.

29. Condoms and Celibacy

I was told that there are lots of young people running around Lebanon called Paddy and Mick, with Irish fathers, were they married to these women or not?

I am not aware of it, but I would have heard of those sort of rumors [...]But yes I have no problems with people mixing if it's just mixing is what I'm talking about, or it becomes another issue, and then with the missions in Africa we have the whole HIV/Aids which is a major issue and a worry for us, so all our soldiers are around HIV/Aids and thank god I was only checking this morning again, do we issue condoms when we are in mission areas? and thank god yes we still do on the basis, and just to give you a laugh about it Liberia the [pause] other missions, or the other troops were using so many condoms that the Irish were asked why are we not requesting the condoms from the UN, the reason was we were all locked up, there was no requirement for them, so those are the issues, but it is an issue that we have to look at it. But then I'm being told that I am ambivalent because on one hand I'm saying you can't have sex and yet on the other hand I'm giving out condoms but we have to be practical. (M10, 2008)

Points of Analysis:
- In this account protecting troops from HIV/Aids is a priority; the protection of local women either from the spread of HIV/Aids or from prostitution is not mentioned.
- The participant reflexively positions himself as 'ambivalent' on the issue of sexual relations between peacekeepers and local women.

Commentary:

The policy of 'no sex' with the practice of 'sex in certain circumstances' and the acceptance of a discourse that sex if it is 'safe' and 'discreet' are drawn on simultaneous within the accounts. The assumption being that sexual activity is part of human behavior and therefore uncontrollable to a large degree whilst on a mission. Within the 'equal but different' discourse men's differences are drawn on by the UN who assume that men cannot go without sex for six months or that at least it is too much to insist on celibacy, therefore condoms are provided. This is one of only two explicit references to the use of prostitutes by male participants in this study. The only reference to prostitution by a woman participant is in Chapter Seven in relation to foreign militaries or 'other' peacekeepers not in relation to the Irish troops. This account illuminates ambivalence around the subject of sex and confusion as a result of the magnitude of the issue and the complexity of the situation in practical terms when on a mission, highlighting the difficulty for some commanders to make a stand and to communicate without equivocation that sex is inadmissible at all times on a mission. The use of prostitutes whilst condemned by the Peacekeepers Code of Conduct is unofficially accepted as part of a mission, and peacekeepers are issued condoms to protect them from disease. This implies that the unequal gender relations within the host country or between the local woman and the peacekeeper are not being analysed or actively transformed to protect civilian women and to establish a more egalitarian society post conflict.

6.5 Military Culture: Women's Accounts

This section of the study draws out discourses from women's accounts that respond to the question: 'How does the 'equal but different' discourse position women and men within specific gender jobs and roles in a PSO?'

30. Foreign Militaries Gender Stereotype

Did you ever believe that you were stopped from undertaking a task because of your gender? (For example, not involved in low-level negotiations with local civilian men; not involved in what was considered a dangerous element of the mission?)

In [Country X] (2001), we had limitations put on when we moved outside of the camp. You basically had to have a man with you – Larsan rules – they were all misogynists (the Larsans) – the culture of the force (you are serving with/under command of) influences how you were treated. The Larsans don't have any women in their infantry – only in support roles – so that's how they would view women soldiers. We had the last laugh though. We had to get additional security and the new platoon commander was a woman and she was from Eru. Working with the Larsan Commander (and his attitudes) caused tension for me but not for the Larsans – it didn't really impact the mission cos we didn't move outside the barracks we were gathering information as opposed to going on patrols. The Irish army didn't encourage female enlisted personnel to go on the mission [Country X] because the physical nature of the mission was over emphasized – it was very physical – the training was extremely difficult but there were some women who may have been able for it. (W8, 2007)

Points of Analysis:

- Gender binaries are highlighted as an issue within militaries rather than the host culture, and it is this that impacts directly on women soldiers' access to certain jobs such as secondments to other militaries; these gender binaries operate to position women and men in opposition with some jobs considered too difficult or dangerous for women.

- Essentialised notions of the 'naturalness' of gender binaries create silos and position women and men in specific and different jobs and roles.

- Protective discourses towards women are highlighted in the phrase *'the physical nature of the mission was over emphasized'* and this is connected to a lack of encouragement by the DF for women to deploy.

- The account identifies solidarity amongst women peacekeepers with the words *'we had the last laugh'*.

- The Larsan military does not position women in combat roles thereby making visible gendered divisions of labour which is eluded to as sexism in this account with the words: *'The Larsans don't have any women in their infantry – only in support roles – so that's how they would view women soldiers'.*

Commentary:

The 'equal but different' discourse within the DF essentialises femininities and utilizes gender dichotomies to dissuade women from applying for certain operational jobs considered dangerous. These decisions may reduce women's opportunities to serve overseas and to access promotion competitions. Gender dichotomies are reinforced or weakened depending on the culture of the particular military operating within a peacekeeping context. In this account the '*Larsans were all misogynists*' and they only have women working in support roles in their military. As is discussed in another account by the same participant these gender dichotomies 'create women's jobs' and 'women's ghettos' based on stereotyped notions of the homogeneity of women.

This account also highlights performativity and in this case how the participant was able to perform a job or task that was physically difficult (and considered masculine) we know this because she says '*The Irish army didn't encourage female enlisted personnel to go on the mission [in Country X] because the physical nature of the mission was over emphasized*'.

Notions of the 'naturalness' of gender binaries make discourses dominant such as 'men are protectors' which impinges on women's access to certain jobs and missions. As will be discussed in extracts 35 and 36, women are positioned differently to men in specific contexts (sometimes in relation to host nation culture; sometimes in relation to other military men; sometimes in relation to a particular mission) and as a result have been informally inhibited from accessing certain missions or carrying out their full set of duties on others.

31. Irish Women Officers a novelty to Nigerian Officers

Did you ever get the impression that local combatants or civilians were more relaxed dealing with you because you are a woman?

I remember meeting one, I think he was a commandant from Nigeria, [...] He was so intrigued that I was a female officer doing this job. He was astonished, and this guy he followed me everywhere for the day you know, to the extent that it irritated my male

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counterparts, they were like you know, 'back off' you know, but they were just astonished. He didn't believe that I was doing the same job you know and he was astonished by this he thought it was amazing he couldn't understand it at all, but the fact that he was following me it irritated my male counterparts they didn't want him singling me out they didn't want him you know again their protective nature to me I suppose. But like I said the civilians or the locals didn't really differentiate. I presume they were conscious that there were females there, [...]at that time the UN had only been in Elam (2004), six or seven months, we were still the white soldier and that was the way they viewed us, so the males or females didn't seem to be a factor for them, but other armies we worked with especially the African armies were quite shocked to see that. (W7, 2007)

Points of Analysis:

• In this account the participant interactively positions herself as an officer as 'astonishing' to the Nigerian officer.

• The participant draws on a discourse that '*the African armies were quite shocked to see that'*; while there was little or no reaction from civilians to women peacekeepers other than them being the *white soldier'.*

• The participant is one of a minority of women in a leadership position and this draws unwanted attention to her '*they didn't want him singling me out'.*

• The participant assumes her male peers are protecting her, with the phrase '*their protective nature to me I suppose'.* It's not clear whether they're protecting her because she's a woman or whether they're protecting her because she's a buddy.

• In this account the locals did not differentiate between women and men and if they did the gender of the soldiers was not important to them, '*locals didn't really differentiate. I presume they were conscious that there were females there'.*

Commentary:

In this account the discourse 'women officers are astonishing to African soldiers' nests with the discourse in the previous extract (30) that highlights how women are positioned as 'different' by the Larsan Commander. Dealing with military officers and commanders from 'other' militaries is being drawn out in these accounts as more problematic than dealing with the civilian males, see extracts 32, 33 and 34. Gender performances are also

being highlighted with the woman positioned in a senior ranking role considered 'a man's job' by personnel from African militaries; which needed to be confirmed, '*he didn't believe I was doing the same job'*. Irish women peacekeepers makes women in leadership roles as equal to men visible to military men from armies that do not recruit or promote women into officer positions.

32. Civilians don't treat women differently; male soldiers do!

From Interview Schedule III in Kosovo: And what reminds you that you are a woman and one of a minority group when you are on a mission?

There's nothing really, the jobs that I've been in I've always been treated as a soldier. The only difference would be after hours on missions, that's when you find lads with a few drinks in them, that's where I find there is a difference between how you are treated and I've never been treated different between the locals, the locals don't treat you differently it would be within our own unit itself. I suppose the likes of the INDIBATT I found over in Nippur (1999-2000).

The what? *The Indian battalion, sorry! They treated you differently, I remember one day we were down in [region Y] just walking down the street and there was a group of Indians there and they all stopped and took out their cameras and started taking photographs of us.* (W14, 2008)

Commentary:
In this account the participant interactively positions herself with male peers (as being treated differently by them when they are drunk) civilians (not experiencing problems with their attitude towards her) and Indian soldiers (treating women peacekeepers as a novelty)**.** This extract highlights how it is women's own male peers who can treat them differently on a mission as well as military men from other nations this links with accounts in extracts 33 and 34.

33. Gifts for Women Officers

Did you ever notice a reaction towards you because you were a woman?

Yeah definitely [she laughs]. It wasn't a bad way but you know they had so many soldiers within the camp and you'd always kind of see them looking at you if you were walking past you know but the officers, the Pakistani officers were very, they probably weren't used to women being in the army, but they actually made you feel very welcome. They'd organise dinners with the officers the Irish officers and they'd always make a point of looking after us the women, they'd actually allow us to get served first, like they wouldn't let anyone else get served before the ladies you know, which would be very different to the cookhouse in the Irish camp you know, you'd be fighting your way, […], so that was a bit different. And even when we were leaving they gave us presents, just the female officers they gave us a little purse [both laugh]. (W6, 2007)

34. Surprise at women's presence by Pakistani soldiers

Did you ever get the impression that local combatants or civilians were more or less relaxed around you because you were a woman?

Not really among the locals – for security purposes we didn't encourage gangs of people to cluster about like and – they were maybe shyer around us you know like you wouldn't really encourage a whole gang of people to swarm around you – you'd find it a lot more when you visited other armies that were holding ground there you know – say we visited the Pakistanis or something you know they used to find it really unusual and they'd be – they'd all kind of swarm around you to take your photo and that like you know all the African countries found it really strange that there were women in the army or women in leadership roles specifically. (W5, 2007)

Point of Analysis:

- While local civilians are discouraged from gathering around women peacekeepers this is ignored by Pakistani soldiers.

Commentary:

Extracts 33 and 34 reflect the discourse in extract 32 'that women's presence surprises other militaries'; it also reflects the discourse in extract 31 that some 'TCCs find it strange to have women present'. In extract 33 it is the women's femininities that are emphasized by the giving of purses as gifts to each of the female officers. Thereby, emphasizing women's 'difference' and the delight of the Pakistani soldiers in having women present on a mission, albeit they are positioning women as 'novelties'.

6.6 Findings on Military Culture

By asking: 'How does the equal but different" discourse position women and men within specific gender jobs and roles in a PSO?' and the follow on question 'What are the costs to women peacekeepers for being part of a minority group?', the findings in this section expose dominant discourses that position non-western male soldiers as unable to work with Irish women peacekeepers and as sexist in their attitudes towards women due to traditional gender norms within their own countries. Nesting with this dominant discourse is a discourse drawn on by women participants that the cultural problems for women peacekeepers when on a mission is not dealing with male civilians but dealing with male soldiers, sometimes from their own and often from other militaries. This links in with the finding that some non-western militaries are surprised by women's presence on a mission, especially as officers or in the same jobs as men and that 'non-western male soldiers treat women soldiers as novelties', and thereby emphasize their difference to men, this is indicated through the giving of gifts to women and taking their photograph. One of the other key findings is that some peacekeeping troops position women soldiers as camp followers, morale boosters to men, and prostitutes. Women are positioned predominantly as supporters of men in *their* soldiering and protecting roles.

6.7   General Analysis of Discourses on Military Culture

The accounts in this section discussed how it is variations of military culture rather than the culture of the host nation that has the greatest impact on women's full inclusion into PSOs. By asking this study's over-arching question: 'How does the "equal but different" discourse distribute power in different contexts and what impact does that have on women's inclusion in PSOs?' this section reveals the following discourses.

Discourse One: 'Non-western male soldiers cannot be trusted to work with Irish women peacekeepers'

Gender draws boundaries and maintains cultural differences between nations and TCCS (Carreiras, 2010) and reveals how soldiers cope with cultural diversity amongst militaries. Peacekeeping Missions are multi-national and therefore bring national armies into close proximity with each other's working styles, values, and attitudes. The DF work closely with many countries whilst on missions. The discourse 'foreign male soldiers cannot work with Irish women peacekeepers' reveals how women become the symbolic markers of culture and difference amongst troops on a mission. It also illuminates how women's presence allows the Irish men to be both masculine males (protectors) and ethnically differentiated (non-sexist). In these discourses women 'belong' to the nation and are linked to men via the nation's military and must be protected from the ethnic 'other' soldier and nation.

> There are both similarities and differences between gender and ethnicity in the processes they involve and the effects they produce. Both are processes of differentiation and othering. In both of them is a tendency to dichotomy, to the drawing of lines, pushing outwards and downwards the one who is not the self, reducing it, marginalizing it, silencing it in the interests of self-affirmation. Both differentiations vary along a continuum – some differences are laid back, others ferociously enforced and policed. When gender extremism occurs it is often as part of political projects of ethnic differentiation, as in fundamentalist religious movements. (Cockburn, 2004)

This discourse dualistically positions western and non-western peacekeepers along a continuum as non-sexist and sexist in their attitudes towards women. This discourse reveals a tension between different types of masculinities performed within the PSO

context. These differences are most visible between the warrior model of masculinity and the peacekeeping model of masculinity which may prevail in particular nations (Whitworth, 2004). Differences amongst militaries therefore need to be understood in terms of the relationships between masculinities as much as between masculinities and femininities and the impact these cultural 'truths' have on women's positioning within a PSO need to be explored more fully. If this discourse 'that it is "other" men who cannot be trusted' takes root it will position women in designated 'women-friendly' spheres away from 'other' military men and will maintain both hegemonic masculinities and cultural differences. While these discourses are not officially part of DF policy if they were to influence policy they would curtail women's access to their full set of duties.

Discourse Two: 'Non-western military men are surprised by women peacekeepers'
By asking the sub-question 'What are the costs to women peacekeepers for being part of a minority group?' this section reveals a discourse within women's accounts that ethnically differentiated males are surprised at their presence on a mission, especially when the women are in senior ranking jobs. The very presence of women and their visibility in senior ranks and jobs creates a response to women that would otherwise go unnoticed. Noticing the attitudes of male peers draws our attention to gender and the positioning of women and men within and without the military. Masculinities and femininities are valued by military institutions differently and this is revealed through their allocation of jobs and tasks (which also become gendered). In the instances where Irish women soldiers are 'surprising' male counterparts in 'other' militaries they are drawing these soldiers attention to how women can be/and are positioned as 'equals' in some military cultures, thereby, disrupting gender stereotypes that position women as victims and men as their protectors.

There is a clear delineation between women's narratives and men's narratives on the subject of 'foreign peacekeepers' and they reveal how 'equal but different' gets played out in the field to position and reposition women depending on the culture of their peacekeeper peers. While both women and men acknowledge differences, the women focus on how their presence 'surprises' soldiers from non-western militaries; while the men's discourses focus on how these soldiers 'can't work with women'. The first position

is not seen as particularly problematic; but the second one is extremely problematic. These discourses that position the 'other male' as the problem who cannot be trusted may operate to exclude women from certain tasks or missions. The military would be positioning the 'foreign men' as privileged over their own women officers if they were to shift women's access to missions or tasks specifically because of the discourse 'foreign men can't work with women'.

Discourse Three: 'ambivalence towards use of local women as prostitutes'

By asking 'How does the "equal but different" discourse distribute power in different contexts?' the accounts in this section reveal that it is cultural norms within the military which dominate in relation to the issue of prostitution; with an expectation by the UN that male peacekeepers will need condoms even when they are enclosed behind a barbed wire fence. The DF equality and diversity policies on culture recommend the need for personnel to adapt their tasks and duties to suit cultural norms in the host country, especially so as not to antagonise civilian men.   However, the same military policies do not always extend in practice to male soldiers use of local women as prostitutes, refer to extract 29. In relation to civilian women research demonstrates that the further away from home and the more destitute the civilian population the more likely a male soldier is to abuse a local woman or girl (Reeves in Christian Science Monitor, 2007). In a report written by Barth (2002) for the Peace Research Institute in Oslo on the UNMEE mission in Eritrea, she states that from interviews with Irish peacekeepers she learnt that:

> By having girlfriends and paying them now and then, they feel that they are helping them. The soldiers who spend time with local women see themselves as doing something beneficial. They believe themselves kind and generous, a self-perception that no doubt is reinforced by the Eritrean girls. (2002, 15)

While Irish soldiers may believe they are helping local women through their relationships with them the report states that local men grow resentful of the peacekeepers because they have money, access to alcohol and access to local women (Barth 2002). The presence of male soldiers can be perceived as a threat to a local man's status in society and can lead to fighting between the two sides. Barth's (2002) research outlines how deeply entrenched poverty, lack of job opportunities for women, and lack of rights within

their own country mean that having a peacekeeper as a boyfriend is one of the few ways they can improve their situation financially. Prostitutes in post-war society may be seen as agents but they are usually extremely desperate and therefore are in fact victims of the war like any other (Barth, 2002). Local women may look upon peace operations as offering a possible solution to their problems because of the great imbalance in terms of material resources between the peacekeepers and the local population. The UN has a zero-tolerance policy on sexual misconduct, despite this there remains ambivalence amongst some peacekeeping troops about the use of prostitutes. The essentialised positioning of women as care-givers and sexual beings extends to civilian women in post-conflict countries. Fragile and poverty-stricken post-conflict host nations create 'peacekeeping economies' to survive (Enloe, 2000: 91). These economies supply peacekeepers with whatever they need to ease their six-month tour of duty. They supply interpreters, cleaning and kitchen staff, and they also supply prostitutes. Local women supply 'sex for survival' sometimes as 'girlfriends', where the giving of gifts and money can be passed off as supporting the development of the post-conflict country without having to acknowledge the unequal power relations between the peacekeepers and the local women. Enloe stresses the connection between sex exploitation and militarism as an important factor in the development of sex economies (2000: 51). The UN is failing to address this issue adequately partly because while it has a zero-tolerance policy the commanders of national militaries differ in their cultural beliefs and values and it is they who are charged with the responsibility of leading disciplined troops, and instilling a commitment to a zero-tolerance policy (Valenius, 2007; Simic, 2010).

Discourse four: 'Military culture inhibits women not host nation culture'

By asking 'How does the "equal but different" discourse distribute power in different contexts and what impact does that have on women's inclusion in PSOs?' discourses in women's accounts point to the military culture in the DF as well as other TCCs, as inhibitors to their full acceptance as peacekeepers. 'Women may not be welcome in peacekeeping missions because of the soldiers' ambivalence toward the "feminine" aspects of peace missions' (Sion, 2008: 563). Depending on the context, the presence of women may heighten or lessen tension amongst men. For example, the presence of women working in equal roles alongside male peers may further undermine those men

and their masculinity within the eyes of other TCCs who do not deploy women; which may challenge their identity as hyper-masculine warrior men. The discourse on the feminization of peacekeeping may also be creating a backlash against women peacekeepers, with some men wanting to assert that they are the 'real' soldiers and thereby positioning women as the 'other'.

6.8 Protective Discourses: Men's Accounts

By considering 'How does the 'equal but different' discourse position women and men within specific gender jobs and roles in a PSO?' this section of the study takes a look at discourses on gender binaries that position the man as protector and the woman as victim and identify how discourses on the 'male as protector' can operate to inhibit women's access to a mission or their full set of duties.

35. More Harrowing for Women

And you know they [male peacekeepers in Observer roles] see themselves as a bit vulnerable in certain situations, and they told me some hairy stories about what had happened to them in various places. And on one or two occasions these guys said to me it's too dangerous for a woman to be an officer in X, Y, Z location, I thought that was interesting considering these women were trained exactly the same and I know the women would consider anywhere, they are not going to hold back, would you agree with that comment?

I suppose a husband/wife or boyfriend/girlfriend the male will always want to protect her. You know, you look after your wife or girlfriend. In that environment you know I've experienced hairy situations myself and I was glad to get out of them. You are vulnerable, you know and you have to talk your way out of situations. But a situation where someone is kidnapped, you know, again it's more harrowing if a woman is kidnapped you know what she could be subjected to. I suppose it's the male psyche of 'Jesus a woman there' you know, she's very vulnerable. The men are as vulnerable but it's just the whole protection issue. A cultural protection issue, you know. […] The man is seen as more physically, not macho, but more [pause] aggressive in a situation, like he can be aggressive especially in a very dangerous situation, you have to maintain a high level of control and aggression. If you are seen to be weak you know, god knows what would happen. I suppose it's just the

guy thing of 'god you can't put them there', it's nothing personal, nothing discriminatory against women it's just our attitudes. I'd say over time, when more and more women reach higher rank and they'll feel expected to volunteer or expected to go hopefully they will get out there, they are out there but not in the same numbers. I suppose they'll be sent to less dangerous missions, a lot of women in Uruk, women in Elam. I'm sure it's changing. (M12, 2008)

Points of Analysis:

- In this account the participant is aware that there is a discourse that positions men as the protectors and that this discourse is cultural and about gender binaries rather than something that is natural or innate, when he says it is '*A cultural protection issue*'.

- Men are positioned as perceived to be more aggressive than women '*The man is seen as more physically, not macho, but more [pause] aggressive in a situation [...]If you are seen to be weak you know god knows what would happen*' and how this positions women and men differently within the eyes of the aggressor.

- The participant also multiply and reflexively positions himself as frightened or vulnerable in certain contexts '*I've experienced hairy situations myself and I was glad to get out of them. You are vulnerable, you know and you have to talk your way out of situations*'.

- The small number of women on particular missions is highlighted '*they are out there but not in the same numbers*'.

- There is a hopefulness about the possibility of increasing the numbers of women in higher ranks and them having access to all mission activities, '*over time, when more and more women reach higher rank and they'll feel expected to volunteer or expected to go hopefully they will get out there*'.

- This account draws our attention to contradictory discourses on gender and its performance; in the first instance '*it's more harrowing if a woman is kidnapped*'. However, this is contradicted later on with the words: '*The men are as vulnerable but it's just the whole protection issue*,' implying that men feel responsible for the protection of women and that it is part of their gender role.

Commentary:

The participant is self reflexive in this account as he acknowledges that while he draws on discourses that position men as the protectors; women are also taking on these roles; and that it is only a matter of time before more women are being deployed to dangerous missions. He can see how women's positioning within the institution is changing over time and that there is now a tension between the 'men are protectors discourse' and the fledgling discourse on 'women are protectors.

This account reveals gendering processes, for instance the gender performance of the 'aggressive male' is necessary so as not to appear 'weak' to the aggressor. Women are positioned as more vulnerable than men while at the same time the participant acknowledges his own vulnerability. The discourse on 'men are protectors' nests with the discourse on the 'unfair to let them go' discourse referred to in Extract 56.

36. Military Observer roles: too dangerous for women?

Were you ever aware that being a man hindered or helped you in your role as a peacekeeper?

In the Ur for instance I was glad I was a man out there I wouldn't have liked to have been a female in the situation out there certainly wouldn't have felt safe.

You didn't feel safe or secure in the Ur?

No certainly put a woman in the scenario I think it would be a lot different…they've a lot of issues do with you know women, brutality, rape and that kind of stuff, I certainly wouldn't feel at ease and I know in certain situations that arose out there that certainly I'm glad I wasn't a female out there that's one thing for sure. So I think probably for that reason we wouldn't deploy females out into that kind of scenario without back up or support.

And do you have any particular stories?

I need a pint for this one [we all laugh]...I met an Irish girl who was working with an aid agency out there she had been raped at gunpoint the day before so she was – she drank a bottle of whisky that night – I met her the following day – she was in bits now as you can

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imagine she'd been raped by two black guys and her friend had been shot in the leg while trying to protect her so that was like – it's very it's awful to hear that kind of scenario happening and I suppose for reasons I said earlier on I'm glad there wouldn't be a female overseas – I suppose for them a white female is probably like a big notch on the belt for them. (M3, 2006)

Points of Analysis:

• This account draws on the discourse that 'certain missions are too dangerous for women' *'we wouldn't deploy females out into that kind of scenario without back up or support'* and that women are therefore not able to protect themselves as well as men.

• The account highlights race and positions being white as superior when it states '*I suppose for them a white female is probably like a big notch on the belt'.*

Commentary:

Although the 'too dangerous for women' discourse exists in relation to certain missions and jobs, women have been deployed to these missions, albeit in very small numbers. This account and the previous one emphasize the 'men are protectors' discourse but while extract 35 acknowledges that women are taking on these dangerous roles; in this account women are positioned as unequal to male peers. There is a tension between this account and the one in extract 30 which argues that women can and do take on dangerous missions and can find them rewarding. Recent research theorizes that although some TCCs are increasing their numbers of women peacekeepers they are not being deployed on missions considered 'too dangerous' (see Schjølset, 2013; Olsson and Möller, 2013; Karim and Beardsley, 2013).

37. Tendency to rely on the male more

But if you had two women working as your security guards almost, would you be comfortable with that?

That is a question that I really can't answer I really don't know, I would probably be a bit nervous, I would want to know how are they likely to react if fire was directed, but then again how could I make sure…I've never seen a soldier under fire. I don't know, I've come under fire in Ammon or wherever I was, so I'm not saying that the female would

react any better than the male but the tendency is to rely on the male more, but why actually I don't know, maybe they're there longer, so the answer is that I wouldn't know of any case, I wouldn't know. but I remember that day when I sent down this car to Naqura and this colonel said to me 'why are there two females?' 'They're soldiers I trust them'[pause] But under fire, I don't know. I really don't know. (M7, 2007)[10]

Points of analysis:

• This account highlights uncertainty about why men are relied on more than women under fire; and does not draw on gender binaries or essentialist ideas about biology.

• The participant is self-reflexive when he considers that he has *'never seen a soldier under fire'* so therefore has no real or practical experience of this situation.

• The participant does not gender stereotype and although revealing ambiguity about women's ability to protect as well as men he has positioned women in 'protector roles' on a mission and this is revealed in the account about the colonel with the words: *'why are there two females?', 'they're soldiers I trust them'.*

Commentary:

This account draws on the 'men are protectors' discourse in extract 35. However, in this account while there is uncertainty about women's ability to react appropriately due to lack of experience; there is also an acknowledgement that men's reactions in dangerous situation are unproven. This is a muted discourse 'unsure why we rely on the male more' compared to the previous two accounts (extracts 35 and 36) that firmly position the 'men are protectors' discourse at the center of their narratives.

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[10] Military studies show women and men work well together when women are not a novelty in a unit 'it took one infantry colonel a week to realize that some of the military personnel protecting him in the field were female (due to their military protective clothing – gender was less visible)'. 'In peacekeeping operations, women MPs are generally closer to the "front lines" than are the all-male infantry and armoured units.' (Goldstein, 2001:100)

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38. Male Family Members Provide Protection

Do you think it is easier for a woman to work in the armed forces if she is married to a man in the armed forces because it creates a screen around her, a shield to keep predatory males away from her?

I think deep deep down yes, it would be an advantage because we're a small enough organization and generally speaking you'd know that she's married to so and so, but also as well I suppose it would benefit to the point of view of if an issue comes up and you know she wants to get it off her chest, the fact that he is in the organization he understands why, whereas if he was a civilian he'd have to explain why my boss is giving me a hard time because this return wasn't put in or I'm under inspection next week and xyz. It's easier to explain it to somebody who is in the army but on the other point I think maybe yeah it would be [pause] a side matter but yeah it would matter [it would take attention away from her?] it probably would actually yes. (M11, 2008)

Commentary:

In this extract a woman's relationship to male officers within the DF is considered to be influential on two counts. One that a partner in the military can support her better because he understands the pressures and cultural constraints; and two, because he can provide her with personal protection within the military from sexual harassment or bullying, this is supported in accounts by different participants edited out due to limitations of space.

6.9 Findings on Protective Discourses

The accounts in this section reveal a discourse that some missions are 'too dangerous for women'. Other discourses in this section include:

- Peacekeepers should be perceived as aggressive in a dangerous situation.
- Both women and men are vulnerable on a mission; but gender binaries position women as more vulnerable than men.
- Women can be protected from sexual harassment or bullying by male family members in the DF.

6.10 General Analysis of Protective Discourses

This section of the study discusses two dominant discourses on protection which are operating within men's accounts. These discourses draw on gender binaries to position women on the 'different' axis of the 'equal but different' discourse. As such, women are not positioned as the 'real soldiers' because some environments would be too dangerous for them. These discourses have the potential to inhibit women's access to missions and jobs.

Discourse One: 'Men are Protectors'

By asking 'How does the "equal but different" discourse position women and men within specific gender jobs and roles in a PSO?' reveals the 'men are protectors' discourse as dominant in the accounts in this study. Women's presence on a mission creates discourses that emphasize men as both masculine protectors of women and ethnically differentiated from other males. The discourse on men as 'protectors of women' emphasizes dichotimised and essentialised differences between women and men in the accounts. The dominance of men in the military hierarchy, creates a situation where they have the authority and power formally and informally to enforce policies to curtail women's access to missions through these protective discourses. Although the 'protective discourse' is not actually written into DF policies it can influence them, for example, if these protective discourses inhibit women's access to duties outside the mission camp they will not only limit women's access to experience, skill development and promotion but will also maintain hegemonic masculinities and cultural differences within the mission. Therefore, it can be a disempowering discourse for women by curtailing the types of mission and jobs allocated to them. The explanation given can be that either the culture within the host country or within the troop contingents will be too hostile or the particular mission is considered too difficult or dangerous for women. This discourse links in with Eduards argument that 'women are degraded and excluded from certain operations as a way to confirm the norms and culture of the majority group' (2012: 59). Stiehm (2001) argues that to destroy the myth of 'men as protectors' it is necessary to include larger numbers of women within the military in equal jobs and ranks thereby making women the 'protectors' as well as men (Stiehm, 2001), and she theorizes that:

> If women and men are both protectors rather than one the 'protector' and one the 'protected' there would be less justification for immoral acts, because there would be less emphasis on the 'manliness' of war, and new questions about its morality could be raised (Stiehm in Tickner, 1992: 60).

Thereby challenging and eroding the link between masculinities and violence and creating alternative multiple non-violent subjectivities for men. However, critical feminist theorists question if women soldiers using physical, strategic and technical skills to kill some and defend others would create a 'deep shift in traditional gender roles that digs at the heart of patriarchal culture forcing it to question and dismantle who the vulnerable are' (Enloe, 1983). As women soldiers may become further militarized and linked to violence. Although liberal and critical feminists look at militarism through different lenses their end goal dovetails as they aim to dismantle gender stereotypes and consider new possibilities such as the creation of multiple subjectivities and the transformation of gender discourses.

Discourse Two: 'Certain Missions are "too dangerous" for women'

By asking 'How does the "equal but different" discourse distribute power in different contexts and what impact does that have on women's inclusion in PSOs?' and the follow on question 'What are the costs to women peacekeepers for being part of a minority group?' the discourse 'certain missions are too dangerous for women' is revealed. This 'too dangerous' discourse nests with the 'men are protectors' discourse. These discourses are important because they have the power to create divisions of labour within the military along gendered lines. The rationale for this sounds 'normal' or 'natural' but if it is acted upon it perpetuates the exclusion of women from particular areas of responsibility and will reify gender roles. This will ultimately lead to the creation of 'women's jobs and 'men's jobs' and deepen inequalities within the DF. These discourses challenge the new image of the feminization of peacekeeping with women taking on more visible roles and ranks. One way of demarcating boundaries between masculinised and feminized roles is by positioning women as unable to work in certain missions due to danger. Othering women peacekeepers' allows men to retain the masculinised warrior role while allocating the humanitarian (caring) role to women. There is evidence of women being discouraged

from deploying to certain missions considered too dangerous or too physically arduous (refer to extract 30). By 2000 while all jobs and roles were theoretically open to women in the DF only one had deployed as a UN military observer. This figure has increased since then but sex dis-aggregated figures are not available.

6.11 Divisions of Labour, Competition and Promotion Opportunities: Men's Accounts

This section of the study examines discourses on competition and differences between women and men and how they impact on promotion competitions and divisions of labour. By looking at these accounts through the 'equal but different' lens we can see how women's 'difference' is activated within the discourses as 'special treatment', thereby revealing the gender neutrality of the 'equal but different' discourse.

39. Surviving the physical demands

How did the process of the recruitment and retention of women [in the initial recruitment drive for women in 1980] go?

As far as I recall there were some platoons that came in that were just for females, in the initial stages, and of course there was a lot of interest to find out would the female be able to survive the physical demands when they applied to the cadet school em certainly there was a lot of interest but you know as time goes by they are subsumed into the organisation and they wouldn't have had as prominent role as maybe they wanted themselves and I think that's because of the domestic set up a lot of them get married and [sound] then they hadn't been as readily available for specific appointments abroad as might otherwise have been the case. (M7, 2007)

Commentary:

In this extract it is clear that structural forces that create inequalities for women such as their primary role as carers within the home were not considered within the initial recruitment of women and this is explained as having curtailed women's opportunities to go on overseas missions, and ultimately to access promotions and senior ranks.

40. Women Can't Compete with Men Physically

Do you feel treated equally with female soldiers of the same rank?
Are you talking about overseas or at home?

I'm talking about anywhere.

There were no girls in my class, [...] there's no specific secret to dealing with them and they do their job, they're a member of the DF the same as I am [..] and it's the same way you treat everybody, people who wouldn't have had them in their circle or in their careers at any stage and they were in the army [...] Given equal treatment but by the same token you expect equal performance as well [coughs] physically, [..]those attributes would not be possible. (M4, 2007)

Points of Analysis:

- In this account there is an implication that there might be a distinction between home and overseas with the question, '*Are you talking about overseas or at home?*'

- There is an implication that gender equality should be underpinned by equal physical performance; and therefore it is not possible with the phrase '*those attributes would not be possible'.*

Commentary:

This extract draws on discourses of difference and states that women would have to be able to deliver the same as men physically to expect equal treatment, it contradicts discourses on 'women are equal but different' by placing the woman as 'not the real soldier'.

41. Women don't have to work as hard as men

Sometimes there are sexist comments being made, subtle or not so subtle. How do you feel when you are in the presence of male peers who are making sexist comments or remarks?

A woman in a certain situation, a guy would have lost face over something, something has happened and she would set him right etc etc, for example you see a lot more now in promotion competitions, where a woman has got it over a man and the losing candidate. She's a woman you know she must be shagging the president of the Board' like you know,

this sort of stuff. And it sort of loses attitude, 'you lost out' his friends would be 'ah you lost out to a woman, you must be useless'. It has happened, you know, em because the impression sometimes on courses and there's more difficult courses that women may sometimes, haven't seen it but I've heard it, maybe not worked as hard, because maybe the guys in Dublin want as many women to get through as possible. (M12, 2008)

Points of Analysis:

- In this extract there is a suggestion that the men talk about gender and competition between women and men among themselves.

- In this extract the words *'you see a lot more now in promotion competitions, where a woman has got it over a man and the losing candidate. She's a woman you know she must be shagging the president of the Board'* reveals a discourse that women receive preferential treatment in exchange for sexual favours as opposed to on merit.

- This extract perpetuates the concept of the rumour mill by stating '*I haven't seen it but I've heard it'*.

- Discourse that the military hierarchy favour women in promotion competitions '*the guys in Dublin want as many women to get through as possible'*.

- There is loss of face for men if they lose in a promotion competition to a woman, *'you must be useless'*.

Commentary:

The discourse that there is 'positive discrimination towards women' links with a discourse that 'women exploit senior officers to get the nicer jobs' (see extract 42). These discourses in men's narratives sit in opposition to the discourse in women's narratives that 'women work 100 times harder than men' to be seen as equal (refer to extract 46).

42. If Women were Qualified they would be Promoted

How do you see women progressing within the Irish military in terms of the glass ceiling, what's going to happen with women in the future with overcoming that hurdle, especially when the prospect of going overseas is less appealing because of family responsibilities?

Even before then we have a senior command and staff course, which is a course from commandant to lieutenant colonel (promotion) that is 9, 10 months long, it's even longer if

you complete your thesis, [...] there is no policy ah well we'll keep them out, it's simply the case if they're qualified – [...] it's regardless of gender [...] I won't say it's a lifestyle choice but there are circumstances which will influence which path you'll take I'm sure it's the same out in civilian street, you know, people out there – why aren't there more female bosses why aren't there more female CEOs? Some will say ok I'm going to put my family aside or purely job focussed and I'll do whatever it takes. (M11, 2008)

Points of Analysis:

- This account draws on a normative discourse to compare the promotion opportunities for women in the military with women '*on civilan street'*.

- The discourse that it is 'normal' and 'natural' for women to have a primary caring role within the family, common across society, is drawn on to explain why so few women have reached senior roles within the DF.

Commentary:

Most women with families will not be able to leave them for up to 10 months to complete a course; therefore, the gender neutral policy makes women's social roles outside the military, often as primary carers for children and the elderly, invisible; most women do not have the 'wife' equivalent at home (that most men have) to take on these caring roles and relieve them to undertake a year-long training course. This is made clear by looking at the numbers of women who have so far completed a senior command and staff course (two) with another woman currently taking part in a course (2013); and subsequently been promoted to Lieutenant Colonel (one); despite the fact that women have been soldiers in the DF for over 30 years.

43. Women can exploit Male Commanders for the nicer duties

Just coming back to the British story, when you separate men and women, did the men increase their use of local prostitutes?

They [the male soldiers] don't get out of camp they're confined [...]and this was the case that the officers told me they turned a blind eye to a certain amount but it got way beyond what was acceptable - there was always a certain amount you know - they weren't looking

for it – if you had a fictitious person called Josephine Murphy and Sergeant Smith happens to be making out the details and she happens to be sleeping with Sergeant Smith , and she gets the nice duties and she gets the nice trips, and that's what happens, and especially when you have a small number of females, they can pick and choose team leaders that they can exploit in their own way and no matter how you try and I've yet to hear, mixed units not having difficulties of this kind to some small or lesser extent. (M9, 2008)

Points of Analysis:

• This extract highlights a discourse that 'a blind eye' will be turned to some/discreet sexual activity on a mission.

• In this extract the inversion of gender power is highlighted, women are a scarce resource sexually because the men are confined in the camps, and this gives some women power over men.

• There is a discourse that women deliberately plan to exploit male leaders *'they can pick and choose team leaders that they can exploit in their own way'* to get the nicer jobs.

Commentary:

This account discusses how mixed units of women and men can create problems for commanders; and draws on the discourse that 'women are seductresses' discussed in extract 58. Women are visible in their role as 'sexual beings' and the disruption 'they' cause by being present in missions (refer to the section on Segregation of Facilities). This contrasts with their 'invisibility' in soldering and instrumental roles (extracts on protection and divisions of labour).

44. Women Officers: "Don't Tell, Ask"

Have the women ever thought they need to behave like men to be accepted and respected and to achieve promotion? Have you come across much of that?

Yeah I've seen that and generally it doesn't work. I think the women take a different tack em and I think a lot of men would take a similar tack as well, a softly softly get the job done, nothing abrasive – and maybe that's part of the reason our culture has changed to an extent something we would have talked about in the psychology as well like that it is

difficult for a woman to take on the same management style as some men like you know – an abrasive in your face management style and a lot of it is male ego and male insecurity like – they'd rather be asked than told by a woman – whereas it would be more acceptable for a man to tell you what to do you know. (M6, 2007)

Point of analysis:

- This account suggests that the presence of women may have influenced a change in commanding styles to become less abrasive and more *'softly, softly'*.

- A discourse that 'women 'ask' don't 'tell'' exists within this account linked to the dominant discourse of 'equal but different'.

- Repositioning of women privileges the needs of subordinate males over senior women, by requesting that women adopt a different style of leadership to that of male peers.

45. Womanly Jobs

Are female soldiers generally happy to take on those sorts of roles [CIMIC and civilian facing tasks]?

I really don't know, I think they would. I've never spoken to them and asked them but I've seen other army's women taking on these roles. Obviously, you know some women would have a very good tendency towards this and some men would also have a very good tendency – and you've some women who wouldn't – really I don't think it's, while I think the majority of women would be more likely to take up these roles, that's my opinion, it's a more womanly role,...eh...but there would be very many kind men who could also do this and some women would be very tough and it wouldn't be their role and they'd be very macho – so really it depends on the women and by and large […] it shouldn't be all women. (M7, 2007)

Commentary:

Throughout this account there is confusion and contradictions about whether CIMIC and civilian facing roles are specifically allocated to women or not. The participant backtracks on his initial assumption the CIMIC roles mainly suit women; he reconsiders and then positions women and men in their multiplicity of subjectivities.

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6.12 Divisions of Labour, Competition and Promotion Opportunities: Women's Accounts

This section of the study responds to the question: 'How does the 'equal but different' discourse position women and men within specific gender jobs and roles in a PSO?' from the perspectives of the women participants and reveals contradictory discourses to the ones in the previous section drawn on by men.

46. Women work 100 times harder than men

Other women I have interviewed tell me that they consider themselves to be equal but different to men in the DF, do you feel like that?

Yes, [pause] they always say, I hear the lads slagging the best rank to be in the army is a woman. [pause] It's seen from, well I have been told by some men that women seem to get a lot more than men. In saying that, women have to work 100 times harder than men to be regarded as an equal among them. It's a weird job. You have to prove yourself more than any bloke ever will and you are not allowed, you don't get away with as much as men. So I don't know if that's answering the question [laughs]. (W14, 2008)

Points of Analysis:

- Women and men talk about competition and gender to each other indicated by the phrase *'I have been told by some men'.*
- Discourse in men's narratives the 'women receive favourable treatment' and the implication is that this is either because the women are sleeping with a senior officer or because the women are receiving 'special treatment' from the DF hierarchy.
- When the participant asserts that *'it's a weird job'* the implication is that it is not like jobs on "civilian street" and shouldn't be compared as such.

Commentary:

This account reveals how 'equal but different' gets played out in themes on divisions of labour and promotion competitions. The discourse that women have to work '100 times harder than men' directly contradicts the discourse in men's narratives that 'women don't have to work as hard' as them (see extract 41). This account reveals that the issue of competition is discussed amongst women and men.

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47. Certain Jobs are for Women

Interview Schedule III. Schedule III focused on exploring findings from the previous two Interview Schedules to see if they held. This extract explores if the female participant feels equal but different in the DF, drawing on a discourse mentioned spontaneously by several women officers in earlier interviews.

Equal but different do you feel like this and if so why?

Yeah I definitely feel equal, obviously – I am not one of them who go in and say I am going to be better than them – I'd give as good as the next guy. There are certain jobs that we get that they don't get because you're a girl – whether you like it or not that's how it is. As ladies overseas some of the jobs like – are women's jobs – that's from my point of view [long pause] last year a job was here and a girl was in it and afterwards a guy went into it and the [commander] said that role was for a female – it's kind of like a PA kind of role. (W11, 2008)

Commentary:

This account draws on the theme that there are 'women's jobs' on a mission; and peacekeeping work is gendered with some jobs reserved for women or men. However, the fact that a man took a job considered 'feminine' implies that there may be fluidity in the gendering process operating within the DF; therefore a man can take on a 'feminine' job without losing his masculine identity. This gendering of jobs and disruption of jobs identified as feminine or masculine will be discussed in more detail in Chapter Seven.

48. Women Placed in 'Touchy Feely' Ghettos

What, if any, changes would you like to see made to the ideological makeup of the Irish Army?

[…]Civilians feel we [women] have a role to play in that stuff 'touchy feely' which means that you're all put into a little section and you can all do that which means that you can't do what you were trained for – one or two women might love it – and it is quite valuable, but don't ask me to do it – if it helped achieve a military aim certainly. I believe that all cultures have 50% women, so their view counts also, they do see you as a soldier, they do

see you as a woman, but they don't know what to make of you, you're a kind of a cross breed – they accept the uniform – it's also not culturally acceptable to drink alcohol but we still drink alcohol when we're over there. (W8, 2007)

Commentary:

The concern about women being pigeon-holed into specific 'women friendly' or *'touchy feely'* roles in this account reveals the assumption by the UN that women will naturally want to work with civilian women, and this is not the case. While civilian women (Cockburn, 2004) may want women peacekeepers to come as feminine women interested in their lives and experiences, this may not be of interest to many women peacekeepers. If jobs are corralled for women soldiers to specifically work directly with local populations this will draw on essentialist notions of women as natural care-givers, empathizers and listeners. This account also asserts that while women are expected to fit into certain cultural gender stereotypes these limitations do not extend to all sections of the mission as the consumption of alcohol is not restricted and yet this is not culturally acceptable in many conflict regions.

49. Gossip and Innuendo

Have you ever experienced sexist remarks from a male soldier, a civilian, or a soldier from another peacekeeping country?

It's the innuendo that actually frustrates me, you know, and I know it will never change, no matter what, cos the men are actually worse than women in the army, for gossiping, for talking, and if you've no story you can be rest assured they'll make one up, like what I find as well is that, they'd be slagging you, like the other night they said 'oh sure look at you you're only a few years in the army'. So what if I'm in it, I got off my butt and I worked damn hard, to be where I am and I make no apologies for it, and then they go, 'Oh we were only joking, we were only joking. (W11, 2008)

Points of Analysis:

- 'Soft data' of sexism is recognised here by this participant when she asserts that *'rumour and innuendo'* are used to undermine the confidence of military women.

- Male peers of the participant implied that she was promoted very quickly, '*oh sure look at you you're only a few years in the army.*

- It is further implied that her promotion was either because she is a woman and experienced positive discrimination or because she slept her way up the promotion ladder with the words she says: *[...]I got off my butt and I worked damn hard to be where I am and I make no apologies for it'.*

- Joking or "slagging" can be used as a cover up for sexual and gender harassment.

- When confronted directly the men did back down.

Commentary:

To spread rumours that specific women are having sexual relations with male peers is a particularly insidious form of attack by men during a PSO as this could lead to a disciplining action taken against military women. (At home sexual relations are allowed unless they involve an abuse of power/rank).

The sexual objectification of women in the military and the discourse that 'women have to use their sexuality to gain promotion' is often drawn on when sexist jokes are being made, and this has been highlighted in other accounts (see extract 42).

50. Women's Focus Groups are Backfiring

What do you see as the greatest challenges for women in the DF, looking at their peacekeeping roles but also just generally, their careers in the DF?

[...] You know there are certain jokes about token female-ism, and that's becoming more rife because of they are getting their gender guidance, they are getting their briefs on resolutions, there are focus groups galore you know we can't get enough focus groups. Em so I think we run the risk of actually [pause] excluding ourselves from being operationally effective if we put too much emphasis on it, and also we disrupt the natural balance of the potential females in operational units. (W15, 2008)

Points of Analysis:

- This extract highlights a concern that the small number of women in the military may be there to tick the 'equality legislation' agenda box, *'there are certain jokes about token female-ism'.*

- It is implied that *'gender guidance'* trainings in the military focuses on women as 'gender' without also discussing the unequal power relationships between women and men. This is implicated with the words that jokes about women are becoming *'more rife'.*

- There is an explicit concern that raising the issue of gender in the military could have a negative impact on women's ability to integrate and perform, *'I think we run the risk of actually [pause] excluding ourselves from being operationally effective if we put too much emphasis on it',* because it draws too much attention to women as a minority group.

Commentary:

This extract draws our attention to how if gender is conflated to mean 'women' as the focus of attention in gender training and focus groups it actually emphasizes their difference only in relation to the dominant group of men and therefore identifies them as needing 'special treatment'. The discourse that women are seen as 'tokens' and are present in the military because they tick a box (this could be an equality box, gender box, or UN quota box) is undermining women's right to be there on merit. If gender training only focuses on women, with the exclusion of men, this creates an unbalanced picture of gender relations, at home and abroad.

51. UNSCR 1325 could disrupt 'natural' gender balance

What do you see as the greatest challenges for women in the DF, looking at their peacekeeping roles but also just generally, their careers in the DF?

A couple of years ago there may have been a tendency not to put females in an operational role overseas. Not to the higher levels, not as company commander, not as battalion commander, but I think we're coming along in that direction but I think that is now a whole conservative attitude as an organization, but also the cultures we're going into [pause] there is simply not enough, percentage wise, females in the [military] which have a natural inclination, to go into an operational role, to cover what the UNSCR 1325 says, we can't have that many females – and if we do, what we are going to do is disrupt the natural balance of the organization. You have to want people to come into the organization and then you have to want them to adopt the role, it's no use having a female on patrol if she doesn't want to be there, if she wants to be a medic, you know that kind of way, emm

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[pause] and I think that that resolution (1325) has to be very careful that it doesn't promote discrimination the other way, and I think males are aware of it. (W15, 2008)

Points of Analysis:

• The participant is drawing attention to the problem of UNSCR 1325 potentially essentializing women into 'women-friendly' roles which many women will not be interested in or trained to do.

• There is a concern at the potential backlash to women soldiers as a result of the politically driven approach of UNSCR1325 that it '*doesn't promote discrimination the other way, and I think males are aware of it'.*

• The disruption of the 'natural balance' in this account could mean the established order or the equilibrium of the system. This is an implicit recognition of the need to handle system change carefully and skillfully.

Commentary:

This account coincides with other accounts in women's narratives asserting that women are being given more opportunities to lead and to be in decision-making roles overseas than they were in previous years. However, it also recognizes the complexity of all the issues and challenges in a peacekeeping mission and that women are not the solution to them all: *there is simply not enough, percentage wise, females in the [military] which have a natural inclination, to go into an operational role, to cover what the UNSCR 1325 says*. There is a tension between UNSCR 1325 "forcing" gender balance rather than it happening "naturally" or organically. Confining women to certain jobs because they are a minority group will discriminate against them and will reinforce the creation of "jobs for the boys" and "jobs for the girls" as commented on previously .

52. Certain Females Make Issues

Do you think from your experience to date that there are certain qualities that will make it difficult for some women to rise up the ranks the way you are rising up the ranks?

[...] No, there's no constraints, there's equal opportunities there for male or female you know, it's gender doesn't have a part in promotion or anything like that, the only thing that would that could be a difficulty is obviously a female wishing to pursue a family so on and so forth, [...] certain females would prefer not to serve overseas because they want to have a family you know and obviously that can pose difficulties for the organization because if I decide I can't go overseas and that means some other guy has to pick up my flack you know, we all have to play our part now I'm not in that situation and I don't really have much sympathy at the moment, for individual's that feel that the organization puts pressure on them to go overseas when it doesn't suit them because this is the job, you know. If I want a job that I can't facilitate a family around then I probably should get a different job. This is the life we sign up to, this is the career I want to be in nobody is forcing me to be in the army. If my priorities change and you know and now I need to put my family first or I can't have a career in the defence forces and something else then that's my issue that I must go and correct it's not the organizations issue. (W7, 2007)

Points of Analysis:

- In this extract the military institution is not seen as the problem in relation to gender equality practices it is the 'women who cause problems' that are the issue.
- These *'certain females that make issues'* are not representative of all women in the military and the participant questions whether they should continue working in a military once their priorities and personal circumstances have changed.
- This account demonstrates a lack of solidarity amongst women on issues to do with family and work/life balance.
- The account highlights the differences amongst women and the rejection of the notion of 'women' as a homogenous group.

Commentary:

Women's caring work within the family is mentioned in a number of accounts by both women and men as the greatest obstacle to their promotion opportunities as well as

opportunities to go on missions. The organisation, the DF, requires commitment suggested by the phrase *'we all have to play our part now'*, there is an implication that it is not like civilian work organisations.

53. Women challenged physically to compete with men

What do you see as the greatest challenges for women in the DF?

A lot of it would be the physical challenge. Emm you are expected, well I've always been expected to be the same as the lads, to keep up with them as regards running, carrying the same weight, all that sort of stuff, and,if you are not able to do that, then you are kind of, look at her, even though there might be four or five lads behind you on a run, it's the girl isn't able to keep up. (W14, 2008)

Commentary:
This account links in with extract 77 in Chapter Seven where a senior officer asserts that some women are fitter than men. It also contradicts the discourse 'that women aren't as physically able as men in Extract 40.

54. Men run the Show!

What do you see as the greatest challenges for women in the DF now?

I think they sometimes (the DF) try to be non-sexist to the point where you know we won't promote you just because you are female but yet a female probably would be better to do a job. You know, they are so terrified to be sexist. And yet sexism probably has its place, in all fairness'.

Do you mean affirmative action? [I missed an opportunity here to probe the participant on her understanding of the term 'sexism' which she might also have meant as acknowledgement of 'difference']

*Yeah. Like we are not used to our maximum ability, you know because the men still run the show, I don't care what anyone says, the men still run the show. And it would be nice to see maybe more females in all ranks getting a bit more say in how things are done. (*W10, 2008*)*

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Points of Analysis:

- A very strong statement is asserted with the words '*I don't care what anyone says, the men still run the show'.*

- Implication that the reality and complexity of the situation cannot be addressed with simplistic gender neutral policies, *'yet a female probably would be better to do a job'.*

- There is an assertion in this account that the 'sexist' argument is used against women by curtailing *their* promotion opportunities '*they are so terrified to be sexist'.*

- There may be a misunderstanding within this account between sexism and affirmative action or gender mainstreaming.

- The discourse on 'unfair policies towards women' is drawn on in this extract to assert that women should have greater decision making opportunities and be allowed to work to their '*maximum ability'* at all ranks.

Commentary:

This extract poses a contradiction to a discourse within the men's narratives that 'women are favoured by the military hierarchy'. The issue of a gender neutral policy is raised again and how this type of 'equality policy' creates sexism towards women. The misunderstanding between sexism and affirmative action (or gender mainstreaming) may be part of the dominant discourse within the DF and if so this will create negative consequences for women's integration and promotion opportunities. If affirmative action towards women because of their minority status in the DF is seen as sexist, even by women, this leaves no space for 'difference' to flourish.

55. Few Role Models for Women

I am going to come back to civilians again, but did you notice if women in other armies do anything different culturally?

The only other military females that I encountered were the Swedish military personnel that worked in the camp with us and one of those females she was actually a sergeant from their police force and she had just come on a tour of duty with the military she was a military police female. She was she was very impressive, not just because she was female, the way she conducted herself, she was extremely impressive and diffused a lot of situations

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because the experience she had in the police force in Sweden, she dealt with suicide, homicide she had endless experience so what she brought to the military set up, you know everybody would speak very highly of her so the only, that's one female that stands out – there would have been four or five other female officers, other ranks, Swedish in the camp and they just – no nothing really different to us they just played their part on the mission – em yeah no I cant's say there was anything different and the other armies predominantly they are African armies and the Chinese not that I encountered any females present I'm not sure I don't think there are females serving in UN missions with those countries or there weren't in Elam anyway. (W7, 2007)

Points of Analysis:

• The experience of policing that a Swedish woman gave her competencies that made her stand out.

• There are few women in leadership or decision making roles who can act as role models for younger/junior women peacekeepers, '*one female that stands out'.*

• It is not always easy to spot women amongst male peers as they are all wearing the same uniform (camouflage), '*I don't think there are females serving in UN missions with those countries'* [the participant is referring to African and Chinese armies]*.*

Commentary:

This extract highlights how women peacekeepers have very few inspirational women role models in other militaries they work alongside. This has been repeated in extracts by other women participants. This lack of senior women creates a gap in practical terms as well as imaginary terms; if a junior woman officer has nobody to aspire to be like that can seriously curtail her motivation to reach higher ranks. Thus revealing how the gender composition relates to the feminization or masculinisation of the work settings such as how jobs and tasks become gendered as discussed by Carreiras (2010) in Chapter Four.

6.13 Findings on Gendered Divisions of Labour, Competition and Promotion

On the subject of physical differences and competition between women and men there is a discourse operating within some men's accounts that 'women cannot be equal to them because they do not have the physical capacity of men'; while there is a discourse operating in some women's accounts that it is 'unfair on them to have to compete physically with men'. Further, there is a discourse operating in men's accounts that women do not have to work as hard as them, while there is a contradictory discourse operating in women's accounts that they have to *'work 100 times harder than* men' to be treated as equals.

On the subject of promotion there is a discourse operating within men's accounts that 'women are not a*s qualified as men'* and that is the reason why they are not reaching senior ranks. This discourse highlights the lack of awareness of how gender neutral policies actually operate to discriminate against women in male dominated institutions. There is also a discourse in men's accounts that women can exploit male commanders to get the *'nicer'* jobs. Women can create jealousy and resentment amongst men if the men assume women are favoured by senior officers, promotion boards, and equal rights advocates via affirmative action. The way some men deal with this is through the spreading of rumours and sexual innuendo to covertly undermine women who have been promoted over them.

Under the theme of divisions of labour, women discuss how there are few senior military women role models for women peacekeepers either at home or abroad. There is a discourse operating within women's accounts that *'Men run the show'* and women are not fully utilized within the military. There is also a discourse in women's accounts that certain jobs are gendered and retained specifically for women such as Personal Assistant (PA). There is a discourse in women's accounts that they do not want to be ghettoized into 'women-friendly jobs' as part of the implementation of UNSCR 1325 and they are concerned that they will be stereotyped with the mistaken assumption within the DF that 'all women want the same jobs'. On style of leadership within the DF there is a discourse operating that women's presence has 'softened' some male officer's styles of leadership to an 'ask don't tell' approach.

6.14 General Analysis of Discourses on Divisions of Labour, Competition and Promotion

In this section of the study the findings on divisions of labour, competition and promotion are analysed through the study's over-arching question: 'How does the "equal but different" discourse distribute power in different contexts and what impact does that have on women's inclusion in PSOs?' and the sub-questions: 'How does the "equal but different" discourse position women and men within specific gender jobs and roles in a PSO?'; and 'What are the costs to women peacekeepers for being part of a minority group?' and reveals the discourses outlined below and the impact they are likely to have on women's inclusion in PSOs.

Men are the protectors, soldiers leaders

Some Missions too dangerous for women

women corraled into 'women's jobs' - limits diversity of experience

women's limited experience hinders promotion opportunities

few women deployed in senior ranks/no role models for women

Figure 3: Discourses Nest together to reinforce dominant discourse 'Men are Protectors'
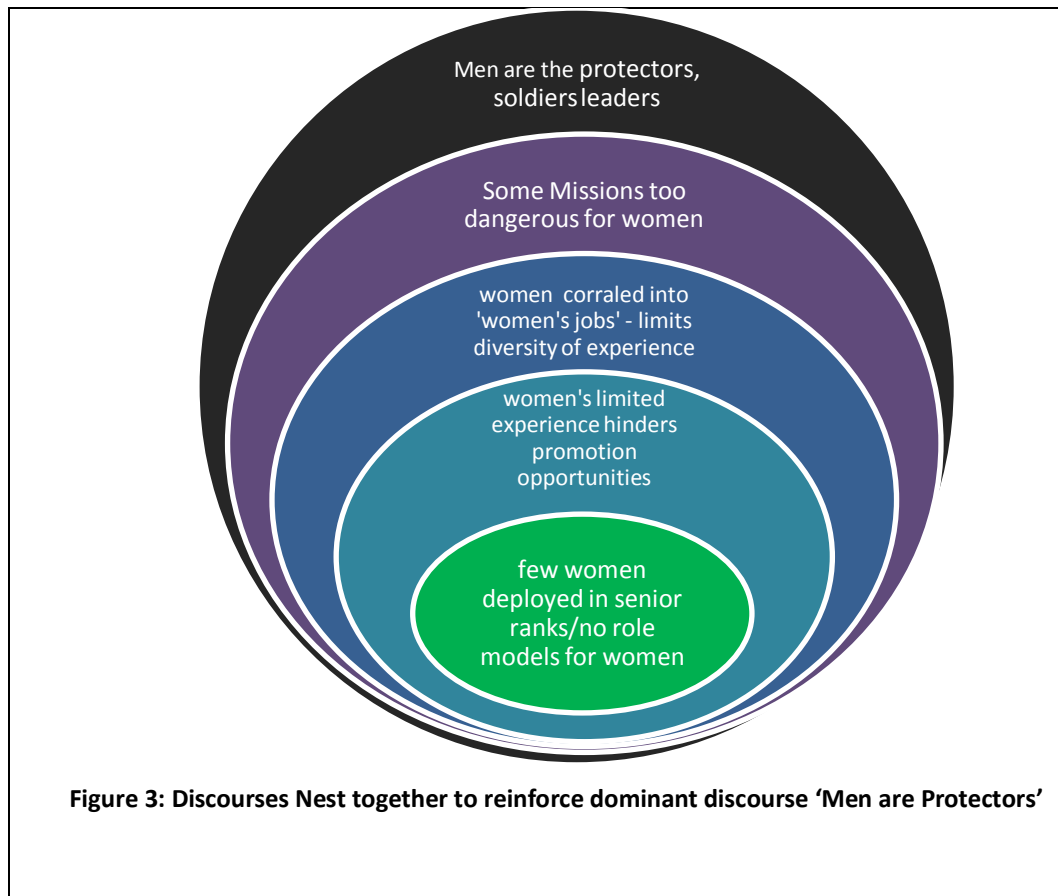
In Figure 3 on the previous page the circles nesting inside of each other represent a discourse 'men are protectors' and how within that discourse nest discourses 'some missions are too dangerous for women' and so on; which inform each other and nest together which strengthens the dominant discourse 'men are

protectors/leaders/peacekeepers' making it difficult to challenge and becoming taken for granted as normal or natural.

Discourse one: 'Women cannot be equal to men because they do not have the physical capacity of men' versus Discourse two: 'It is unfair on women to have to compete physically with men'

The discourses in this section reveal how the gender composition of the DF relates to the feminization or masculinisation of the work settings such as how jobs and tasks are gendered (Carreiras, 2010). Physical differences between women and men have been used historically to exclude women from work seen as masculine such as soldiering. For military men to be compared with female peers may create anxiety about maleness and masculinity. To manage these fears it is easier to compare women with men along one military criteria such as physical strength, and to ignore women's array of skills and competencies which may dismantle male feelings of superiority (Bird, 1996; Pleck, 2004). One of the most important factors which enabled the entry of women into militaries has been the changing nature of modern warfare (Yuval Davis, 1997:98). With the development of technology, face to face combat has become a smaller part of military action and therefore differences in physical size and strength between women and men have become less important (Yuval Davis, 1997:99). UN peacekeeping missions have mandates that specify the levels of protective or defensive action that needs to be taken and have a different presence and relationship with civilians to that of offensive missions (UN DPKO, 2013). Multi-dimensional missions call on a wide range of skills and as discussed previously these are often more akin to social work than to soldiering (Valenius, 2007). If men's masculinity is so delicately hinged on what women have not got (physical strength) rather than what they have got, this may be avoided because it will lead to the shifting of the playing field and create uncertainty amongst men. The stereotype being that women do not make good soldiers because they are both physically and emotionally weak and better suited to traditional roles of caring and nurturing rather than fighting and defending. This emphasis on physical differences may feed off a fear that the presence of women feminizes a military or a mission. Therefore, some men may need to emphasize differences between women and men peacekeepers drawing on the 'equal but different'

discourse implying that women can't be fully equal and therefore need special treatment to fit in, because men are the 'real' soldiers.

> The female soldier has to perform a balancing act. She has to be prepared for the physical challenge and the rougher comradeship, while not being perceived as masculine. At the same time bodily strength, endurance, and physical achievements are necessary for a woman to fulfil her soldier image, a necessary feature of an acceptable "woman at arms" identity, while at the same time her strength may not be over-exaggerated in its bodily or behavioural expression. An extreme in either direction leads to problems. It is very common for the same female officer to be viewed as both "too feminine and not feminine enough. (Kronsell, 2006: 125)

This delicate balancing act of femininities is discussed in extract 65 in relation to the gender performances that women adopt to fit in to the male dominated military institution, that of the tomboy, the lady and the sister. Women are aware that they are being compared physically with men and this is an enduring aspect of the 'equal but different' discourse that positions women as 'different' meaning 'less than' and needing 'special treatment' to fit in. With multidimensional PSOs there is a necessity to include soldiers with many different attributes and skill sets representing a multiplicity of subjectivities as exhibited by women. The male critique of women's physique does not comment on women's stamina or agility or the advantages of having troops who are smaller and lighter than some men, useful for climbing through narrow spaces or tunnels (refer to Goldstein 2001) instead the discourse in men's account position women dualistically, with men as strong and women as 'needing special treatment'.

Discourse three: 'women are not as qualified as men and this is the reason why they are not being promoted into senior ranks' AND Discourse four: 'women do not have to work as hard as men' versus Discourse five: '*Men run the show* and women are not fully utilized' AND Discourse Six: 'women have to work 100 times harder than men'

Carreiras' (2010) argument that how jobs and tasks are gendered is a central component to our understanding of the new gender regime within peacekeeping, if women are not promoted to senior ranks because they are not as qualified as men then a question needs to be asked about why this is the case after 30 years of their inclusion within the DF.

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Within the equality arena the two areas of concern are the 'difference versus sameness' debate and the 'gender neutrality' debate. Whilst 'difference' is the most common argument for including women in PSOs they are typically expected to be the 'same' as their male colleagues. In relation to the 'equal but different' discourse women's difference is problematized within the accounts in this chapter. This problematizing of women's difference creates discourses on their need for 'special treatment' as men are considered the standard or norm within the military. This special treatment sets them apart and creates barriers to them accessing senior ranks. Contradictory discourses are revealed in women and men's accounts with women arguing they have to work harder than men to be accepted and men arguing that women are given special treatment to fit in. An action plan for equality needs to address the transformation of underlying power relations. Discourses on 'women's difference' reveal the underlying dynamic of militarization and how it values uniformity, which by its very nature sets women apart. Women are encouraged to integrate into the masculinised system rather than to challenge it. By critiquing the highly masculinised nature of the military women would take a huge political risk that would inevitably isolate them further, as alliances of solidarity with other women are not strongly developed, thereby further pressurising them to fit in by being the same as men.

Discourse seven: 'women can exploit male commanders to ensure they get the *'nicer'* jobs' AND Discourse eight: 'Women can create jealousy and resentment amongst men if the men assume women are favoured by senior officers or promotion boards' THEREFORE Discourse nine: 'Rumours and sexual innuendo are used covertly to undermine women's promotion and ability'.

These discourses demonstrate that women have to perform a very delicate balancing act if they want to win promotion competitions to reach senior ranks within the military. Competition between women and men for promotion is an area that has become contested. There is a discourse operating that women can be exploitative of senior men 'to get the nicer jobs' which draws on notions that commanders and officers are being unfairly manipulated by women to be given promotion opportunities, once again drawing on the 'special treatment' discourse which compares women to the male standard

'same/different' rather than seeing them in the multiplicity of their subjectivities. Perceptions of power and control are important as some men perceive women as more powerful and advantageously positioned in relation to themselves because they assert that these women use their 'gender' and sexuality to achieve advantage and promotion (Miller, 2001). This can create jealousy and a common reaction is for men to spread rumours and make sexual innuendos about women to control them and make them feel uncertain about their ability. These discourses are so powerful that even when a woman is clearly visible in operational roles, explanations, such as, positive discrimination; women's power over men sexually; and exploitation of commanding officers are all put forward to justify this revised positioning. In section 2 'Superior/Subordinate Relationships (Relationships between personnel of different rank in the DF) 114 the 'Policy' states that:

> Relationships between members of the DF which involve partiality, preferential treatment or the improper use of rank or position are prejudicial to good order, discipline and morale. Such relationships are unacceptable. Relationships between personnel of different rank require the exercise of sound judgment and common sense particularly on the part of the superior. (DF, 2007)

Within the DF statement above gender is not made visible although most 'superior' officers are likely to be male. The term 'positive discrimination' is used to describe the rebalancing of policies so that they do not advantage or privilege men over women. Another concept is 'affirmative action'[11]. Dislike of the 'positive discrimination' approach comes from the idea that it unfairly advantages women over men. In Carreiras research into the Portuguese military she asserts that:

> The majority of the interviewees were upset with the dynamics of 'positive' discrimination, both in its organizational form (specific policies, rules or standards for women) and in its attitudinal expression in protectionist and paternalist behaviour on the part of some men. Both were seen as negatively affecting women's acceptance, since according to this view, men's perception of unfair and unequal treatment would provoke rejection and sexist attitudes. (2010: 8)

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[11] Affirmative action is a policy or a programme that seeks to redress past discrimination through active measures to ensure equal opportunity, as in education and employment.

Equality policies within militaries that do not assess invisible power relations, structures and systems that create inequalities, but instead use the 'special treatment' discourse, will inevitably position women as gaining unfair advantage over men even by taking maternity leave. These discourses are likely to create a backlash to women's inclusion within the military which will impact on its ability to retain and recruit women. If men do not feel that they can openly express their views and challenge the 'equal opportunities' policies of their institutions, the spreading of sexual innuendo and gossip as an undermining tactic is likely to continue. As a covert form of harassment and bullying the spreading of gossip about women is not easily attributed to any particular individual and as such is a powerful tool used by some to protest the expansion of women's tasks, ranks and position within the DF.

This section of the study has revealed how the military contains many levels of dominance and subordination including those based on rank, job speciality, education, race, gender, age, marital and family status, and mission experience. These multiple hierarchies mean that some men are less powerful than others; as some women are less powerful than others. Lack of power can cause frustrations that are more easily vented on peers or subordinates then people in positions of authority. However, even senior military men may feel frustrated and powerless when it comes to openly voicing any resistance to the incorporation of women into the military, and may use gender harassment as a covert way of controlling women's access to power (Miller, 1997). 'That many men feel prohibited from overtly expressing their discontent demonstrates that women indeed have made headway in deterring overt sexist comments' (Miller, 1997). Many men feel powerless in society generally, either positioning other men or women as having power over them. 'Rectifying men's power relationships with women will inevitably both stimulate and benefit from the rectification of these other power relationships' (Pleck, 2004: 67). To understand the need for some men to have power over women, we have to understand the ways in which they also feel disempowered by patriarchal structures and systems.

Discourse Ten: 'few women reach senior ranks' AND Discourse Eleven: 'jobs are gender-segregated' AND Discourse Twelve: '1325 is creating women's ghettos'.

The accounts reveal discourses on how certain jobs and tasks are gendered within the work setting with few women reaching senior ranks. These discourses reflect Carreiras' (2010) theory that how masculinities and femininities are performed and valued by the military and revealed through the gendering of specific tasks and jobs and through discourses on gender roles within specific contexts. The UN's discourse (UNSCR 1325) on the need for gender equity in peacekeeping missions assumes that increasing the numbers of women and developing programmes that include gender perspectives will improve a military's peacekeeping effectiveness. This discourse has been received with concern by both women and men for different reasons in the accounts in this study. Women discuss concerns that UNSCR1325 may position them in essentialised 'women's roles' such as caring and listening and working predominantly with civilian women rather than in more active soldiering tasks and operational duties. These discourses reveal a tension between the roles the UN want women soldiers to take on; the roles the women soldiers themselves would like to take on; and the roles the local women in post-conflict countries would like the women soldiers to take on. For example, women working in NGOs in Bosnia-Herzegovina (Cockburn, 2005), argued that the majority of civilians are in favour of more women soldiers being present on a mission; and that it is important for these women to be present at all levels of seniority, because if they are not respected inside the military they are not likely to be respected by the local community. They also want women to retain their femininity, bringing with them their concerns and interests as women[12]; and for some women to be given a civil-military brief and responsibility for liaising with women's groups (Cockburn, 2002: 114). These women assert that they

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[12] 'Among the US forces in Bosnia, women blended in by adopting stereotypically "macho" attitudes and behaviours, including swearing, smoking cigars, and getting a thrill from firing guns. Most importantly, they adopted a "warrior spirit". As one female US Lt Colonel who commanded a Military Police battalion in Bosnia put it, "if a woman thinks like a warrior, believes she's a warrior, then she'll do what it takes. Most women don't think they have it in them, but once you let that spirit loose you find that aggressiveness. (Goldstein, 2001: 100).

cannot get their needs met if military women are not available to them in these capacities. However, many military women are more interested in strategic, technical or logistical roles rather than humanitarian or face to face liaison with local communities. For example, in extract 48 the participant recognizes the importance of humanitarian work on a mission, but is also wary of how women can become ghettoized within gendered roles within the military, which was happening prior to the adoption of UNSCR 1325. Although the work is seen as valuable by the military, there is an acknowledgment that it is not the type of work that gains promotion for peacekeepers. In extract 48 discourses circulating amongst men that there are 'natural understandings between women' are challenged by a woman peacekeeper. Being a woman and being a soldier does not automatically make it possible for local women to engage with women soldiers or vice versa due to differences of race, religion, economic power and language.

There is a discourse in these accounts that UNSCR 1325 could further stereotype women into 'women-friendly jobs' and create ghettos for women peacekeepers. This discourse reflects Carreiras' (2010) assertion that that the important question to ask is not about the gender balance but about how the gender composition relates to the feminization or masculinisation of the work settings such as how jobs and tasks are gendered. For example in research conducted by Lt-Col O'Brien of the Irish DF she identifies a de-valuing of jobs associated with the feminine. The example cited is the appointment of the Pay Officer on a mission which is a task frequently done by women and has become unpopular with men (O'Brien, 2012). Concerns were raised by women soldiers in the DF that the CIMIC job might become feminized and devalued which would have an impact on women's worth in the military institution (O'Brien, 2012) and then limit their access to a breadth of jobs and experiences, which would create barriers to promotion opportunities. However, UNSCR 1325 calls on nation states to develop a gender perspective on all missions and to increase numbers of women in senior ranking leadership and decision making roles.   As yet, the idea of women becoming ghettoized in civilian facing roles such as CIMIC or LMT is a myth as currently it is men who are mainly chosen for these tasks and there are not enough women available to fill these jobs. However, an important concern is raised, that if more women are recruited specifically to fulfil women-facing tasks then

the military would deepen gender stereotypes by homogenizing women and corralling them all together in 'women-friendly' jobs. These discourses may create policies that force women into jobs that are not suitable for their individual set of competencies and with an unrealistic pressure on them to achieve a lot in relation to gender issues in the post conflict moment, an unrealistic expectation, especially as their numbers remain so low at only three per cent (UN DPKO, 2012). Highlighting the minority status of women in the military and UN peacekeeping missions (for example via UNSCR 1325) without balancing it with understandings of gender stereotypes or dominant discourses that operate to exclude women from powerful roles in society, could pressurize women into taking positions or jobs that they would not have chosen otherwise. This could further impact on women's positioning as tokens or the perception that they are only suitable for certain tasks or jobs (women-friendly or essentialized as feminine).

Discourse 13: 'S*ome* women create problems for *all* women' (by having families or needing special treatment).

Competition between women is mentioned in several accounts and alliances and friendships are curtailed amongst women. This is to do with their minority status which often leads to being compared unfavourably to the dominant group of men seen as the normative standard. Being 'different' or needing 'special treatment' is not an advantage in the military. Feminist politics is not mentioned by most of the participants and the extracts reveal that a transformative project is not uppermost in the minds of the majority of female soldiers. Some are aware of the significance of increasing the numbers of women and how this could disrupt gender roles. However, it is mentioned due to fear of a backlash from the dominant group of men. The discourse "women who create issues" is compared to the "women who fit in" discourse. Whilst many women identify with the concerns of soldier/mothers they do not want to be connected with them in the military imagination. There is a discourse that women with children are looking for 'special treatment' from the DF and that this will have a negative impact on all women in the military, as women are positioned as a homogenous group. Therefore, some women soldiers distance themselves from "women who create issues" which inhibits solidarity

between different groups of women. These women 'who fit in' tend to be young, single, and flexible in relation to their work and overseas duties. They are more likely to draw on the "no special treatment" discourse. They fear a diminishing of their position if additional demands are made by soldiers who are mothers. This in turn arises from the stereotyping of women by the institution. If one woman causes a problem, all women cause problems, is the central premise of the "no special treatment" and "women who fit in" discourses. The gender neutral policy within the DF negates women's role as the primary care giver in most families and creates an 'us' and 'them' division amongst women who do or don't have families. Whilst this may not have been an overt policy of the military hierarchy, the outcome is the creation of two discreet camps. With only six percent of women present in the DF there are few women to challenge policies and systems that work against them, however, if the numbers were to increase this may give them enough influence to push for more family friendly policies that would encourage women's retention.

6.15 Segregated Facilities: Men's Accounts

By asking 'How does the 'equal but different' discourse position women and men within specific gender jobs and roles in a PSO?' and 'What are the costs to women for being part of a minority group?' this section discusses the circulation of discourses on the rationale for segregating accommodation on a mission; these include findings that it is unfair to mix women and men'; 'discipline in relation to sexual relations would be an issue for commanders'; and that 'family life would be negatively impacted by mixing as there would be an increased potential for extra-marital affairs'.

56. Women have a fantastic time being chased by men

Well that leads on to me asking about attraction and romance and sexual relations on missions – when there are women – albeit a very small percentage - do you think – that the fact that there may be some attractive women in the unit has an impact on the way the men behave? I'm interested in whether it does actually affect some men obviously it's not going to affect a lot of men cos they're married but single men who are the same age as those women – it may affect their behaviour positively or negatively?

I'd love to go overseas with a battalion of women and be chased constantly because you're a limited minority. A lot does happen on overseas you can't control it, some women are in relationships at home, other women have a fantastic time and they're discreet and no one has a problem with it. (M6, 2007)

Point of Analysis:

• The participant reflexively positions himself in this account as someone who would enjoy being *'chased constantly'* by women, and interactively positions women as also enjoying being chased by men.

Commentary:

Sexual relations between peacekeepers can be seen as a bonus on a mission. The positioning of men is privileged because there is no consideration that women may not enjoy being *'chased constantly',* that they may see this constant sexual pursuit as one of the negative aspects of their work, or that it may even become sexual harassment for some.

57. Women are Isolated for "Obvious Reasons"

What about the skills you said that women bring, if you had more of them what difference would it make?

I suppose it would be less conflict in the workplace [pause] more like with guys if you have two women [unclear] they would have different opinions, I suppose the way men talk to women is different to the way men talk to men.

Are men more adversarial with each other?

Yes […] But unfortunately during training, pre-training, obviously they [women] are isolated accommodation wise they are for obvious reasons, they are not mixed in the same barracks but you know. Unfortunately that sometimes that continues on afterwards, after training, because you've got six women in the group [unclear]. Say at home and at lunch time all the women group together, and all the men would be together, you know I don't

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know where that came from, but it could be from the training, they are isolated. (M12, 2008)

Commentary:

With the words women are isolated *'for obvious reasons'* there is an implication that if women and men are mixed together in the same facilities sexual relationships will develop and this could create a disciplinary problem. DF regulations also state that women and men cannot visit each other's rooms (lines) to watch a DVD or play a game of cards or to have a private conversation. This inhibits their ability to be friends as they cannot meet privately within the accommodation blocks.

58. Minority of Women vulnerable to a majority of men

Did any of your sisters join [the DF]?

No […] *In the MINURA the middle of the desert there's no women security because if something happens there's no, you have 10 guys in a small OP (operation), there's no facilities, there's no, if something happened it'd be kept under wraps [unclear] not such a good thing, it could never get out, you know the woman's voice would never be heard,*

What do you mean by that?

*Say on an OP, it has eight to nine guys, if there was one woman she'd be the centre of a lot of attention. Depending on the personalities and alcohol and she's on her own with nine guys, you know that's a very intimidating situation. (*M12, 2008)

Points of Analysis:

- An assertion of the sexual dynamic created by the presence of one woman in an all-male team and the potential risk to the women.
- The issue of women and 'silencing' is raised with the words *'if something happened it'd be kept under wraps [unclear] not such a good thing, it could never get out you know the woman's voice would never be heard'*.

- Alcohol is raised as a factor in situations where women might be vulnerable to violence, however, alcohol is not allowed on OPs therefore this situation is potentially hypothetical.

Commentary:

A discourse in this account is that a minority of women are not safe in a male dominated environment and this links in with the 'need to protect women from sexual advances by men' discourse.   With women making up only six per cent of the DF and three percent of peacekeepers on missions worldwide this is an important point.   Previous accounts by men discussed how it would be too risky to place women in situations where they will be outnumbered by men in isolated posts or operations in jungles or deserts.   Implied in this account is that women cannot undertake the same tasks that men can because they are seen as more vulnerable to sexual assault by other peacekeeping militaries. However, contradictory discourses are also drawn on by both women and men and are referenced in extracts 75 and 76 in Chapter Seven.

59. Unfair to Deploy Only a Few Women

No question asked.   The response below followed after I outlined the reasons for my research.

I think it's unfair to have just one or two women in a unit, when I was going to Kosova in 2000 one woman offered to stay on, I was the second group going out, from the first group, and I said no, and two women had volunteered and I wouldn't take them because I need a minimum of six women to give the women a chance to have space, one or two women would be, in an all male environment would be unfair, would create problems for all of us and it's so also [pause] if you like I use an excuse in so far as I said that 6-8 women was the minimum cohort to give them a little bit of breathing space and also we've a problem with accommodation, we're living in camps, and temperatures are minus 29 plus 43 we're in very harsh conditions, and I couldn't afford to give one or two women a tent that holds 12, but I could afford to put 6 or 8 into a tent, although it meant we had less accommodation it would have given us difficulties, 6-8 I felt from their perspective and my perspective was a reasonable cohort and I would like to have that cohort. (M9, 2008)

Points of Analysis:

• The 'unfair on women' discourse is used as the rationale for not disrupting the all-male battalion with a few women and this is clearly stated with the words '*if you like I use an excuse in so far as I said that 6-8 women was the minimum cohort'*.

• The words 'W*ould create problems for all of us'* draw on an assumption that both women and men would experience difficulties.

Commentary:

The discourse that dominates in this extract is that women's needs are being taken care of by the decisions of commanders who protect them from situations where women would not have 'space'. This discourse positions women as 'children' lacking decision-making power and ultimately unable to have control over their own access to PSOs. This discourse is juxtaposed with another whose central premise is the concept of it being 'unfair' to allow one or two women to take part in a mission, as they would take up too much of the facilities, thereby implying that it would be unfair on men. The 'unfair on women' discourse links in with the discourse that women are 'segregated for obvious reasons' and the discourse 'women cause problems'. However, it is contradicted in extract 78 which maintains that it would be 'unfair on women' to stop them going overseas if they are suitably qualified for the job, regardless of unsuitable facilities or small numbers of women.

60. Females break down discipline

This next extract was part of a conversation between the researcher and participant before any specific questions were asked, as a response to the researcher presenting her rationale for doing the research.

Talking to unit commanders in Kosova at the time, they envied me cos I'd an all-male unit, probably the last all-male Irish unit, the one before it wasn't, it had a number of females and the reason is that on the negative side there is a huge discipline problem. Because human nature is human nature, men are away from their family environment from female company and [pause] they for instance in the British camp they had a large number of females they had the 30% and what's more they had huge logistics and backup area and a

lot of women were there, so they 35-45% quite a big cohort and as a concession they gave them joint recreational facilities, videos, games whatever and they had huge problems where females were going to the male lines and males were going to the female lines and it was a complete mess the discipline broke down eh there was a number of court martials, repatriation.

When you say going to the male lines what do you mean?

Sleeping with them, the females, that's the problem, it's a huge problem for the commander on the ground living with for 24/7 in tight conditions in a harsh environment and you've married men going with women, some of their marriages breaking up.

Does that infringe on how they perform their duties?

Look I had an all-male unit so I didn't experience it but I would be having dinner with the commanders of the units and the British had a huge problem with the males and females. So they ended up having separate female and male recreation areas they wouldn't let them mix because on the American base one woman was running a little brothel and she was the main lady and they got 20,000 cash in her wardrobe and it turned out that fellas [men] had videoed her with guys lining up and doing the business and the sexual relationships.

Was she in the army?

Yes and she was doing a sideline out there and she was repatriated. So that's the main problem that I see with females, the discipline, another aspect of this is married couples, and I know that as far as I know, I haven't personal experience of it, married couples are not allowed sleep together, they are allowed weekends away, but while on base they are separated and I think that's very difficult. (M9, 2008)

Points of analysis:

• Large numbers of females (30 per cent which is also the tipping point that moves a minority group into a more powerful group) is presented as causing problems for military commanders.

- This is the only account were a senior male officer explicitly states that he was envied for having an all-male battalion and contradicts accounts by other commanders that emphasize the importance of having mixed gender teams.

Commentary:

In this extract women are positioned as creating the disciplinary problems, due to sexual relations between women and men on a mission. Interestingly, the men are positioned as vulnerable to women's sexual power.

61. Women are Home Wreckers

Do you think that there should be more women in peacekeeping units and battalions?

I saw one team in Country X where they had a female UN military observer and the biggest problem that girl caused for the guys who happened to be sharing the observer post location for three days was from the families point of view', [...] 'it would have put an awful lot more strain or stress on him and I know one particular guy he was an Larsan who said "I don't want to be [here] with her because I have a family and my missus doesn't want me sharing over there, can you do something for me, all unofficial of course. Obviously there was no, you're not going to start making complaints about some other country's nationality who's been sent in, in that perspective, but he didn't want to be on the OP with her, I don't know if that was, his wife didn't trust him or he didn't trust himself or just whatever, that was what it came down to, it wasn't anything to do with international agreements or political masterpiece or strategy it was the basic thing of the human nature factor with his missus. (M4, 2007)

Points of Analysis:

- In this extract there is an assumption that the woman is sexually predatory and that males will have to fend off. Her sexual availability is assumed.

- Throughout the extract the assumption exists that if we remove the woman then the threat of infidelity will have passed. The woman is presented as the object of men's concerns, not a subject in her own right with her own concerns.

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- An element of the discourse on 'woman cause problems because of their sexuality' exists within this account, when a man on a mission asks to change his shift/post so as not to have to work with a woman soldier: '*the biggest problem that girl caused for the guys*'. The man is privileged over the woman.

- Women are discouraged or not seen as appropriate team mates in isolated posts and the protection discourse is used as explanation 'for her own good' rather than women's sexual power and how it creates un-ease 'amongst' men.

- The discourse of protection arises again, with the assertion of the need to protect not only the man but also his wife and family from the woman peacekeeper (this is a variation of the protective discourse).

- Women soldiers and military wives/girlfriends are positioned in opposition to each other as another variation on the "women cause problems" discourse.

Commentary:

Women are seen as uniquely and individually responsible for the sexualisation of gender relations on a mission. There is an implied assumption that men have no control over their sexuality or at least cannot be held responsible if a woman leads them astray. Women are positioned as secondary to men, for example, there is no question about the female soldier's family; whether they exist or not; whether her husband or partner is concerned about her safety in an all-male military unit; and that she will be spending time alone in a remote post with a male colleague; there is no question about her vulnerability. This contradicts the protection discourses cited elsewhere, which emphasize that women are not suitable for certain tasks on a mission, because the protection for them would not be available.

6.16 Segregated Facilities: Women's Accounts

This section of the study responds to the question 'What are the costs to women for being part of a minority group on a mission?' and reveals discourses on the isolation, created for women through segregated facilities. The asexual performances of gender roles such as the Tomboy, Lady or sister are also discussed in one of the extracts and the issue of sexual harassment.

62. Separate Facilities Exclude Women from the Dominant Culture

What reminds you that you are a woman when you are on a mission and that you are one of a minority group is there anything that makes you go oh yeah?

Yeah, I suppose there is, one of the things, generally accepted by and again it's not specifically females it's just that females would be a minority, group dynamics – if you billet with somebody, if you sleep with them, if you are sharing ablutions, all of those routine type of things outside of work– as female officer you have female cabin, and therefore you are excluded from a huge part of the culture/relations of that majority group. (W15, 2008)

Commentary:

There is a tension between women's accounts and men's accounts on the issue of segregated facilities. The underlying discourse revealed in men's accounts is that women are potential 'seductresses' and this influences military decisions on facilities. The discourse 'women are seductresses', along with the discourse 'men can't help themselves' (see extracts 57 and 58), and the discourse on the need 'for men to protect' nestle together and operate as the rationale for separating women and men. The DF is taking on the role of the 'parent' in its decision to segregate and this problematizes the incorporation of women into the military as they are seen as the 'troublemakers' or 'seductresses' while men 'can't help themselves'.

63. Sharing Facilities is Par for the Course!

Did you have separate living quarters to the men?

My cavalry fell under the support company so within that we were all accommodated together, again the officers are separated from the other ranks em we're all accommodated in tents, my tent was all female, so there was three female officers in my tent, but the tent next door to me was three male officers you know we were in the same living quarters but obviously we had separate sleeping facilities and washing facilities in camp, but then out on patrol em when I was with my troop, they're all male my troop, I would just sleep on the ground in a tent, with a trooper a male sergeant whatever it is, and there was never, it's not an issue it's just par for the course. (W7, 2007)

Commentary:

In this account the woman participant's attitude towards sharing, is that it is part of the job *'just par for the course'*.   This *'par for the course'* attitude challenges discourses that women are seductresses or that they need protection from men (or vice versa). In this account the job is positioned as most important and the accommodation as secondary. This account also contradicts those of male participants who recounted the difficulties for them if women share with men particularly in relation to the concerns of their wives or girlfriends back home which imply that men may be 'seduced' by women peacekeepers.

64. No Privacy for Friends

What reminds you that you are a woman when you are on this mission?

I suppose the fact that we are segregated in accommodation.   […] I've known them like very well for 7 years but if you get caught in one of their rooms, but you can't, you can't, you're not allowed in their lines [living accommodation] and I suppose that's just, it's a bit of a pain because it em you know to go and call into someone in the evening you can't go into the lines so you have to knock on the door and say 'can someone go and get John'.

You can't have a private conversation.
No, no you couldn't no. You could if he wanted to come here [her office] but couldn't on the line, but that's the only issue. (W13, 2008)

Commentary:

This account links in with the previous two accounts that draw on discourses that women are isolated from their male peers and that this highlights their 'difference' while on a mission.

65. Gender Performance of the Tomboy, the Lady, and the Carer

Where there is a minority of women working with a majority of men, researchers have noticed different roles women play to make that relationship as easy as possible, such as tomboy, lady, flirt, this may help to keep the boys at bay or to become one of them. Do you identify with any of those three I mentioned or others that you have witnessed?

In my opinion it is very true. It is in order to keep things in order. I think they facilitate the male so the male can categorize them, it's easier, to define one of these roles the men relate better to them,[unclear] and fit into some sort of category the males can relate to, or relate to you or whatever set of rules there may be. I would definitely use the old tomboy routine I find it suits my leadership style best. I have always been very very active and I am quite competitive, and for that reason, I like to go straight in and incorporate myself as much as possible and make as little difference as possible and that's what I am comfortable with in a very non-sexual way […] Yeah flirts, absolutely, more [pause] I don't know a lot of them now, I think that is a dangerous one to go to and then the ladies yes.

I noticed that myself in Kosovo, are there any different roles?

Yeah, because we had an ex-nurse in our cadet school and I think another one is the carer, like the mammy, I don't want to say mammy because it's not that overt, more the carer, that type of very facilitating, that kind of appeaser, like an aunty or sisterly rather than motherly. (W15, 2008)

Points of Analysis:
- The man is the standard by which women are compared and competing against within the military; gender roles are adopted by women to "*fit into some sort of category the males can relate to*".
- Adopting a gendered performance gives a clear signal to male colleagues about how a woman wants to be treated *"I would definitely use the old tomboy routine"*.
- By being the '*tomboy*' a woman soldier can fit in more easily without attracting too much attention to herself as a sexual being or as being different, '*I like to go straight in and incorporate myself as much as possible and make as little difference as possible and that's what I am comfortable with in a very non-sexual way*'.

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- There is an order within the military and consequences if a woman disrupts that order *'It is in order to keep things in order. I think they facilitate the male so the male can categorize them'.*

Commentary and Findings:

This extract reveals discourses on gender and the heterosexual dynamic within the DF. The equation of tomboy with androgyny equals safety for a minority of women amongst a majority of men. Through performativity women are protecting themselves, and using the power inherent within a particular role to control outcomes. For example, whether it be through physical competition in the 'tomboy' role; or the prim and proper role of the 'lady'. Roles such as these demarcate clear boundaries in which certain scenarios are encouraged or discouraged. The role of the 'sister' is positioned as less threatening to the male-order than the potentially domineering or controlling 'mammy' role; the role of the flirt is dangerous because the other gender performances maintain emotional closeness without sexual undertones.

6.17 Secrecy, Silence, and Sexual Harassment

In response to the question 'what are the costs to women soldiers for being part of a minority group?' the issue of sexual harassment, bullying and sexism arose. While the majority of women who took part in this research did not report incidents of bullying or sexual harassment, some incidents were referred to. In order to protect the women who experienced these incidents I have decided to exclude their accounts but to include the reporting of them. Due to ethical procedures it would be inappropriate to discuss any of the details of these incidents other than to say that they were not reported through the official channels and that the reason for non-reporting was that the women who experienced these incidents said it would create more problems for them, possibly leading to isolation and further incidents, which would make their careers in the DF untenable. Secrecy and silence around harassment is common and is kept this way in order to protect the victims. However, it also protects the harassers and the institution

from having to take a serious look at how to transform the situation. In the citation below from the DF Equality Policy it clearly states that:

> Relationships within the military environment are predicated on the fundamental principle that all lawful orders must be obeyed even if such orders are likely to result in injury or death. This sets the DF apart from all other organizations within the state. Such authority must, of course, be exercised with the highest sense of responsibility. Moreover, DF Regulation A7 emphasizes this by stipulating that superiors, in their treatment of subordinates, will adopt such methods as will ensure respect for authority and at the same time engender feelings of self-respect and personal honour which are essential to military efficiency. (DF Equality Policy, 2012)

There is a discourse in women's accounts that policies on harassment are viewed with suspicion and not seen to be helpful or supportive for women or for positive working relationships within the DF. The 'Interpersonal Relationships in the DF' policy document states that '*Victims of harassment, sexual harassment or bullying will not be treated differently as a result of rejecting or accepting such behaviour*'. However, there is low reporting of abuse (ODF, 2011) which creates the illusion that the problem is being dealt with. The efficacy of policies developed by the DF will be limited by the way in which individuals interpret or use them. These policies may turn out to work against women or the social integration of women into the military culture especially as the equality policy 'equal but different' is 'gender neutral'. By not taking sides with either sex on this issue there is no discussion on the perpetrators actions and men are made invisible within gender relations. Therefore, gender neutral policies place the burden of responsibility on women who need to adopt specific gender performances (such as the lady, sister, or tomboy) which are typically asexual to manage how male peers perceive them. Gender neutral polices do not acknowledge that women are more likely to experience sexual harassment than men. Men who harass or assault female peers break with the modern image of a peacekeeper (Eduards, 2012; Valenius, 2007; Simic, 2010; Whitworth, 2004). If male peacekeepers are not consistently disciplined for sexist behaviour towards women peers, because women do not report their experiences for fear of further ostracization, then the issue will ultimately go underground and create more serious problems for militaries in the longer term as has happened in the US military with one in three women reporting incidents of sexual violence, often rape (SWAN, 2012).

While women are positioned in care-giving roles towards male peers and civilian women their own experiences of violence are often silenced through self regulation. In the accounts in this study women draw on the 'individual responsibility' discourse that positions the victim as responsible for dealing directly with the harassment rather than going through formal procedures. Women support each other's silence (one of the few markers of solidarity amongst women participants in this study) of their experience of harassment in the military. However, the responsibility should lie with the perpetrators of harassment, and their superiors, who should be attuned to gender issues and committed to creating a safe and professional work environment for everyone.

6.18 Findings on Segregated Facilities

• There is a discourse operating in these accounts that women are isolated for their own protection the implication being to avoid sexual harassment. The premise of this discourse is that a minority of women are vulnerable to a majority of men.

• There is a discourse that alcohol can create problems on a mission by breaking down discipline.

• There is a discourse that the presence of women or 'mixed-sex' units can cause problems for commanders by breaking down discipline.

• There is a discourse operating that 'women are home wreckers' and it is they who cause issues for men in relation to marital problems.

• There is a discourse operating that it would be 'unfair to deploy only one or two women to a mission' and an understanding that commanders can reject these applicants on the grounds that there is not suitable accommodation for a minority of women.

• Separate facilities isolate women from the dominant group highlighting their difference and making it difficult for them to have social contact with male peers.

Women are positioned as both the victim and the aggressor in these dichotomous discourses. For example, women are positioned as creating problems for men in relation to their wives due to jealousy, affairs and marriage breakdown while the behaviour of men who have affairs while on missions is not questioned. The discourse that women are 'seductresses'; and the discourse that men and women needing 'protection from each other' influences military decisions to segregate facilities. Therefore, women can

experience physical isolation on a mission as they are separated from their peers due to discourses that both women and men need protection from each other sexually. There is a discourse that working in all-male units prevents having to deal with issues of a sexual nature. Women's presence in the DF raises awareness of disciplinary issues that could otherwise be ignored e.g. sexual misconduct (refer to extract 60).

6.19 General Analysis of Discourses on Segregated Facilities

By asking 'How does the 'equal but different' discourse position women and men within specific gender jobs and roles in a PSO?' and 'What are the costs to women?' dominant discourses have been elucidated and their positioning of women in specific contexts. In this discussion section I am analyzing how these dominant discourses can lead to the disempowerment of women which can create barriers to their inclusion on PSOs.

Discourse one: 'Women are isolated for their own protection' AND Discourse two: 'Isolation from the dominant group differentiates women'

While women and men have segregated facilities within a mission camp when they are out in the field they sometimes have to share facilities. There is a striking contrast between women and men's accounts about the segregation of facilities. Overall, women state that they feel isolated on a mission by the segregation of accommodation; however, the majority of men stated that segregation of facilities was a necessary part of military life. Women were named as needing protection but men were not named as the group from which women needed to be protected from. This links in with theories of men as the normative standard within militaries and how they are made invisible in discourses on gender if special treatment is needed for women to fit in. Being a minority in a male dominated sphere brings particular pressures, one of which is social isolation (Sion, 2008). Sexual allegations and rumours are part of this social isolation for women. Gender differences may then be maintained through functional, physical, social, and sexual exclusion of women from taking any substantial role in the peace mission (Sion, 2008). However, this separation of women 'for their own good' also has societal and cohesion problems and that is that women are separated from the dominant group which sets them apart from important social interactions. Whilst separate facilities may protect

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women from unwanted sexual advances some of the time, it emphasizes women's difference all of the time. A discourse most women wish to play down rather than to strengthen. The unequal sex/gender relation between women and men is made invisible by either naming no one or by only focusing on women (Eduards, 2012). The discourse on equal treatment constantly being challenged by women's presence creates a need for 'special measures' to accommodate them, which then further sets them apart and can create barriers to their inclusion.

Discourse three: 'Women break down discipline' AND Discourse four: 'Women are seductresses and home wreckers' AND Discourse five: 'Unfair to have only a few women in the camp'

Sexual relations between women and men whilst on a mission is a disciplinary offence and goes against the Irish DFs Dignity Charter/Code of Conduct. While women's instrumental work as soldiers is less clearly drawn by their male peers, assertions of their power over men sexually, stand out in the narratives. Some accounts state that women exploit senior men sexually to win favours and to be given the nicer duties. Men's sexual behaviour is not named it is invisible within the discourses it is women's presence and sexual behaviour that is positioned as '*exploitative'*. There is a clear contradiction to earlier discourses of women needing protection from men in specific settings such as dangerous missions and this inversion of power that is used to explain men's vulnerability and helplessness in the face of women's sexual power. In this discourse women's difference is seen as the problem and it is this that creates the need for their special treatment through the segregation of facilities. This discourse 'Women are Seductresses' nests with the 'women break down discipline' discourse. The dominant discourse is that women as sexual beings disturb the order of things and thereby cause problems for men. Men are let off the hook. It is not their sexual behaviour that is the problem it is the predatory female who is the problem. The discourse implies that if we remove the woman then the threat of infidelity will have passed, her sexual availability is assumed, as is the discourse "that men can't help themselves".

What this shows us is that the masculine norms in the military are entangled with notions of women as objects of sexual desire and as "others" outside the realm of military activities. When the object of desire [...] stands beside conscripted man, as a woman at arms, the norms become visible through the ensuing awkwardness resulting from the encounter' (Kronsell, 2006: 120).

The visibility of this discourse 'women are the problem' in relation to sexuality is revealed in men's accounts. Women linked to sex is operating as a 'truth' that positions women as the 'other' creating gendered divisions within the camp and the problematizing of women's bodies and difference, thereby creating a need for 'special treatment' for women by segregating facilities. In the accounts in this section women are positioned as sexually provocative and exploitative of men; as well as vulnerable to attack by male peers. These discourses nest together to place the burden of responsibility onto women and it is they who must accept if facilities are not suitable or available in a camp and the impact this may have on their opportunity to deploy to a PSO. If commanders have the freedom to choose who will go on a mission, they can ignore military policy and sideline women with the excuse of lack of segregated facilities. If a woman is passed over for deployment she will miss out on important skills practice, and this could impact on promotion opportunities and her retention within the DF at a later stage. This form of discrimination can be excused by commanders as they can insist that they are only doing what is right for the women by drawing on the 'unfair on women to deploy them' discourse and imposing 'special treatment' of women which women may resent.

Discourse Six: 'Women Perform Asexual Gender Roles to Fit in'

When women try to integrate into the military they take on different feminine identities. This becomes a struggle, because there are no notions of femininity in the military institution for female soldiers to relate to (Kronsell & Svedberg, 2012). 'Institutional norms give meaning to the practices and procedures that individuals are to perform through daily tasks' (March and Olsen, 1989: 40-52). Hence, women's identities in the military are constantly negotiated, always in relation to the norms of the hegemonic masculinity (Kvande, 1999: 306; Davis, 1997: 185). There is a discourse operating within the accounts that the more willing a woman is to perform a specific gender role the less likely she is to disrupt the hegemonic masculine military order. Because gender roles

lessen the impact of adaptation and help the male soldier to maintain the status quo. Extract 65 discusses the particular ways in which women position themselves to be more easily integrated into the military without creating too much fear or uncertainty amongst men. Women can be seen as threatening to the male-order unless controlled and distinguished by either emphasizing their femininity or their androgyny. The tension is how to be a 'good soldier' and at the same time to not draw too much attention to herself. A balancing act needs to be performed by the woman soldier.

Most of the performances adopted by women have at their centre an asexual component giving a clear signal to men that they are not sexually available (Butler, 1990). The 'flirt' or 'dumb blonde' draws on emphasized femininity (Connell, 1987) and sexual allure to set herself apart and to draw attention to herself in a way that is accepted and appreciated by male colleagues, but which is considered dangerous by female colleagues. These performances that some women draw on to protect themselves within the military do not resonate with Stiehm's (2001) theory that women soldiers are encouraged to 'kill the woman within them' as part of their initiation within the military. Stiehm's theory is that if men are encouraged to kill the 'woman within' by ridding themselves of any hint of feminization then women soldiers will also be encouraged to do the same. However, this theory is not borne out. While some women soldiers do adopt the 'tomboy' style others adopt a more feminine, caring, flirtatious, or ladylike behavioural style to enable them to be accepted by military men. Herbert (1998) describes the tomboy strategy as neuter by attempting to render notions of feminine and masculine absent from the self. By trying to downplay any sense of gender difference or sexuality, women are seeking to neutralize an important part of who they are because it is far more difficult to penalize that which is absent (Sion, 2008). Presumably then as new female recruits join the DF they are initiated into these feminine performances which are then perpetuated.

6.20 Conclusion

This chapter discussed the inhibitors to women's inclusion as equal members of a peacekeeping contingent. It responded to the over-arching question in this study 'How does the "equal but different" discourse distribute power in certain contexts and what impact does that have on women's inclusion on PSOs?' and its sub-questions: 'How does the "equal but different" discourse position women and men within specific gender jobs and roles in a PSO?' and 'What are the costs to women?' It highlighted how women are positioned within the 'different' axis of the 'equal but different' discourse and drew our attention to how certain discourses operate to make assumptions about gender seem 'natural' or 'normal'. It began by revealing discourses active within men's accounts that women would be inhibited from undertaking their full set of tasks and duties on a mission due to cultural constraints in the host nation that positions them in traditional gender roles. These discourses biased the performance of hegemonic masculinities within those nations and support gender stereotypes by not challenging them. Ultimately, these discourses position women peacekeepers and civilian women as 'other' within a PSO with their concerns and experiences devalued. It then explored how military culture in other TCCs can inhibit women peacekeepers access to a mission through discourses such as 'non-western peacekeepers can't work with women peacekeepers' and 'non-western peacekeepers perceive women peacekeepers as camp followers' to 'alcohol consumption by men can create problems for women on a PSO', all active in men's accounts. Protective discourses informally position women in jobs and tasks where they are protected from the 'other' either the 'other military man' or the 'other civilian man' or 'other militia man'. Although informal, this discourse could be influential in discouraging women peacekeepers to take on missions considered physically arduous or dangerous. Under the theme of divisions of labour, competition and promotion discourses were unravelled that insist that women can't be equal to men if they can't perform 'the same' as men physically', the implication being that 'men are the real soldiers'. Concerns were voiced by some women that with the implementation of UNSCR 1325 women may be forced into 'women-friendly' roles in missions; thereby stereotyping women and deepening the gendering of specific jobs into 'his' and 'hers' and further de-valuing women's position in the military.

Discourses on segregated facilities nest with discourses on 'protection' and 'divisions of labour' to emphasize women's difference. What is not explored in this research are lesbian, homosexual and transgender peacekeepers. I did not actively explore this subject as I felt it was highly sensitive and therefore not likely to be openly discussed because of the informal policy operating within the DF of 'don't ask, don't tell' (shared by one of the research participants). However, one senior woman officer did raise this topic and commented on the issue of a lesbian couple sharing accommodation on a mission which created resentment by heterosexual couples who were accommodated separately during the same mission. It is most likely that homosexual men in a relationship are also deployed to missions together and share accommodation. However, the DF does not acknowledge same-sex relationships as it has no policy for gay or lesbian personnel and therefore commanders have to make decisions about segregation of same sex couples on a piecemeal basis.

This chapter has outlined informal barriers to women's access to missions and has demonstrated how powerful discourses are positioning and re-positioning individuals in relation to each other and to the military institution. This chapter has analysed how the discourse 'equal but different' gets played out in the different scenarios peacekeepers find themselves in; and the gendering processes taking place before, during and after a mission. Many decisions are made by the military hierarchy about what missions are appropriate for women or men; or which jobs are gendered and how; how women's jobs can be curtailed due to cultural constraints; or how women need to be protected from the attitudes and behaviours from other military men. These discourses reveal a paternalistic attitude by some military men towards women who are their peers or subordinates. The discourses that create barriers to women's inclusion in a PSO reveal how women are used by the military to demarcate boundaries between civilians, culture, nations and other militaries. The next chapter in this study, '*Chapter Seven: Gender Perspectives and Transformative Possibilities*', looks at the difference a 'gender perspective' can make to attitudes and decision-making processes on a mission which could potentially lead to the transformation of those missions and how they are gendered.

CHAPTER SEVEN: GENDER PERSPECTIVES AND TRANSFORMATIVE POSSIBILITIES
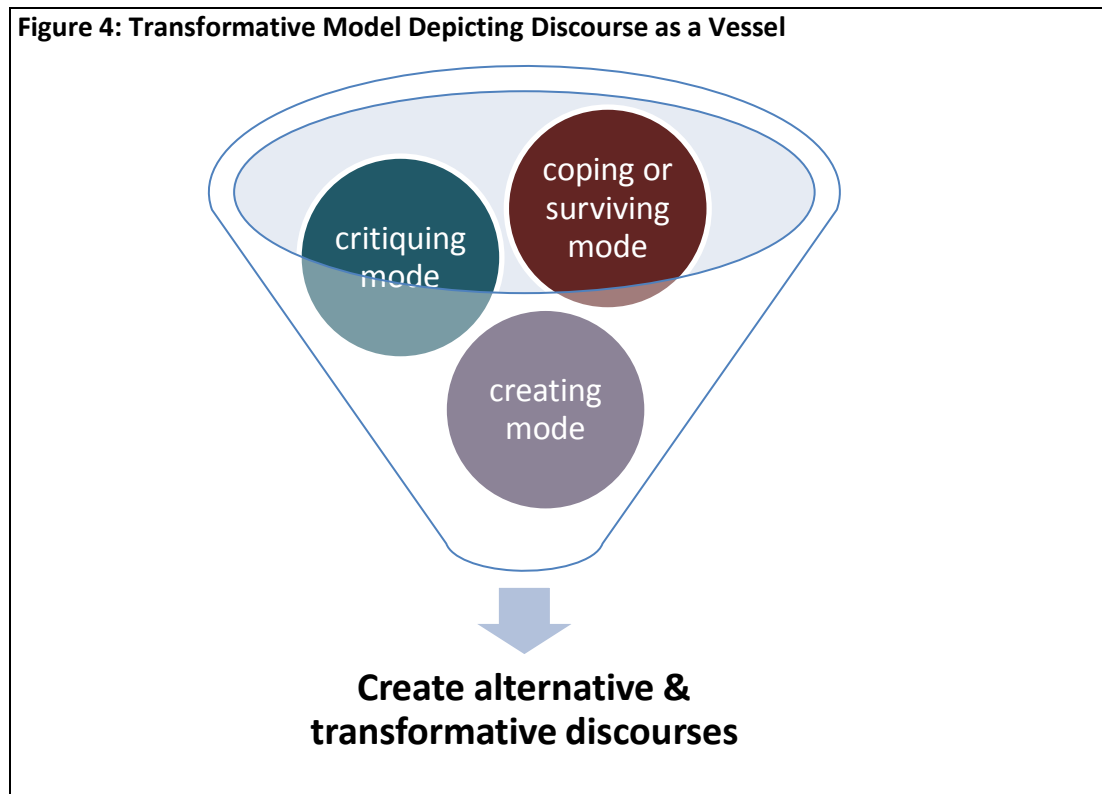
7.0 Introduction

Chapters Five and Six took a slow and detailed path through the on-the-ground realities of what the "equal but different" discourse means for Irish peacekeepers in different contexts. The focus of this chapter is to draw attention to those moments that stand out in the terrain as transformative by highlighting where individual agency can transform a situation and how this agency is available to both women and men. If women are allowed to take up multiple positions in a mission this may create opportunities to transform essentialist discourses and outdated notions of 'women's roles' and 'men's roles'. Uncovering discourses on gender within a military institution is important because it puts new items on the peacekeeping agenda in relation to women's participation and representation in the post conflict setting, as peacekeepers, activists and civilians. By asking 'where is the inclusion of women in the DF challenging dominant discourses and creating space for alternative discourses with transformative potential to take root?' this chapter assesses how womens' participation in peacekeeping could help to disrupt traditional views and gender stereotypes in host nations and amongst peacekeeping troops. It does this by assessing where women are not positioned dualistically with men in participant accounts but are positioned in their multiple subjectivities reflecting Kristeva's (1986) theory of the 'third space'. By discussing alternative discourses within the participant accounts this chapter reveals discourses that re-imagine gender relations. Through these muted discourses we begin to glimpse alternative power relations, the acceptance of difference and similarities; the rejection of homogeneity; and the understanding of the need for complementarities amongst (and within) women and men peacekeepers. By revealing these multiple subjectivities of women peacekeepers the concept of 'add women and transform' is developed and creates a bridge between critical and liberal debates within feminism on women's inclusion within militaries. It does this by retaining a concern with ways of responding to the needs of women right now in the post-conflict setting while exploring transformative discourses on gender that have the potential to dismantle gender stereotypes and equalize access to power through co-operation and interdependence.

7.1 What are Transformative Discourses?

In Chapter Two I discussed in detail how discourses are identified in the accounts as a specific part of the world viewed from a particular perspective and how they become dominant (widely circulated), muted (limited in their circulation) or transformative (alternative discourses with the potential to challenge and critique gender norms and social forces that shape those norms). To assess whether a discourse has transformative potential I used the transformative education model devised by O'Sullivan, Morrell and O'Connor (2002). This model posits the theory that three interdependent levels of 'survive, critique and create' need to be activated and transformed to enable a shift in the basic premises of thought, feelings and actions of an individual. The aim of transformation in education is to teach and learn in ways which effect a change in the perspective and frame of reference of the individual by emphasizing planetary and spiritual contexts (O'Sullivan, 2002). Planetary contexts are considered necessary to articulate effective challenges to the hegemonic culture, by for example circulating discourses that emphasize cooperation and peaceful means of resolving conflict rather than ones that emphasize the use of militarism that perpetuate militarist thinking and behaviour. Spirituality contexts are considered necessary to transformation because they provide alternative visions. For social movements to develop beyond the reproduction of 'narratives of oppression' to 'narratives that can envision an alternative global community', they need to engage with concepts of cooperation, inter-relatedness, imagination, love and respect, as powerful social forces (O'Sullivan, 2002; Kelley, 2002). The idea is that engaging with planetary and spiritual contexts creates opportunities for activism and sites of change necessary for societal transformation.

For a transformation to take place O'Sullivan (2002) argues that the shift in consciousness needs to be so dramatic that it creates a shift in paradigm which creates a shift in discourse thereby enabling the possibility for an individual to envision alternatives for themselves and others. To create this intense paradigm shift in an individual there needs to be an internal movement from 'survive' to 'critique' and then 'create' as part of this process. In survival mode the individual contextualizes issues which are understood within a complex whole such as community, culture and inter-relatedness. An integral

part of their therapy is to focus on transformative modes of cultural criticism that raise awareness. The critique level is about scholarship that comes out of this cultural criticism and its relationship to public discourses. 'Create' is about envisioning alternatives and producing sites of change through activism, with the aim of societal transformation (O'Sullivan, 2002). With this process of transformation in mind the extracts in the next section of this study were examined to see if they fit into either the 'critique' or 'create' levels within O'Sullivan's model of transformation. The findings are then discussed at the end of each thematic section. The diagram below Figure 4 gives a visual depiction of the levels that need to be moved through by the individual or institution to create alternative and potentially transformative discourses.

Figure 4: Transformative Model Depicting Discourse as a Vessel

critiquing mode

coping or surviving mode

creating mode

Create alternative & transformative discourses

7.2 Transformative Discourses on Culture, Gender and Civilians

This section of the study discusses particular extracts in participants' accounts that draw attention to alternative discourses operating within the narratives that have transformative potential because they position women multiply in new and powerful ways both within the DF and within PSOs. By asking 'Where is the inclusion of women in the DF challenging dominant discourses and creating space for alternative discourses with transformative potential to take root?' this section reveals discourses on women positioned within their multiple subjectivities by civilians in host nations and by male peers.

66. Civilians accept the presence of Women Peacekeepers

Did you have any contact with local civilians?

My first overseas mission [pause] being the BMR (battalion mobile reserve) was very operational and patrolled all the villages in the Nippur (1998) and the Battalion commander had never had senior females in an operational role, so it was basically decided that, when we went out on patrol if the locals had a problem with it, being a Muslim country, you know, I would have face to face with the locals on the ground, if there was a problem with that he would have to review the situation with females doing patrols, but there was never a problem, so it just continued on from there. (W4, 2006)

Point of Analysis:

• The transformative moment in this extract is when the participant says: '*but there was never a problem'* interacting with the civilian population.

• This account also acknowledges the forward thinking and risk-taking of the male commander '*the Battalion commander had never had senior females in an operational role'* and that he was prepared to challenge the gender norms by placing a woman in a new role.

Commentary:
This extract highlights the dominant discourse in the DF on 'gender and cultural norms' by which women peacekeepers expected their roles to be restricted, but in fact discovered

that there were few if any problems with local males and they were able to conduct their duties as normal on a mission. A senior ranking male officer took the decision/risk to give permission to a woman soldier to work directly with civilians in a previously untested cultural environment. The lack of senior women in operational roles meant that local civilians' reaction to senior women had not been fully tested and assumptions about hostility from local men were unfounded in this instance. This account reveals a 'critical' position adopted by the senior male officer through his decision to test the cultural norms and their tolerance of women soldiers.

67. Women Officers Delight Civilian Women

Do you have any particular stories or memories of coming into contact with local civilian women?

In Nippur, and I don't mean to harp on about Nippur (1998-2000) but there was a huge cultural diversity between, you know the Irish troops say and the other troops that were there, and this community that we went into, but I remember that the women, you know the local civilians would actually be delighted to shake hands with an officer, because they would never shake hands with men, the male officers, because of the cultural restrictions, whereas they'd nearly shake your hand off because you were a woman, because they could shake hands with you but because you were an officer .(W4, 2006)

Point of Analysis:

- The transformative moment in this account is when *'local civilians [women] would actually be delighted to shake hands with an officer'* particularly because the officer was a woman, who is, a senior ranking woman with power.

Commentary:

Differences are highlighted in this extract between troop contributing countries and their cultures and the culture of the host country. The positioning of women peacekeepers as officers inhabiting senior ranks and decision making roles disrupt traditional gender norms and provide inspirational role models for the local women. The presence of women officers may provide 'creative' opportunities for transformation of traditional gender roles within civilian discourses.

68. Taking on Leadership Roles and Challenging Gender Stereotypes

Did you ever do anything in the host community that positioned you as a positive role model, for example, as a teacher, a trainer or a spokesperson?

Yes absolutely, I was seen as a role model [...] I took a post which was essentially a [senior officer post] – right hand man to the General – the Ammonns (all women) loved it, they didn't have to report to me but they liked the fact that the guys had to report to me. The guys reacted badly initially, the military ones. The one non-military guy was great. The military ones were retired military and they had been more senior, in military terms, to me prior to their retirement. (W8, 2007)

Point of Analysis:

• The transformative moment in this account is revealed by the statement '*they liked the fact that the guys had to report to me*' highlighting an inversion of gender roles and norms and the disruption of the gender order within the PSO.

Commentary:

This account confirms that it is unusual for women to hold powerful leadership and decision making roles both within the military and within the host nation and there is an implication that the participant may have been the only woman in such a role '*I was seen as a role model*'. This inversion of power could 'create' an inspiring work environment for local civilian women ('*they loved it*') and may motivate them to 'critique' power relations privately or publicly because an opportunity to witness the redistribution of power of senior military men by a senior military woman challenges ideas of who has power and how it can be exercised.

69. Women treated as equal to men

Have you ever worked with any local women in any capacity?

No. Operations job made it difficult to do any local work plus it wouldn't interest me. In [African Country] we visited a Bedouin camp with only women – the men had gone to work in [Middle Eastern Country] – we were on patrol so you just visit anyone you see. They thought I was great I was given camels milk to drink – they couldn't stop looking at me – there were 8 of us – they couldn't believe I was the age I was – 36 – they looked much

older for the same age – and the fact that I wasn't married and didn't have children – they were smiling and touching me – they wheeled out their oldest daughter who hadn't been married yet she was a big disappointment to them. I was invited to the male part of a wedding in [African Country] – we were in the camp beside the village one or two guys were learning Arabic in the school – the locals wanted to see me – all the men would sit around and eat and talk – we couldn't really engage because of the language barrier – in that situation – these were not significant people in the conflict. (W8, 2007)

Points of Analysis:

- The transformative moment in this account is that the woman officer is treated as equal in status to civilian men indicated with the words *'I was invited to the male part of a wedding'* and thereby subverting and 'critiquing' cultural gender norms.

- The participant is treated as a novelty: *'the locals wanted to see me'* and made visible in her soldiering role; even though she is positioned as "different" or "other" for the locals, it is a positive experience for all.

Commentary:

The theme of civilians 'delight' in the presence of a woman peacekeeper as part of the mission is a dominant one throughout this study particularly in relation to civilian women. What is potentially transformative about this account is that the woman participant's presence disrupts the expectation of a male only peacekeeping unit; she is accepted as an equal to military men and to civilian men; they compare her role as a soldier with that of their unmarried daughter; (one is seen as an achievement 'they were smiling and touching me' and the other a disappointment) even though she made it clear that she is not married either but her soldiering role gives her status and power amongst the male civilians.

70. Girl Children Inspired by Women Peacekeepers

Okay, what is the reaction of the local population to you, […] obviously they pay more attention to you, you're in uniform and you are a woman, is there anything else?

I never noticed, I think they are very used to it now because the amount of time that has gone by since the mission actually started here. They are used to seeing soldiers walking down the street, I feel a little bit sometimes they step back when they see the weapon. Because we carry our weapon with us at all times. We don't put too much attention on it so they, […] for the first couple of weeks I noticed when we were on patrol and the children would run out onto the street and you know they would be hoping that you would slow down the vehicle and they just wanted to, most of them wanted to give you a high five. That's it, you know and they really do. And for instance, we did the [a charitable event] We paid to get into it and we did it in uniform, but it was through local areas and local villages, up in the hills, and the children were, like they were really friendly but I noticed when the girls seen us, the girls actually ran over to us, I don't know what they were thinking but I can imagine it was like they could see maybe an opportunity what could be there for them when they grow up, you know. Instead of this you know the very strict Muslim upbringing that women don't do these types of jobs. So you could see they were, it was funny because some of the boy children, mainly the older ones would put their hand out to touch the soldiers, and when the females put out their hand, they would pull their hand away. (W10, 2008)

Points of Analysis:

• The transformative moment in this account is when the girl children are delighted by the presence of women soldiers who provide alternative role models and through their presence challenge and 'critique' the militaries male dominated control of power.

Commentary:

In some of the accounts in this study women say they are not aware of being differentiated from their male peers and that this is due to the uniform which can act as a disguise along with the weapon and the positioning of all peacekeepers as the same. However, there are two potentially transformative moments in this extract firstly, the acceptance of women peacekeepers as the 'norm'; and secondly the children's delight in

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seeing 'women soldiers' thereby making it clear that it is not 'the norm'. These contradictions draw our attention to the different settings in which women are positioned. In the first instance the participant is talking about an urban setting and in the second situation she is in a rural setting where peacekeepers may be less visible and therefore more of a novelty to civilians. This extract confirms that women are both accepted by civilians and can delight and potentially inspire girl children who may have only seen men as peacekeepers previously. The presence of women may disrupt notions of gender binaries which position men as 'protectors' and women as carers/victims/vulnerable with women clearly visible in protective and leadership roles.

71. Integration without adoption of culture in host countries

Interview Schedule III: Have you noticed in your own mission's particular positives or negatives to this mix (of women and men)? Anything negative would have come up?

The negative aspects would have been in relation to the [women's]role in Nippur in the sense that we used them on checkpoints and that the Arab men would not have spoken to them or taken orders from them because of 'their' culture, eh but as I said at lunchtime you know we have to just look at the culture and be aware of the culture where we are, that's not to say that we change our method and culture but be aware of it so there's no reason why you couldn't have a male soldier there along with a female soldier and then that culture doesn't have an attitude because there is a male there as well so you know we have to be sensitive to the culture of the area we are in but that doesn't mean we adopt their culture, we can integrate but not adopt. (M10, 2008)

Points of Analysis:

• This account draws on the discourse that culture inhibits women's access to a mission which has as its central premise 'Arab men won't speak to women' due to cultural differences. However, it also identifies an alternative discourse on the importance of cultural *'integration without adoption'* and through it the acceptance of women as peacekeepers.

• Women and men are positioned interactively with women's acceptance by civilian males depending on their interdependency and mutual cooperation with men.

Commentary:

The discourse 'integrate without adopting' critiques the dominant discourse within this study that position women as unequal to men in relation to their access to specific jobs depending on the cultural norms in the host nation. The discourse that PSOs can 'integrate without adopting' gender and cultural norms is repeated in accounts by other participants, mainly women. However, it is notable for its positioning as a muted rather than dominant discourse. With the adoption of Ireland's National Action Plan on UNSCR 1325 it may be a discourse that gains ground and prominence within the DF over time. This seems like a symbol for everything feminism is trying to achieve, it is gentle and quite subtle, but nevertheless gives a clear message of acceptance.

72. Correlation between Unequal Gender Relations and Conflict

What would you like to see research of this kind achieving do you have any thoughts on that?

Yeah I do, I think, [pause] I have my own ideas about co-location of females in the frontline, in combat, combat effectiveness it is not really pertinent to the DF peacekeeping scenario. I think it is good to raise the awareness of the importance of the female role in peacekeeping, and for all those reasons we talked about, accessibility to the civilian population, highlighting gender awareness, [pause] everything from that down to, you know, motivation to male soldiers, everything from the female indigenous population to working with [unclear] at the end of Camden street. I think that and the linkage between the two and I think we are in the DF getting to grips with that the whole gender awareness, not only for it to happen within a military structure within peacekeeping but for the host nations to realize the [pause] importance of females in conflict, never mind in conflict resolution, but the value of women in a society and it is absolutely true – I can't remember who wrote it - the correlation between societies that devalue their women and the incidence of conflict – I was just reading something there recently – and it's that has to happen - UN peacekeeping forces need to up the ante in relation to females but concurrently it needs to happen in our host nations as well. (W15, 2008)

Points of Analysis:

- This extract reveals a 'critique' of gender inequalities in host nations as well as the military itself and connects the two, '*the linkage between the two and I think we are in the DF getting to grips with that the whole gender awareness, not only for it to happen within a military structure within peacekeeping but for the host nations to realize the [pause] importance of females in conflict, never mind in conflict resolution, but the value of women in a society'.*

- The participant raises awareness of 'creative' discourses on the benefits women soldiers bring to a mission, *'accessibility to the civilian population, highlighting gender awareness, [..., motivation to male soldiers'* but how this needs to be balanced with greater gender awareness within the host nations.

- This account argues that *'combat effectiveness it is not really pertinent to the DF peacekeeping scenario'* and so issues relating to placing women at the tooth or frontline of a mission is not so relevant on a PSO.

Commentary:

This account demonstrates how some peacekeepers are 'critiquing' the gender hierarchies and norms that position women unequally both within military institutions and the host nations and how simultaneously they need to be transformed for peacekeeping to have any real effect. Increasing the numbers of women peacekeepers will not make any difference unless missions come with deep understandings about gendering processes and how to roll back these processes through their own planning and practice on the ground. The argument put forward by militaries that women lower standards if they are not as 'combat ready' as men is dismissed in this account as the peacekeeping role conducted by the DF is not likely to need high levels of soldiering in the traditional sense.

7.3 General Analysis of Transformative Discourses on Culture, Gender & Civilians

By asking 'Where is the inclusion of women in the DF challenging dominant discourses and creating space for alternative discourses with transformative potential to take root?' this section draws attention to 'critical' discourses within the DF on gender relations. Feminist critics assert that the 'add women and stir' policies of the UN and other international organizations will not transform how an organization operates and in fact places unrealistic expectations on the transformative power of women, simply for being women; and without any concern to the structures and systems against which they may be battling to make even the tiniest change (Penttinen, 2012; Barth, 2002). However, the accounts in this section have demonstrated how women's presence, by making gender visible, can create a critique of traditional gender norms that dis-empower women, both amongst troops and civilians. Discourses such as 'the presence of women peacekeepers delight and inspire civilian women'; 'the civilian men respect women soldiers'; and 'integrate without adopting' acknowledge the fluidity of gender, and the interdependency between and amongst peacekeepers and civilians. Unequal power relations and gender norms in host nations are being challenged by women's presence as peacekeepers within these accounts by both women and men. In particular, senior male officers are taking risks and positioning women in jobs and tasks that they had previously been discouraged from participating in due to cultural norms in host nations.

These findings confirm the theory put forward by liberal feminists that the presence of women 'can' have positive effects on an institution and that these may create cracks in the institutional façade. In particular these cracks may create opportunities for new perspectives and methods of peacekeeping as well as new codes of conduct in relation to women's human rights. For example, extract 72 which discusses women's human rights within the post-conflict setting reveals a discourse on the need for militaries and institutions more broadly to 'value women' and to critique unequal social structures and systems if they truly want to bring about peace. Thereby, supporting the need for gender mainstreaming policies and practices, which are not evident within the accounts in this study. These findings compared to the findings in Chapters Five and Six (which revealed contradictory discourses on civilian women as devalued and women peacekeepers as

necessary to communicate directly with them) demonstrate that in any given situation, multiple discourses are likely to be activated, some of which are irreconcilable with each other, and this leads to contradictions. These, contradictory understandings and emotional responses can be an impetus for change. For example, if a critical mass of women were present on a PSO in leadership and decision making roles they may influence the creation of transformative discourses that could positively impact on civilian women, such as: the prioritizing within a mission mandate to mobilise women in host countries to become involved in peace building processes.

The phenomenon of contradiction can help us to theorize about how women and men are produced multiply in social relations and out of this we can generate hypothesis of the multiplicity of femininities and masculinities and the creation of the 'third space' as theorized by Kristeva (1986). In this third space the creation of the bridge between the two feminist debates, liberal and critical begins to take shape. While women cannot be *expected* to challenge dominant discourses and cultural norms simply by 'being' women, the evidence in this research points to their potential to transform gender binaries and hierarchies through their inclusion as senior officers and decision-makers creating alternative discourses that critique traditional gender relations by offering multiple positions.

7.4   Transformative Discourses on Licentious Behaviour of Men

By asking 'Where is the inclusion of women in the DF challenging dominant discourses and creating space for alternative discourses with transformative potential to take root?', this section of the study reveals discourses in both women's and men's accounts that question the use of local women as prostitutes and that position women as ethical overseers of men. Thereby, confirming the theory in the UN DAW report (1994) that the presence of women (whether passive or active) can inhibit the use of prostitutes by men on a mission.

73. Women can inhibit licentious behaviour

[preamble] Why because the men would be embarrassed in front of the women if they were known to be using prostitutes?

Yeah absolutely "dirty old man" type of stuff like you know, particularly the younger guys as well who might be considering themselves in the running with these women or afraid they'll say something to her friends when they're back or anything like that. I'd definitely say it's a civilizing influence and I know from personal experience that – you know I've classmates in the army, it's a different dynamic if it's all the lads together kind of for a weekend and all the women have a healthier dynamic as well I definitely think it is more positive, there's problems I'm sure, but more positives than negatives, it puts the brakes on a lot of this ego and macho BS that can develop and it can be quite damaging for the weaker guys then that they're become quite isolated or can't compete at that level you know. (M6, 2007)

Points of Analysis:

• This account draws our attention to a discourse that critiques 'men who use prostitutes as *"dirty old men"'* by their peers.

• Women are positioned as 'civilising' and perceived as inhibitors of licentious behaviour by men in this account.

• Women are also positioned as potential sexual partners to male peers *"particularly the younger guys … who might be considering themselves in the running"*.

• There is a discourse operating in this account that 'women are ethical overseers' and disrupters of '*Macho BS',* therefore women are positioned as critics of male licentious behaviour.

Commentary:

The discourse 'women are ethical overseers' is potentially transformative as it has as its central premise the perception that women critique men's licentious behaviour; and that men do not wish to be criticized by women. This positions women peacekeepers as potentially powerful and influential in creating alternative discourses on the use of prostitutes amongst their male peers. Discourses on the positioning of women as

civilizers of military men were previously discussed in accounts by male participants in Chapter Five (see extract 19).

74. Women Peacekeepers irritated by Men's use of prostitutes

Did you ever witness/or were you aware of abuses of power by peacekeepers (from the DF or other armies) towards the local population? If so, were they gender-related?

One element that irritates me is the use of the local women as prostitutes that is one that I cannot tolerate – I never encountered it but I know it happens – there are other nationalities who are notorious and I think it comes from their background…the way they treat people. It might be a cultural thing NOT any army thing. It is a less likely behavior by Western Europeans, that's certainly my experience and then there are varying grades of it use of prostitution – less likely in Ireland than other countries that have more liberal attitudes to sex. (W7, 2007)

Commentary:

Whilst this extract critiques the use of prostitution the discourse positions 'other' nations as more likely to use prostitutes and that it is normal or part of their culture and not as much a part of the Irish culture or Western European culture (except for those who have a *'more liberal attitudes to sex')*. There is a gradation in this account of militaries in relation to their tolerance of prostitution with non-western militaries positioned as most tolerant and Irish peacekeepers as least likely to use prostitutes. This account separates the military institution to which this participant belongs and the behaviours of the peacekeepers who use prostitutes, arguing that these are cultural differences amongst PSO contributing countries rather than cultural norms within the military itself.

7.5 General Analysis of Discourses on Men's Licentious Behaviour

By asking 'Where is the inclusion of women in the DF challenging dominant discourses and creating space for alternative discourses with transformative potential to take root?' these two accounts reveal an active critical discourse on the use of prostitutes by male peacekeepers in the accounts of both women and men. Women's positioning as the 'other' within the military means she is cast as a silent witness of men's behaviour. While some men condone women's presence precisely because of their unconscious role as 'ethical overseers' others may resent their presence and the fact that they inhibit male behaviour in this regard. Militarism is not a simple or easy process to roll back not least because military elites and government defence departments put considerable thought into gender, as well as ways to manoeuvre women into their support of militarization while at the same time segregating them in such a way that they are unlikely to make connections between their subjective positioning and other women's positioning within the militarization process (Enloe, 2000). However, in these accounts women *have* made connections with 'other' women, in this case prostitutes near mission base camps. And while these connections are mainly 'imaginative' they do count. For example, it does 'irritate' women peacekeepers that men use prostitutes; and men do think twice about using prostitutes when women peacekeepers are present on a mission.   Women peacekeepers, through their presence make visible sexist attitudes within missions and the norm of using civilian 'women' as prostitutes challenging the notion of men as the 'protectors' of these women.

> Some of the decisions integral to militarizing women are decisions of omission: senior officers' decision not to rein in younger officers who make strippers central to their squadron parties; senior officers' decision to turn a blind eye to their male subordinates' acts of sexual harassment of female colleagues; civilian politicians' decisions not make their own government's military prostitution policies a topic of explicit consideration. (Enloe, 2000: 280)

By revealing those omissions as well as commissions of defence institutions this study demonstrates how some women are rolling back their own militarization by supporting civilian women's right to justice and equality.   While this study does not reveal any detailed analysis of the use of prostitutes by male peacekeepers through these two

accounts (and extract 29 in Chapter Six) it is clear that men are using prostitutes indicating that commanders are either ignoring this issue and/or that UN missions do not have adequate policies and practices to protect the rights of civilian women.

7.6 Transformative Discourses on Protection

This section of the study responds to the question 'Where is the inclusion of women in the DF challenging dominant discourses and creating space for alternative discourses with transformative potential to take root?', by outlining discourses in both women's and men's accounts that position women within the protector role. Women's ability to defend and protect is presented as a competence or capability rather than a gender role.

75. Women are Protectors and Leaders

Did you ever believe that you were stopped from undertaking a task because of your gender? (For example, low level negotiations, or being excluded from what was considered a dangerous element of the mission?)

No, anybody that knows me, they just wouldn't try to stop me basically [we both laugh] [...] I was faced with the situation that one of my cars had to stay behind, I'd have to leave three troops behind to secure that and I was obviously going to stay myself, as the commander, that, there was a little moment of uncertainty there because I obviously had very good male officer friends there, and I think as an automatic protection 'we can't leave her here, you can't leave her here' and I know if I was a guy they would have thought 'ok tough' you're here for the night – we were the only four Irish in a particular part of the country it was slightly dangerous there was a bit of mobile combat activity at the time and there was definitely a moment when everyone was saying 'we can't leave her here' but I just made the decision I'm carrying on with my job – and nobody could stop that - so that wasn't because – it probably was because I was a female because obviously there is an extra little bit of protection out there from your male counterparts - it wasn't because they didn't think I could do the job, and certainly my troops wouldn't have wanted anyone to stay with them except me. (W7, 2007)

Points of analysis:

- The participant reflexively positions herself as the decision-maker and leader *I just made the decision I'm carrying on with my job – and nobody could stop that'.*

- The participant interactively positions herself as the protector and leader of her troops *'my troops wouldn't have wanted anyone to stay with them except me'.*

- The participant was aware of how powerfully the 'men are protectors' discourse operates in relation to women peacekeepers and their safety, this is evident by the number of times she states that they said *'we can't leave her here'* (three times with two edited) however she positions herself interactively with her male peers and over-rides their concerns by dismissing them and getting on with the job. Thereby, disrupting the 'men are protectors' discourse and positioning herself within the discourse instead, creatively transforming it to 'women are protectors'.

- The comment *'very good male officer friends'* highlights the asexual camaraderie between male and female peers and the respect and co-operation inherent to achieve peacekeeping tasks.

Commentary:

Whilst the protective discourse can operate to exclude women from taking on certain tasks and jobs in this instance the participant was able to transform it to 'women are protectors'. Her reflexive positioning is very strong in this account and she is aware that she is seen differently by her male peers '*I felt if I was just a male officer they would have just said ok that's the way it goes that's your job but it's just a little bit of protection...'.* This account highlights contradictory discourses on how women are positioned within PSOs and how they can inhibit women fully inhabiting their jobs and tasks, in this case it depended on the individual woman's agency and her confidence in over-riding the concerns of male peers.

This account links with extracts in this chapter and Chapter Five which highlight individual women's agency as leaders and decision-makers on missions; a discourse mainly drawn out in women's accounts but notable for its emergence in some men's accounts. These muted discourses are highlighting how women are being positioned as equal to their male peers in the 'protective' discourse and this provides opportunities for the transformation

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of gender hierarchies within peacekeeping and the DF. The expansion of these 'protective discourses' to include women as protectors alongside transformative discourse on cultural relations with host nations 'integrate without adopting' could lead to a new discourse on the inclusion of women in missions 'Add Women and Transform'.

76. Buddies Protect Each Other Regardless of Gender

Are men more protective towards women on missions, does that come up in training?

The Israeli theory[13] yeah I know what you're saying and I think it's more complicated than that, one of the areas that we look at is motivation, what motivates somebody to put themselves in harms' way? Is it the flag? Is it the UN? and generally speaking the reply back is what comes back most is do it for your team, you do it for your buddies, regardless of male or female, you'd do it for your friends cos you'd expect them to do the same for you, so there's the satisfaction, the fact that it's a female, I don't know[that you'd think] if it's a male you'd leave them there if it's female I'll do something, I don't think it's quite like that, it's how you look at it. The whole maternal thing we have in Irish society the mammy and the sisters, it sounds good but I think if a woman is one of their buddies they would be treated the same, and as well I suppose it comes down to individuals and circumstance, but also the person - you're judging their competency – how are they themselves? What can they do? How vulnerable are they? There may be a perception that female is more vulnerable but that's, I think that is purely a personal thing it is not an overall thing and as far as we're concerned, from a training point of view with the cadets they're a buddy, male or female, your section your squad and that's drilled in you do it for your team you do it for your buddies. (M11, 2008)

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[13] Women do serve in the Israeli forces. Reserve duties are for life for men but only until age 24 or motherhood (whichever comes first) for women. The reasons for the exclusion of women from combat revolve around their impact on men rather than on their own combat abilities. Supposedly men in mixed units show excessive concern for the wellbeing of a woman at the expense of the mission. However there is little evidence to prove this hypotheses (Goldstein, 2001).

Points of analysis:

- The participant is critical of the 'women are weaker than men' discourse (operating in accounts in chapter six), this is explicit when he says: '*there may be a perception that female is more vulnerable but I think that is purely a personal thing it is not an overall thing'.* This male participant does not homogenize women but positions them multiply as he does men.

- The value of friendship and loyalty between peacekeepers, regardless of gender, is highlighted in this account *'you'd do it for your friends'* disrupting the dominant discourse that 'men are protectors'.

- There is an assertion that the motivation to fight or protect transcends gender stereotypes and is about protecting a friend or team with the phrase *'do it for your team, you do it for your buddies, regardless of male or female'.*

Commentary:

This account draws on the multiple positions of women and men depending on individual skills and competencies regardless of gender. The account draws on the institutional positioning of peacekeepers in relation to the Irish Flag or the UN and rejects them as the rationale for going into dangerous zones; asserting that it is loyalty and personal relationships that motivate the protective discourse, not the nation, the institution or the gender of the peacekeeper. The discourse 'peacekeepers protect buddies regardless of gender' has the potential to transform gender binaries within missions by acknowledging that women and men are motivated to protect and defend people they care about; with women peacekeepers taking on dangerous tasks considered 'masculine' to protect a buddy.

7.7 General Analysis of Discourses on Protection

By asking 'Where is the inclusion of women in the DF challenging dominant discourses and creating space for alternative discourses with transformative potential to take root?' these two account reveal how the presence of women soldiers, if they are positioned in multiple ranks, roles, jobs and tasks, can challenge the notion of women as homogenous, as victims or as powerless. Thereby eroding the gender stereotyping that positions women and men differently and unequally on issues of war and peace; with men's experience and knowledge valued more highly than women's in relation to conflict and its resolution. The development of the 'women are protectors' discourse although muted challenges the dominant discourse 'men are protectors' and critiques gender binaries that position women as victims and men as their protectors in the peace/war dichotomy. This study argues that the expansion of these 'protective discourses' to include women as protectors alongside the discourse on cultural relations with host nations 'integrate without adopting' could lead to a new discourse on the inclusion of women in missions 'Add Women and Transform'.

7.8 Transformative Discourses on Divisions of Labour

This section of the study by responding to the question 'Where is the inclusion of women in the DF challenging dominant discourses and creating space for alternative discourses with transformative potential to take root?', discusses how physical ability or strength is less important in modern multi-dimensional missions; and that technology has equalized the peacekeeping environment for women and men.

77. Modern Technology can equalize gender

Another senior officer told me that soldiers buddy up anyway gender doesn't make a difference because it's just one soldier protecting another soldier. Do you think that's the case or do you think the female aspect makes a difference?

Well if there's likely to be hand to hand combat I'd much prefer males, if they're pulling a trigger from a distance then it doesn't matter; the physical dexterity comes into play, women lifting heavy shells and artillery obviously they wouldn't have the strength; but that's less and less now because with modern technology the strength issue is not as big an

issue at all it's only in the minority of cases that you need physical strength. Some women can be fitter then men. (M9, 2008)

Points of Analysis:

- In this account there is an awareness that gender specific tasks in relation to physical size or strength are disappearing and that physical differences are less important in PSOs due to '*modern technology'*.

Commentary:

In this account a 'critical' discourse is revealed because it positions women peacekeepers as out-performing male soldiers in some instances: *'women can be fitter than men'* contradicting the discourse drawn on in extract 40 in Chapter Six that '*women can't compete with men on a physical level and are therefore "less equal"*. This account acknowledges the multiplicity of femininities and masculinities and their performance and does not homogenize women or men. This is an important discourse that is currently muted and needs more attention for it to flourish. By acknowledging that new technology has equalized gender relations in peacekeeping this account is also acknowledging that missions have changed therefore, gender relations are also transforming to reflect these changes. The discourse 'women can be fitter than men' also nests with the discourse in the following extract (78) by another male participant on 'capability as more important than gender'.

78. Judge Women on their Competency and Capability NOT Gender

Are there certain types of missions that either you don't think women should go on or women generally are not sent on, like UN observer missions?

My own personal view is that it would be very unfair to prevent somebody from going purely on gender – I'm making a call that either that person is not capable or competent to go on a job which is completely wrong – if they have volunteered for it and are qualified for it regardless of gender they should go for it. (M11, 2008)

Commentary:

The transformative discourse 'competence equalizes' contradicts the discourse drawn on in Chapter Six that 'women should be protected from going on dangerous missions'. This account challenges attitudes that women's access to jobs considered to be more dangerous should be inhibited. This is also a contradictory position to the 'unfair on women to let them go' discourse. It is also significant that this discourse is drawn on by a male participant. The positioning of a peacekeeper as 'competent' or 'capable' is a recurring theme throughout the accounts in this study; and the discourse that 'competence equalizes gender' may be taking ground from the 'need to protect women' discourse.

79. No preferential treatment for women

Do you feel that you're treated equally to them? Do commanders give special privileges to women or special allowances to women in certain circumstances? [This follows a conversation about women's differences].

I certainly wouldn't have felt the women are getting preferential treatment [...] as I said there is a generational perception that will change [...] there are occasions when a particular female officer may be seen to benefit [...] there's always a reason....and sometimes people can get that perception, but from my personal point of view I've never felt there's something that I haven't got [a promotion or opportunity] because I'm a male. I'd have no experience of them getting a course ahead of me or me getting a course ahead of them. (M5, 2007)

Points of Analysis:

• The participant reveals a discourse in this account that some 'senior officers treat women differently' with the words: '*there is a generational perception that will change [...] there are occasions when a particular female officer may be seen to benefit*' but that this '*will change'*.

• The male participant does not homogenize women in this account.

Commentary:

This account contradicts the discourse that 'positive discrimination often advantages women over men' discussed in extracts in Chapter Six that position women as 'getting preferential treatment in promotion competitions'; 'not having to work as hard as men'; and as 'manipulators of senior officers to get the nicer jobs'. This account reveals an acceptance of women as equals and points out that any inequalities that may exist are due to the generational and attitudinal differences amongst senior male officers rather than amongst the women themselves. This is a critical discourse with transformative potential because it does not position women as the problem it recognizes that the institution has a part to play in how women are perceived and accepted.

80. Attitude is more important than gender

Do you think that civilians open up more because you are a woman […] and they feel more comfortable talking to you, or do you notice anything whereby the women always come up to talk to you or anything like that?

I haven't noticed that at all, now in saying that it probably makes them feel more at ease because they see a female there. We had one of the interpreters who said it's great I have a friend on the team because I'm a girl. And it means if she has a problem she can actually come to me and say this is wrong or that is wrong. Where going to lads all the time could be a bit strange, in saying that I think a lot of it is how the individual approaches the situation, if you go in all I'm the big man and that's it, you won't get the same response as if you go in a bit humble and introduce yourself to the person. (W14, 2008)

Points of Analysis:

• In this account the participant is not aware of her impact as a woman or that her presence makes any difference to a mission.

• At the same time she interactively and imaginatively positions herself as potentially creating 'ease' for civilian women when they approach mission personnel.

Commentary:

In this account there is a critical discourse operating that does not homogenize either women or men. The participant posits that certain traits like being approachable doesn't

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have to be associated with women – men can be approachable too – '*I think a lot of it is how the individual approaches the situation*' - it depends on their individual (human) traits. The diagram below gives a visual overview of how discourses can nest together to disrupt dominant discourses and create alternative discourses.

7.9 General Analysis of Transformative Discourses & Divisions of Labour

The concept of the 'third space' is operating within these accounts. Gender binaries are being contested and critical discourses are drawn on.   Dominant discourses in the narratives discussed in Chapter Six position women as: needing protection from men; being less equal (due to physical differences); given "special treatment" in promotion competitions; working less hard then men; manipulating senior male officers to 'get the nicer jobs'; and being more approachable for civilians. The accounts in this section discuss the alternatives, all those in-between spaces, where muted discourses can take root and if supported could eventually disrupt the dominant ones.   These transformative and emancipatory discourses position women as: fitter than men in some instances; competent and capable; equals with civilian men and with skills and attributes such as 'approachability' that are available to men as well as women. This section reveals how gender identities are not fixed, but are constantly changing. As such, depending on the context of a PSO and its mandate, peacekeepers will have to perform a variety of tasks which will call on a multitude of gender performances including being capable and authoritative as well as sensitive and compassionate. These findings link with Penntinen's (2012) research on action competence amongst Finnish military police women, that these attitudes and behaviours are often associated with either women or men, but are available to everyone on PSOs. This links in with the concept of the third space which is a theoretical bridging device in this study. By outlining critical discourses within participant accounts that position women and men peacekeepers multiply this section has revealed discourses with transformative potential for gender relations within the DF.

Figure 5: How muted discourses can nest together to create alternative/ transformative discourses

Deepens connection with community/Improves the re-construction element of PSOs

Women are seen as Protectors & Defenders & Supporters

Leaders

Women access a diversity of jobs, roles and ranks & provide role-models for local women

women create access to diverse sections of population &information

If 30% + women peacekeepers in the DF/PSOs
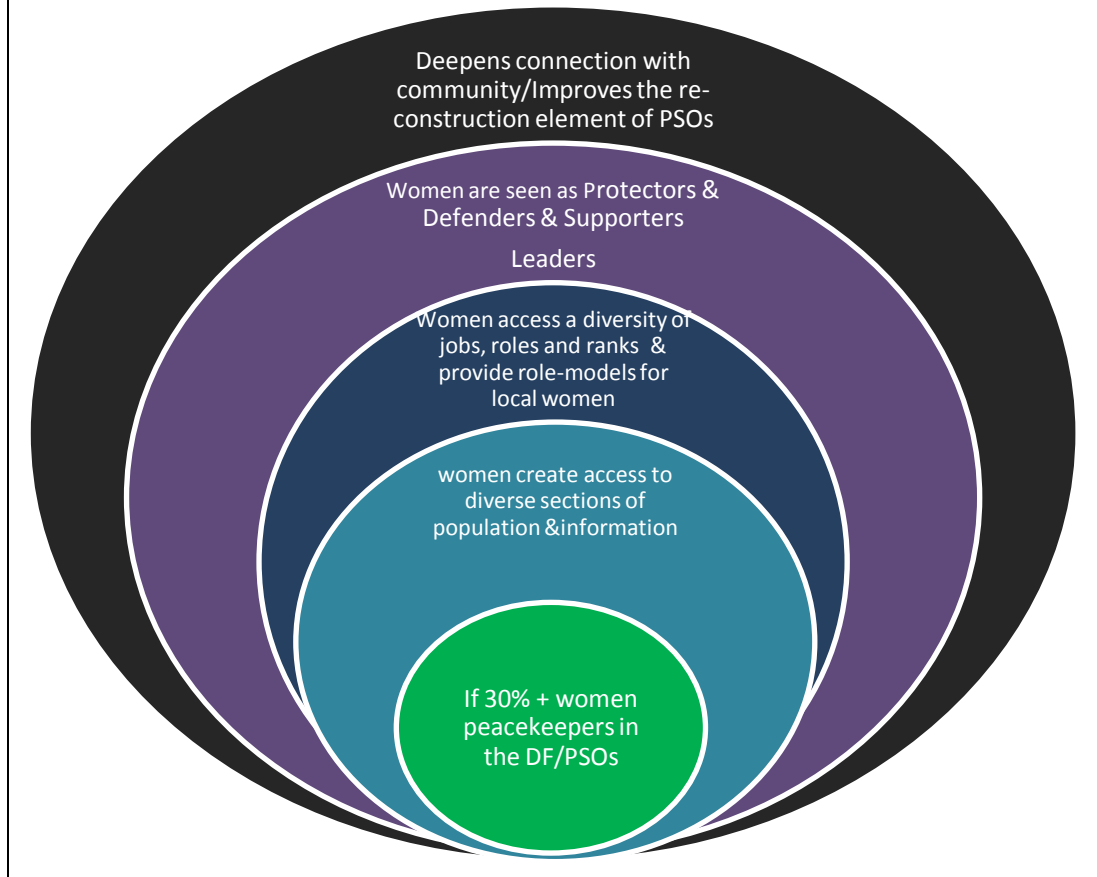
Figure 5: How discourses can nest together to create transformative discourses such as: 'Women are Protectors/Soldiers/Defenders'. The circles nesting inside of each other represent how a transformative discourse could take root such as 'Women are Protectors/Soldiers/Defenders' by increasing the numbers of women on a mission and giving them access to a diversity of ranks and jobs some of which include working closely with women in the community. This discourse could shift gender relations within the host nation.

7.10   Add Women and Transform

By highlighting dominant discourses active within the participant accounts on gender relations and then comparing them with muted alternative discourses this chapter has identified that individual peacekeepers within the DF are critiquing and responding to traditional discourses on gender with creative alternatives.   Using the transformative learning process developed by O'Sullivan (2002) helped me to identify the contexts in which these critical actions and discourses are taking place, and to consider how their development could transform gender relations within a military institution. While most of the discourses outlined in this chapter are critical rather than creative or visionary they do demonstrate how discourses can shift within an institution from 'survival' mode to 'critical' mode, and the influence that women's inclusion has had on shaping these discourses.   O'Sullivan (2002) posits that cultural criticism is part of a transformative cultural therapy and that this criticism enables an individual to examine the actions and conditions that have created her/his social reality and the structures and institutions in which they are situated.   Identifying how certain worldviews and ideologies have dominated and the impact they have had on the planet as well as on society enable the individual to develop critique and resistance. The extracts in this chapter have revealed cultural criticism within the discourses drawn on by participants. Through the use of the 'third space' a bridge is created between the feminist debates on women's inclusion within militaries by setting out a platform from which to 'critique' or 'create' alternative visions of peacekeeping and gender relations. It does this by revealing how women's inclusion within militaries can shift discourses over time and how gender inequalities perpetuated by militarism are becoming more visible within discourses.

Awareness of gender differences can be an avenue for identifying new ways of thinking and dealing with questions of politics and peace. Therefore, women's visibility in their multitude of roles is paramount for this process. This research has demonstrated how women do more than simply fill the gaps in a military institution, they make gender visible and their presence creates opportunities for new discourses to take root that position women and men as equals.   In the diagram that follows, critical alternative discourses on gender are depicted to expose how women are being positioned in their multiple

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subjectivities in specific contexts and how these link in with the theory of the 'third space' as a necessary step towards equalizing power in gender relations within a military institution. Figure 6 below provides a visual diagram of the muted discourses uncovered within this study, which have transformative potential.

Figure 6: Muted Discourses with Transformative Potential

Protection: buddies protect regardless of gender

Sexuality: mixed peacekeeping teams encourage healthier sexuality/gender equality

Third Space: multiple subjectivities of women/men peacekeepers are recognised and encouraged

culture: integrate without adopting

Divisions of Labour: competency more important than gender
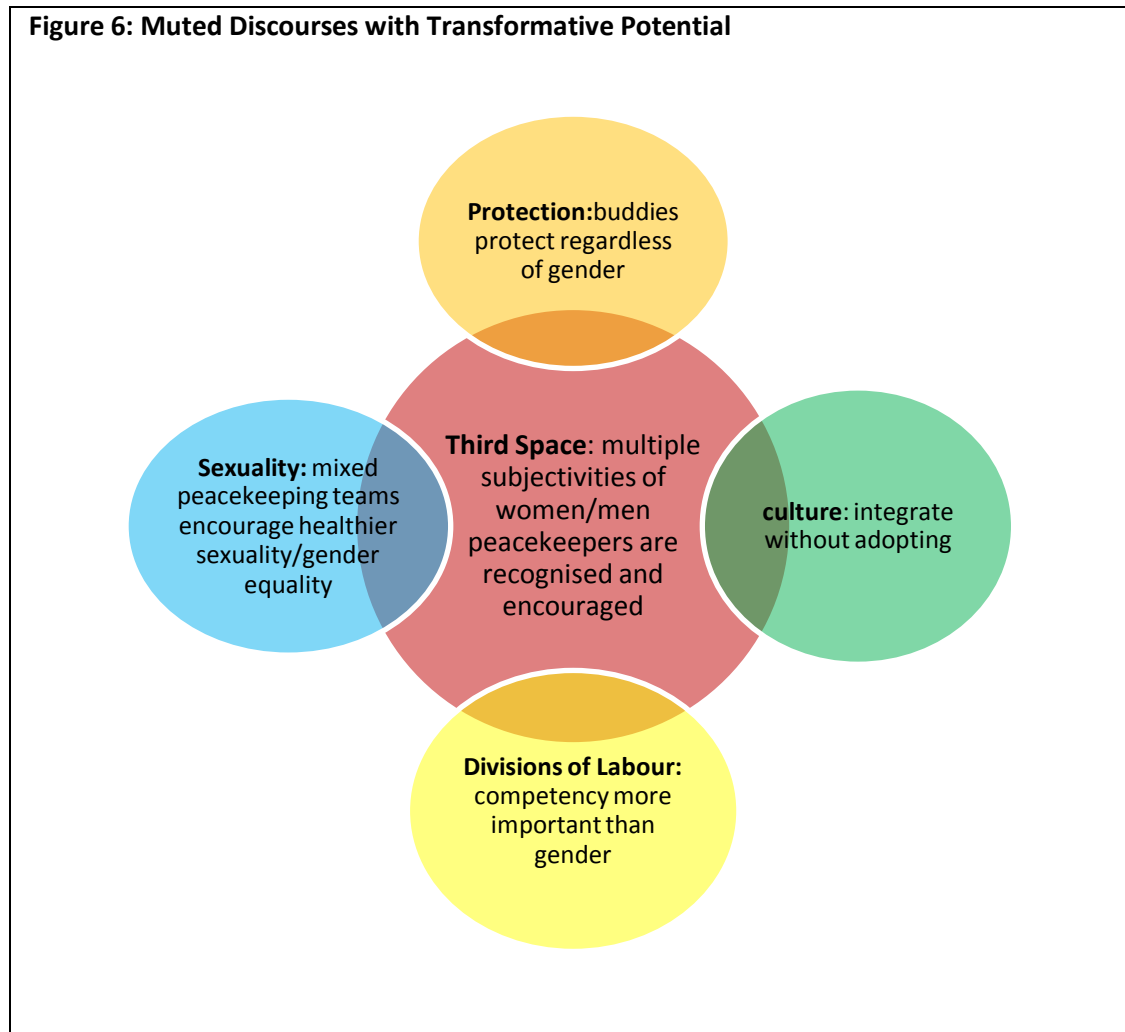
7.11   Conclusion

This chapter has illuminated muted alternative discourses and how they operate alongside dominant discourses within the participant accounts; and discussed their potential to bring about change in gender relations within the DF.   Throughout this chapter I have magnified muted discourses to draw attention to their transformative possibilities.   These alternative discourses have shown how there is some movement away from the discourse 'add women and stir', heavily critiqued by feminists as the partial problem-solving approach of the UN and other international institutions involved in peace and defence, to a new discourse 'add women and transform'.   'Add women and transform' focuses on those areas where the presence of women is transforming gender discourses and creating opportunities for new insights which could create cracks in the facade of a military institution. These cracks come in the guise of contradictory discourses between and amongst women and men in the DF. If the numbers of women in the DF were to increase dramatically to the tipping point of 30 percent, there is a possibility that they could transform gender relations within the institution.

This chapter has highlighted how women can bring a diversity of leadership and decision making styles that challenge previously taken for granted norms within PSOs. Women's presence on missions also puts new items on the equality agenda, for example, the need for peacekeeping gender policies that respect the gender norms of the host nation without disempowering women peacekeepers or devaluing local women and their contribution to a mission.   In the next and final chapter, '*Chapter Eight: Concluding Discussion',* outlines the major contributions of this research as well as the theoretical and policy implications of the research findings.   It discusses how the gathering of new empirical data on gender discourses within the DF is an important achievement of this study. It also outlines the limitations of the study's approach; my learning as a discourse activist and neo-radical feminist; and discusses   recommendations for future research.

CHAPTER EIGHT: CONCLUDING DISCUSSION

8.0 Introduction

This chapter summarises the empirical findings within this study and outlines their contribution to knowledge within feminist IR research, feminist security studies, military and peacekeeping studies. It also examines the theoretical and policy implications of the thesis and makes suggestions for further research. This chapter follows on from the discussion in Chapter Seven on the necessity for the 'third space' to be present within gender discourse if a military institution is to wholeheartedly engage with transformative gender policies such as gender mainstreaming. It takes us full circle back to the central question of the study: 'How does the "equal but different" discourse distribute power in specific contexts and what impact does that have on women's inclusion in PSOs?'   It answers this question by outlining the findings from this study which are the empirical evidence revealed through discourse analysis. This chapter then gives an overview of the contradictory discourses circulating within each of the main themes: culture, protection, divisions of labour, facilities, sexuality and care-giving. By assessing the locations and contexts in which particular discourses operate this research identifies how they create and re-create power dynamics through their influence on each other. Through a series of diagrams this chapter outlines how contradictory discourses exist side by side and operate within different contexts. The policy implications of the study for the DF are then outlined along with future research directions and the concluding remarks.

8.1 Overall Contribution of this Study

A major contribution of this research is its new empirical data on gender relations within the DF. The findings reveal contradictory discourses and unequal relations of power within the institution. The gathering of extensive empirical data which was not previously available for a study of this kind was an enormous task and included gaining access to the DF at a time when sensitivities about gender issues were high. To gather the data I travelled to different locations in Ireland and Kosovo to interview 28 participants, all peacekeepers with the DF. As such, this study has provided baseline data for the DF on gender discourses in the social relations of Irish peacekeepers. It has also lain bare the

detailed process by which I analysed the empirical data, and which can be further re-interpreted and analysed by the DF, scholars and academics in the pursuit of knowledge.

The study's originality comes from its use of discourse analysis within the field of military/peacekeeping research. Discourse analysis is a method commonly used in feminist scholarship but not typically used within IR. This study has revealed that the dominant discourse on gender relations within the DF 'equal but different' is gender neutral and falls into the trap of essentialism, ignoring the multiplicity of subjectivities amongst peacekeepers. 'Equal but different' conflates gender to mean women and compares women to men as the normative standard. The 'difference' aspect of the discourse becomes a practical necessity for dealing with 'others' who are women in this case. Therefore, this study outlines how the 'equal but different' discourse is not adequate for transformative possibilities. By revealing muted alternative discourses on gender relations within participant accounts this study has identified how, if they were supported, they could take root and flourish. These discourses position women and men within the 'third space' a space where multiple subjectivities are activated and gender is no longer polarized. This space provides an opportunity for women's inclusion within the DF to change discourses on gender through the concept 'add women and transform'.

8.2 Achievements of the Study: New Empirical Data on Gender Relations within the DF

In response to the overarching question of this thesis 'How does the "equal but different" discourse distribute power in certain contexts and what impact does that have on women's inclusion on PSOs?' this study reveals empirical evidence that women are positioned powerfully within PSOs as gatherers of diverse information and intelligence, communicators with local women, and as bringers of a new energy that includes care-giving, normalizing, empathizing and listening as well as galvanizing and motivating the troops. However, this study also exposes empirical evidence on inhibitors to women's access to missions. There are discourses operating within participant accounts that reveal contradictory discourses, for example, that position men from other cultures as unable to work with Western women soldiers; that position women as creators of sexual tension amongst male peers; that position women as receiving preferential treatment in promotion competitions; and as troublemakers and home-wreckers on missions. These

discourses, especially if they nest together, can informally influence or inhibit women's access to particular jobs and missions. This study also provides evidence that the inclusion of women within the DF is causing gender discourses to slowly change by giving rise to muted discourses that draw on multiple subjectivities for peacekeepers. The empirical evidence in this study suggests that if a military institution does not assess how its structures and systems impact differently on women and men (due to gendered social roles both within and without the institution) it is likely to perpetuate discrimination; and in the case of a male-dominated institution this discrimination will be towards women.

8.3 Overview of Findings

By asking Enloe's feminist questions 'where are the women?', 'which women are there?', 'what are they doing?' and 'what do they think about being there?' (2000: 294) this study paid close attention to gender and how it is created and re-created within patriarchal structures and systems. In Chapter Five on 'What Women Bring to a Mission' this study asked 'What are the differences in how a mixed gender peacekeeping mission is received compared to a 'male-only' team, by the host community?'; 'Does the presence of women enable an inclusion of different voices and perspectives in peacekeeping?'; and 'How does the "equal but different" discourse operate to position women and men within specific gender roles within a mission?' This study identified discourses on culture within host nations revealing that a mixed gender peacekeeping mission is received differently to a 'male-only' mission by the host community and that while women's presence can create opportunities for different voices and perspectives to be included, most women in the DF do not work directly with civilians to enable that to happen, only coming into contact with local women informally. In relation to gender roles on a mission women are predominantly positioned in their care-giving roles by men. The overall finding in this chapter is that women's 'difference' is considered a benefit to a mission in three specific areas: in relation to communications with civilian women in the host nation; intelligence gathering; and care-giving and normalizing within the mission camp. Chapter Five revealed a series of contradictory and complementary discourses that position women as both enhancing cultural respect and challenging traditional gender norms within the host nations. Women are positioned as the bringers of 'new energy to a mission' which

improves the quality and diversity of life in the camps for the men and creates more effective missions by helping to build trust towards the peacekeepers amongst civilians. For example, the presence of women enables the searching of women at checkpoints which was previously difficult with all-male missions, and yet vital to the new mission profiles. Women have the potential to bring diversity to missions, access to minority groups, access to new information, and their presence can passively alter the atmosphere of a camp by making it more relaxed and caring. Within these contexts women are positioned as powerful and their inclusion on a mission is seen as a necessity. These findings reflect the assumptions made in the UN DAW report (1994) about how women can increase the effectiveness of a mission.

In Chapter Six on the inhibitors to women accessing missions the findings identified military culture as the main inhibitor to women accessing certain missions, jobs, tasks and ranks. The questions explored were 'How does the "equal but different" discourse operate to position women and men within specific gender roles within a mission?'; 'What are the differences in how a mixed gender peacekeeping mission is received compared to a 'male-only' team, by the host community and other TCCs?; and 'What are the costs to women as part of a minority group?' The findings in this chapter conclude that the discourse circulating within men's accounts that 'men are protectors' could act to exclude women from soldiering in particular situations, because it positions women dualistically as 'vulnerable' on the opposite end of the axis to the 'protector' role. This 'men are protectors' discourse has the potential to create divisions of labour within the DF if jobs, tasks and missions become segregated along gender lines, based on the discourse that some missions are considered 'too dangerous for women'. If women are discouraged from participating in specific missions because of the 'too dangerous for women' discourse then this is likely to have a negative impact on women's promotion opportunities to senior officer ranks beyond the level of Commandant (a position most officers attain as it reflects length of time in the DF rather than specific achievements or numbers of missions).

Under the theme of host nation culture there are discourses circulating within men's accounts that Muslim or Tribal men will not communicate with women. This discourse

privileges local men over women peacekeepers. These discourses do not reflect the findings of the UN DAW report (1994) which positioned women as having increased and better access to civilians. If this discourse was to position women homogenously as disempowered in relation to civilian men it could have a negative impact on women's access to specific jobs and missions. Although women peacekeepers themselves report few problems and while UNSCR 1325 calls for more women to be included in peacekeeping there are still discourses circulating within men's accounts that 'women can't go there'. These discourses sit in contradiction with the 'women are necessary' discourse discussed earlier. There are also discourses circulating within men's accounts that 'non-western male peacekeepers are unable to work with Irish women due to traditional gender norms within their countries'. However, women participants drew on a discourse 'that non-western peacekeepers see them as a novelty and are surprised by their presence' which is considered an irritation or frustration rather than a 'they can't work with us' discourse. The findings in this chapter conclude that it is military culture itself that is the inhibitor to women's equal inclusion on a mission not the attitudes of men from different cultures.

Chapter Seven on Gender Discourses and Transformative Possibilities explores the question 'Where is the inclusion of women in the DF challenging dominant discourses and creating space for alternative discourses to take root?' This chapter concludes that women's inclusion within the DF has created alternative discourses on gender and although they are muted they have the potential to be transformative. Transformative discourses were identified by their critical stance and alternative point of view which reflects an expansion within consciousness on gender relations. This chapter highlights how some of the participants within this study are critically assessing gender relations within the military, PSOs and host nations and are developing alternative discourses that could in time, if given support, challenge dominant discourses. These discourses include ones that position women as protectors and leaders in their own right; and the need for PSOs to include gender perspectives within their planning and practice. These discourses are situated within the theoretical 'third space' where multiple subjectivities are activated and gender is no longer polarized.
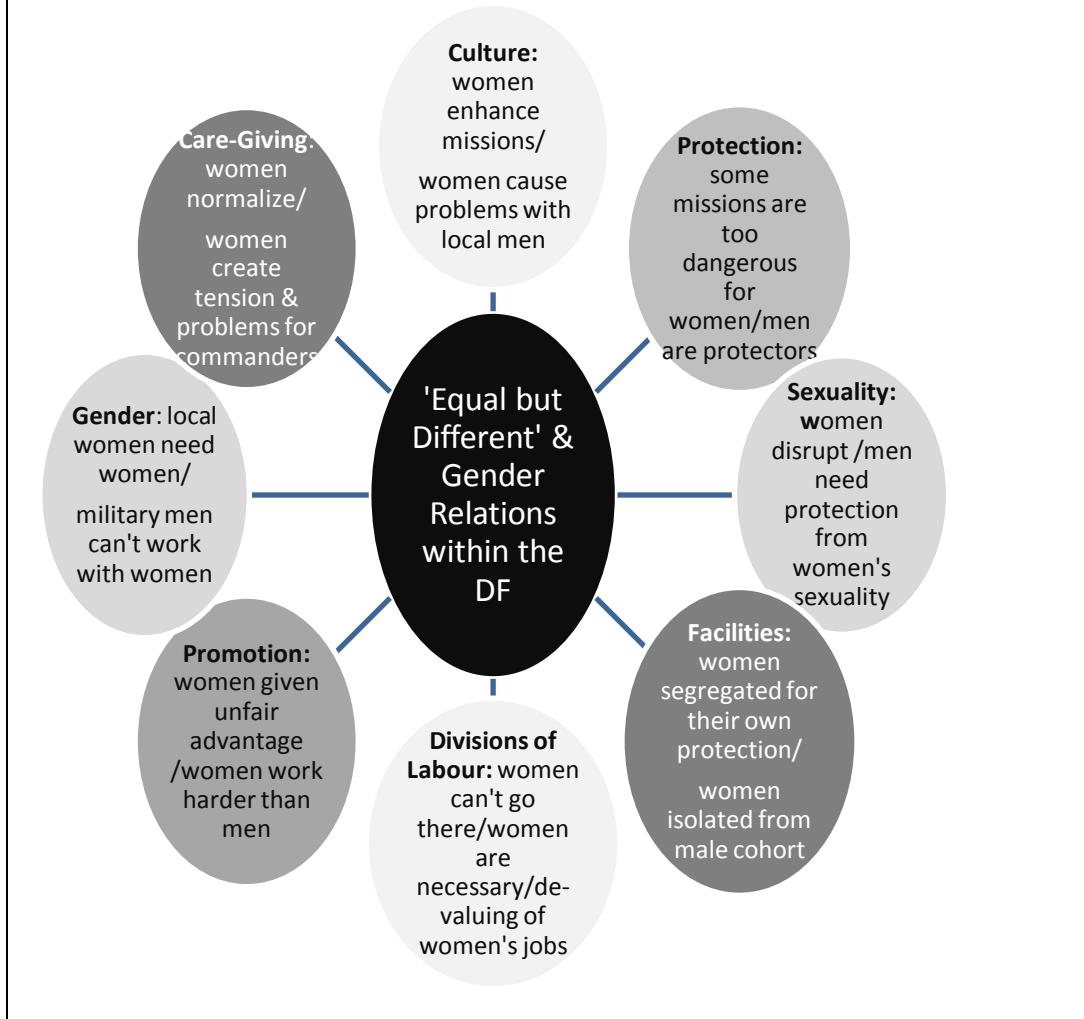
8.4 Discourses and Power Relations

This section discusses one of the main achievements of the study which is the use of discourse analysis to make visible uneven power relations within the DF. Within this study discourses were imagined as vessels that contain particular sets of ideologies contributing to the production of certain attitudes and behaviours. Dominant discourses are those meaning repertoires that are taken-for-granted or considered 'normal' or 'natural' within a given community or society. Dominant discourses refer to how some ways of making meaning become mainstream in a particular order of discourse while others are marginal, oppositional or 'alternative' (Fairclough, 2001). As such, dominant discourses are those that are operating as 'truths' or 'knowledges' within an institution. When discourses nest together they reinforce the 'naturalness' of certain ideas making it difficult to challenge or disrupt beliefs and attitudes. Institutional ways of thinking can regulate and reinforce certain ideas and actions and thus create 'knowledges' which become internalized within the individual (Foucault, 1996). Distinct 'knowledges' and truth claims are forms of power that regulate people's conduct. This study has identified 'equal but different' as the dominant discourse on gender relations within the DF and has outlined what 'equal but different' looks like in different contexts. By looking through the 'equal but different' lens this study has revealed how contradictory discourses co-exist and operate within different contexts to position and reposition women peacekeepers.

8.5 Suitability of Discourse Analysis

Discourse analysis was an appropriate research tool for this study as it revealed how 'knowledges' are discursively constructed, by revealing what is sayable and what is silenced within a military institution. For example, by looking for discourses this study was able to demonstrate the multiplicity of subjectivities and highlight unequal power dynamics that position and reposition women within the DF. Throughout this study gender has been treated as a process and the gender dynamics revealed in the discourses of peacekeepers have been explored to consider and analyse 'how the 'equal but different' discourse distributes power in specific contexts and what impact that has on women's inclusion in PSOs**'.** Discourse analysis while commonly used in feminist research is not typically part of an IR researchers' toolkit and therefore it was an original way of identifying gendering processes within the DF that would otherwise have remained

hidden. It did this by revealing the underlying *taken-for-granted* meanings central to ideas about how individuals are positioned in relation to each other. The multiplicity of subjectivities outlined by the discourses demonstrates how individuals constitute and reconstitute themselves depending on the social context. My task as the discourse analyst was to expose the premises that go unstated in the narratives of the research participants and to ascertain what conditions facilitate or militate against a discourse being widely circulated. Discourse analysis is limited in what it can achieve however, such as revealing emotions or imagination and as such its focus is on the external aspects of human life, thereby limiting the analysis of the data to power relations amongst peacekeepers. The diagram below provides an overview of the 'equal but different' discourse and its contradictory sub-discourses. The different shades of grey indicate the contradictions between the discourses and the arrows indicate that these contradictions are operating simultaneously, albeit it in different contexts.

Figure 7: Diagram representing the 'Equal but Different' discourse and its contradictory sub-discourses all operating at the same time in different contexts on a mission

Culture: women enhance missions/ women cause problems with local men

Care-Giving: women normalize/ women create tension & problems for commanders

Protection: some missions are too dangerous for women/men are protectors

Gender: local women need women/ military men can't work with women

'Equal but Different' & Gender Relations within the DF

Sexuality: women disrupt /men need protection from women's sexuality

Promotion: women given unfair advantage /women work harder than men

Divisions of Labour: women can't go there/women are necessary/de-valuing of women's jobs

Facilities: women segregated for their own protection/ women isolated from male cohort

8.6 Discourses on Culture in the Host Nation & TCCs

The theme of culture was drawn out and discussed in Chapters Five and Six revealing many contradictory discourses operating within the participant accounts. In response to the questions: 'How does the "equal but different" discourse operate to position women and men within specific gender roles within a mission?' and 'What are the costs to women as part of a minority group? There is a dominant discourse within men's accounts that the culture of the host nation and its gender norms influence the positioning of women peacekeepers in the mission. While historically women's jobs in the DF were curtailed on some missions, particularly in the Lebanon during the 1990s, there is still an active

discourse in the accounts that due to the cultural constraints of the host nation or of the sexism within 'non-western' TCCs it is difficult or impossible for women to take part in certain activities or even certain types of missions, such as: UN Military Observer, or the 'First Mobile Reserve' units that were part of UNIFIL. These discourses position civilian men as unwilling to speak to women peacekeepers; and 'non-western' military men as sexist and untrustworthy around women peacekeepers. The cultural norms within the host nation and other militaries are seen as prohibitive towards women peacekeepers; with women peacekeepers potentially insulting civilian men if they are positioned in jobs equal or superior to those of men.

In women's accounts there is evidence that the cultural problems for women peacekeepers when on a mission arise not through dealing with male civilians, but through dealing with male soldiers, sometimes from their own and sometimes from other militaries. PSOs are multi-national and therefore bring national armies into close proximity with each other's working styles, values, and attitudes. While the discourse 'foreign male soldiers cannot work with Irish women peacekeepers' is active in men's accounts, women draw on discourses of 'surprise' by troops from other countries at women's presence as equals on a mission, rather than discourses that position them as 'unable to work with women'. This discourse on women peacekeepers as unable to work with foreign male soldiers positions them as symbolic markers of culture and difference amongst troops on a mission allowing Irish men to position themselves as both protective males and ethnically differentiated (non-sexist). In these discourses women 'belong' to the nation and are linked to men via the nation's military and must be protected from the ethnic 'other' soldier and nation. If this discourse is activated to position women only in designated 'women-friendly' spheres it will maintain gender stereotypes and hegemonic masculinities and exclude women from many aspects of a PSO. In response to the assumption that women will be considered equal to male peers by men in other TCCs this is not borne out in the accounts, with one woman officer discussing how a Nigerian officer followed her around for a day because he did not believe she was doing the same job as men. Also, the account that discussed how male Pakistani officers positioned Namibian women peacekeepers as camp followers, and not soldiers in their own right, supports this finding. Thus, women's presence as soldiers and peacekeepers test the norms of the

entire military and while creating confusion for some, they are stereotyped by others in supporting roles to men.

Figure 8: Discourses on Culture

In response to the questions asked in Chapter Five: 'What are the differences in how a mixed gender peacekeeping mission is received compared to a 'male-only' team, by the host community?' and 'Does the presence of women enable an inclusion of different voices and perspectives in peacekeeping?' The feminist theory is borne out that the military make women visible as peacekeepers; and that at times they are used by the military hierarchy to provide legitimacy for a mission revealed by discourses such as 'women are used to appease civilians'. The theory that the presence of women

peacekeepers fosters confidence and trust amongst civilians was borne out in the findings, for example in Extract 8 a local woman acting as an interpreter for Irish peacekeepers discusses the importance to civilian women of having women peacekeepers on a mission. A dominant discourse was revealed which positions women as now necessary for a mission's success particularly in relation to communicating with civilian women at checkpoints and patrols and when searching women. However, few participants in this study had much contact with local women and often when they did it was in a limited way such as informal communication with local women working as interpreters, cooks or cleaners in a mission camp. One woman participant specifically asked a civilian woman about the role of women in peacekeeping, for this study. Her outreach to the local woman and her family culminated in the woman revealing experiences of GBV during the conflict, which would otherwise have not been discussed. This affirms the theory that civilian women will report sexual violence to women peacekeepers. However, this task was not part of this woman peacekeeper's job. This study does not reveal findings on the assumption that women's outreach will influence civilian women to take part in elections and human rights programmes. However, it does reveal that women peacekeepers visit orphanages and hospitals and schools but often in their own time, not necessarily as part of their specific job (men also visit these institutions). And while this might be supportive of civilian women there is no data to confirm this. Further, this study's findings do not support the theory that women peacekeepers are interested in civilian women's concerns. It depends on the woman peacekeeper and the task they have been assigned. In fact, more often women's accounts reveal a bias towards male civilians as they are positioned as the power brokers in the conflict. As with men, women have multiple subjectivities, and women peacekeepers do not necessarily act in solidarity with civilian women. This study reveals that while ideologically women are needed by the UN and TCCs to communicate directly with civilian women about their needs and concerns, so that they can influence the planning and prioritizing of a PSO, in practice this is not happening.

Men's accounts reveal a discourse that positions civilian women and women peacekeepers as a homogenous group. This discourse is based on assumptions of shared understandings between women regardless of sexuality, status, race, ethnicity, class, or

economic power. The notion of homogeneity implies a sameness amongst women that does not exist in reality. Both women and men participants exhibited a bias towards male civilians in their accounts; with civilian women positioned as voiceless victims. These findings reveal a split between military thinking and peacekeeping practice. This split exposes confusion about appropriate attitudes towards civilians by peacekeepers, indicated by accounts that dismiss civilian women's information as of little value due to their unequal social positioning within host nations. This lack of understanding of gender issues is impacting on how women peacekeepers are perceived and valued more generally within a PSO; and reveals evidence that their presence is not leading to the inclusion of difference voices and perspectives within a mission.

Although this study does not reveal findings that women peacekeepers are considered to be 'more peaceful' than male peacekeepers there are discourses that position women as 'less threatening' and more calming and caring. The central premise of this discourse is that women are less aggressive and more empathetic than men. Nested within this discourse is an assumption that 'women are appeasers' who can be used by the military to apologise to local communities for military errors or misconduct. It is therefore supposed that they are more approachable by civilians and that it is easier for women to gather information from them, which is borne out in some of the findings.

In Chapter Seven this study asked: 'Where is the inclusion of women in the DF challenging dominant discourses and creating space for alternative discourses with transformative potential to take root?' Participant accounts demonstrated how women's presence, by making gender visible, can create a critique of traditional gender norms that dis-empower women, both amongst troops and civilians. Muted discourses such as 'civilian men respect women soldiers'; and 'buddies protect regardless of gender' acknowledge the fluidity of gender, and the interdependency between and amongst peacekeepers and civilians. Unequal power relations and gender norms in host nations are being challenged by women's presence as peacekeepers within these accounts by both women and men. In particular, senior male officers are taking risks and positioning women in jobs and tasks that they had previously been discouraged from participating in due to discourses about cultural norms in host nations.   These findings confirm the theory that the presence of

women 'can' have positive effects on an institution and that these may create cracks in the institutional façade. For example, some women are critically assessing gender relations within host nations and the impact this has on PSOs and vice versa revealing an understanding of the systems and structures that need to be transformed for women to gain justice and equality. In particular these cracks may create opportunities for new perspectives and methods of peacekeeping as well as new codes of conduct in relation to women's human rights. For example, extract 72 which discusses women's human rights within the post-conflict setting reveals a discourse on the need for militaries and institutions more broadly to 'value women' and to critique unequal social structures and systems if they truly want to bring about peace. These findings compared to the findings on the inhibitors to women's inclusion in PSOs (which revealed contradictory discourses on civilian women as devalued and women peacekeepers as necessary to communicate directly with them) demonstrate that in any given situation, multiple discourses are likely to be activated, some of which are irreconcilable with each other, and this leads to contradictions. These, contradictory understandings and accompanying emotional responses can be an impetus for change.

8.7 Discourses on Care-Giving within the Mission Camp

In responses to the question 'How does the equal but different discourse operate to position women and men within specific gender roles within a mission?' the theme of care-giving was illuminated in Chapter Five on 'What Women Bring to a Mission'. Within men's accounts women are positioned multiply within the care-giving role, revealed through the following discourses: 'women normalize the camp', 'women provide empathy and care to men', 'women galvanize men to perform to higher standards', 'women provide care to civilian women and children'. It was notable that men's accounts emphasized the benefits of women *to men* first and foremost. The role of care-giver is positioned as part of the work of the feminine woman in the men's accounts. There are also discourses operating within men's accounts that position women as the creators of balance, diffusing the testosterone-fuelled camp with their womanly presence. The role of the care-giver is typically a low-power position and women's visibility in highly-instrumental roles was less well drawn in men's accounts. For example, women are not

positioned as authoritative leaders and influencers in men's accounts. Women are perceived to create balance by being empathetic and willing to listen to men's concerns; and by dissolving 'macho' displays they are considered 'civilizers' of men. Women are also positioned as supporters of men and motivators of male behaviour, even when they are working alongside them. Thus, confirming feminist theories that gender categories become an organizing device. Femininities are seen as beneficial to the provision of *normal life* within the camp; while masculinities are associated with instrumental peacekeeping work outside the camp.

Figure 9: Discourses on Care-Giving
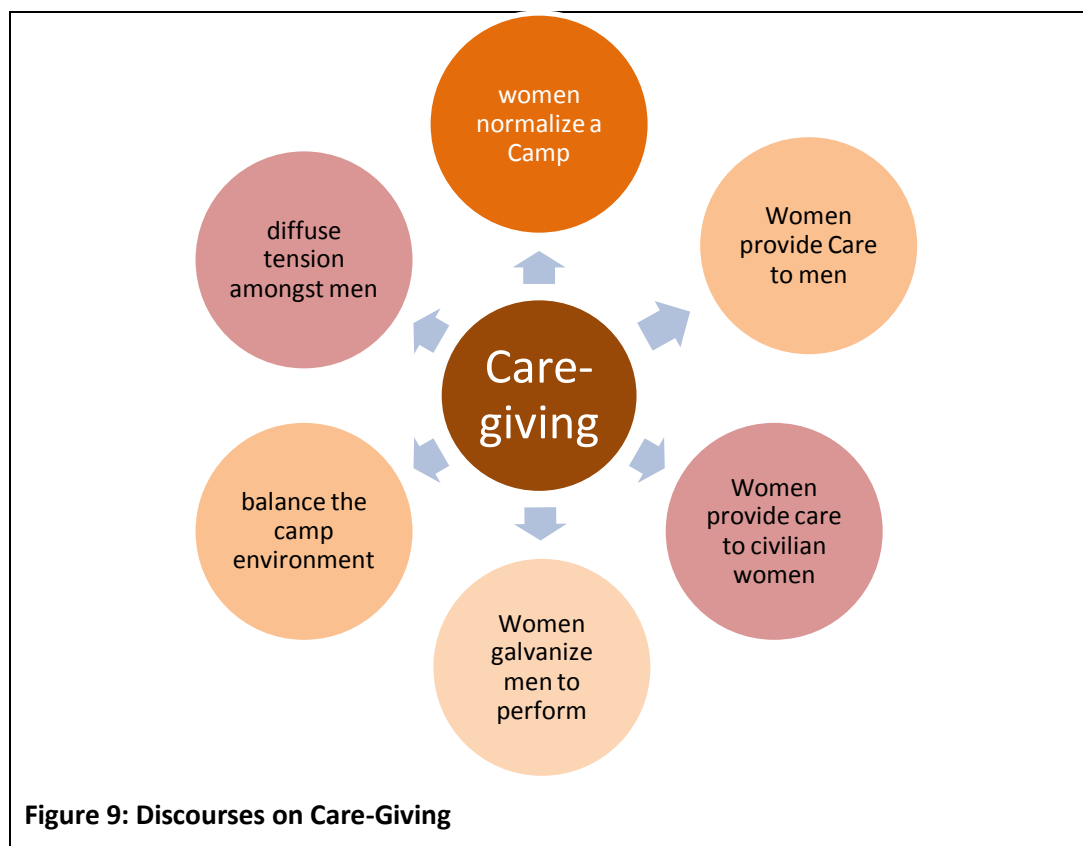
There is a discourse operating within the participant accounts that the more willing a woman is to perform an asexual role such as tomboy, the lady, or the sister or mother, the less likely she is to disrupt the hegemonic masculine military order because they lessen the impact of adaptation and help the male soldier to maintain the status quo. The theory of 'performativity' (Butler, 1990) used to support women's adjustment to male dominated systems and structures (Sion, 2008), is borne out in these accounts. By

performing a gendered role as a lady, tomboy, or sister a woman peacekeeper can fit into the male dominated institution without causing too much of a disturbance to her male peers. These asexual gendered roles help the men to identify the type of woman they are, and respond to them accordingly. These asexual roles may create a protective screen for women from sexual harassment. The accounts reveal that some women perform a sisterly or care-giving role for male peers which nests with the discourses in men's accounts that position women as 'understanding what my wife understands' and the positioning of women peacekeepers as asexual 'wives' away from home. By adopting sisterly-type performances with male peers women peacekeepers can neutralize sexuality within friendships allowing for both men and women to get their care needs met through platonic relationships. The presence of women creates a space where men can express their feelings more openly and the findings in this study reveal that militaries do need women in 'womanly-roles' within the mission camp. Relationships with women provide a refuge for men from the dangers and stresses of relating to other males which can be intimidating. However, women's presence is setting up a binary between instrumental or active masculine roles and affective or interior feminine roles within discourses, presenting themselves through the work of 'caring'. Discourses that position women primarily as care-givers can impact on the division of labour within the military both formally and informally. If women soldiers are placed only within roles considered to be 'caring' or 'feminized' this will reinforce gender stereotypes and traditional gender roles through the reification of gender binaries.

8.8 Discourses on Sexuality

Sexual relations between women and men whilst on a mission are considered a disciplinary offence and go against the Irish militaries Dignity Charter/Code of Conduct. By asking 'What are the costs to women soldiers for being part of a minority group?' Chapter Six revealed that women's sexuality is positioned as problematic within men's accounts. These 'women are a problem' discourses focus on women as the seducers of men. The argument being that women use their minority status and sexual attractiveness to exploit male commanders to ensure they receive favourable treatment or assignment of tasks. Discourses on sexuality include: 'women love being chased by men', 'women are home-wreckers', 'women can flirt with male commanders to get the nicer jobs', 'gossip

and innuendo about women's sexuality is circulated if women win promotion over men', 'men are less likely to use prostitutes if women are present'. These discourses reveal that the presence of women create both excitement and fear for some men. Women are positioned as powerful in relation to their sexuality and this can create tension for those men who consider women to be sexually predatory.

Figure 10: Discourses on Sexuality
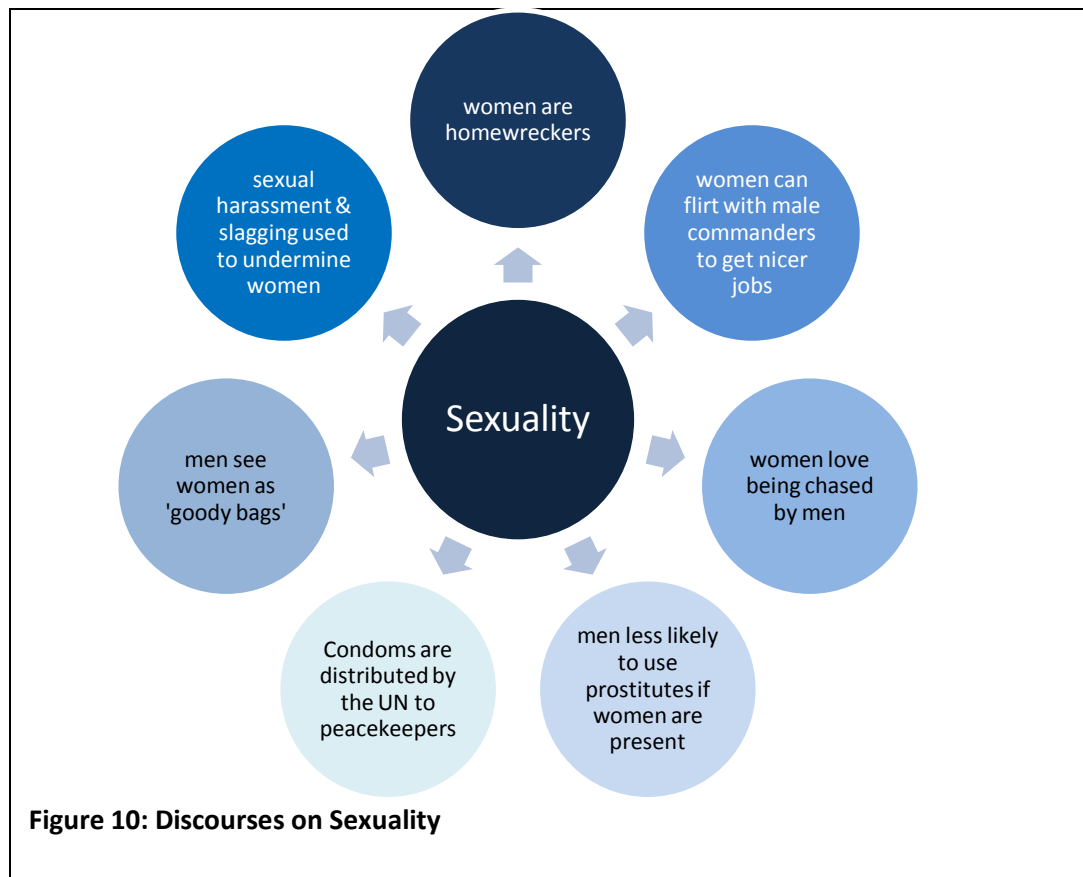
These discourses on women's sexuality and power contradict those that position women as needing protection from men. This inversion of power is used to explain men's vulnerability and helplessness in the face of women's sexual power and to position women as causing problems within a mission camp. This nest's with the discourse the women soldiers create problems for male peers in relation to their wives due to jealousy, affairs and marital breakdown. While the women soldiers are positioned as creating the problem the behaviour of the men remains invisible in these accounts. The discourses position men's sexual behaviour or needs as *'natural'* and women's sexual behaviour as

'*exploitative of men*'.   The discourse of women's availability as sexual partners is circulating within men's accounts while discourses in women's accounts emphasize the importance of platonic friendships with male peers and asexual performances (such as the tomboy, lady, sister) to fit into the male dominated institutions.

The issue of sexual harassment was discussed within women's accounts and the findings reveal that it tends to be dealt with privately and quietly so as not to create a backlash for women.   In the accounts in this study women draw on the 'individual responsibility' discourse that positions the victim as responsible for dealing with harassment rather than going through formal procedures.   Although there are procedures in place for reporting harassment they are viewed with suspicion within these accounts. Women are positioned in care-giving roles towards male peers and as supporters of civilian women by listening to their experiences of violence during warfare.   But their own experiences of violence are often silenced through self regulation, in other words they do not receive care from the organisation or from male 'protectors'.

By looking for hopeful and transformative discourses Chapter Seven asked 'Where is the inclusion of women in the DF challenging dominant discourses and creating space for alternative discourses with transformative potential to take root?'   In relation to the theme of sexuality two accounts on male soldiers' use of prostitutes outline critical discourses.   For example, it does 'irritate' some women peacekeepers that men use prostitutes; and some men do think twice about using prostitutes when women peacekeepers are present on a mission.   The discourse 'women inhibit men's licentious behaviour' has potential to be transformative as it has as its central premise that men do not wish to be criticized by female peers.   This discourse positions women peacekeepers as powerfully influential in creating alternative discourses that inhibit the use of prostitutes.   Women peacekeepers, passively through their presence, make visible sexist attitudes within missions such as the norm of using civilian women as prostitutes. Thus challenging the notion of men as the "protectors" of these women and placing new items on the peacekeeping agenda.

8.9 Discourses on Segregation of Facilities

Linked to discourses on sexuality are those on the need to segregate facilities in a mission camp. For example, in response to the question explored in Chapter Six 'What are the costs to a minority of women?' participant accounts revealed the discourse 'women are segregated for their own protection' implying that this is to avoid sexual harassment by men. The premise of this discourse is that a minority of women are vulnerable to a majority of men in a mission camp. The 'men are protectors' discourse sits in tension with this discourse and with those that position 'women as sexually predatory' and 'home wreckers'. In these discourses men need to be protected from women's bodies, sexuality and potentially predatory behaviour and they are protected through the provision of segregated facilities on a mission. There is a finding that commanders can use the 'lack of availability of segregated facilities' as the rational for not including women in certain missions.

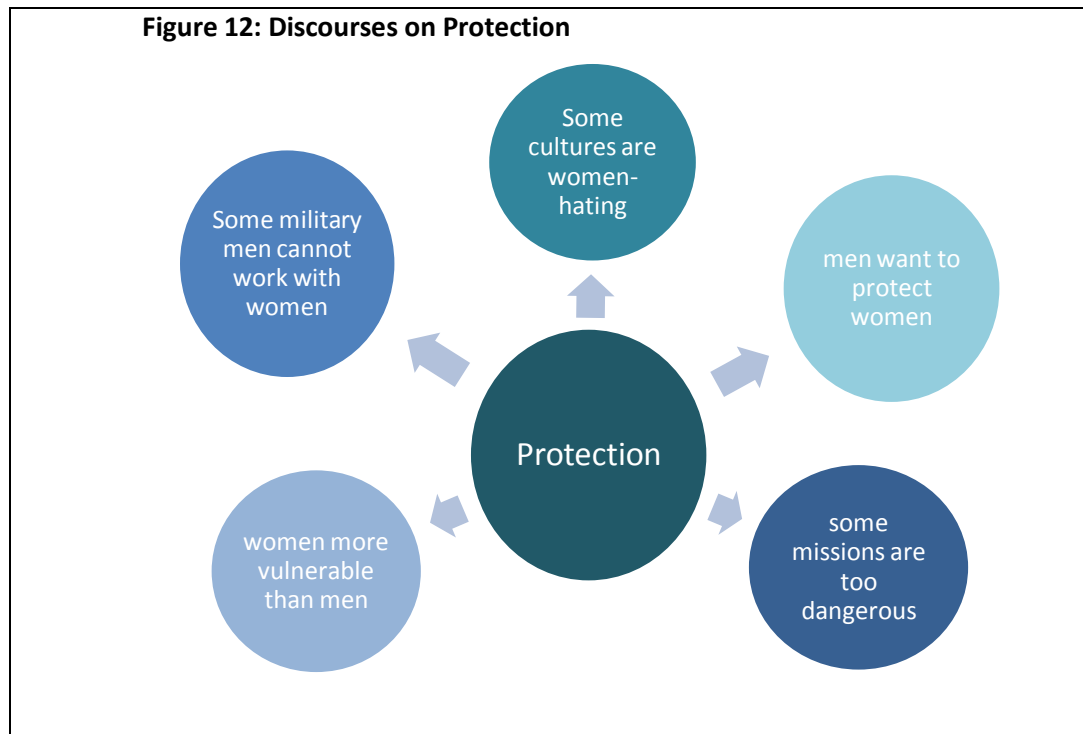**Figure 11: Discourses on Segregated Facilities**

By asking 'What are the costs to women soldiers for being part of a minority group?' this study has clearly outlined how discourses on segregated facilities can raise societal and cohesion problems for women amongst troops, as well as creating barriers to their inclusion in some missions. Women's separation from the dominant group sets them apart from important social interactions. Whilst separate facilities may protect women from unwanted sexual advances some of the time, it emphasizes women's difference all of the time. This is a discourse most women wish to play down rather than to strengthen. The unequal sex/gender relation between women and men is made invisible by either naming no one or by only focusing on women. The discourse on equal treatment constantly being challenged by women's presence creates a need for 'special measures' to accommodate them, which then further sets them apart and can create barriers to their inclusion in PSOs.

8.10   Discourses on Protection

In Chapter Six the theme of 'Protection' was discussed in the men's accounts and the following discourses were drawn out from the findings: 'Men are protectors of women', 'women are more vulnerable than men', 'some military men cannot work with women', 'some cultures are women-hating', 'some missions are too dangerous for women'. The role of the protector in the discourses in men's accounts is associated with male subjectivities and the performance of gender that is inherently masculine. This discourse can operate to exclude women from certain jobs, tasks and missions 'for their own protection'. The protective discourse is important because it has the power to create divisions of labour within the military along gendered lines. The rationale is that it is 'normal' or 'natural' for men to want to protect women. If this discourse is acted upon it perpetuates the exclusion of women from particular areas of responsibility that reify gender roles and ultimately gender inequalities. Doubts and concerns about women's ability to react rapidly in an emergency situation or to protect themselves in isolated and violent contexts are voiced in men's accounts. As long as these discourses are circulating women are not on an equal footing with men within military/soldiering roles. Although the 'protective discourse' is not actually written into DF policies it can influence them. Just because a discourse is not acknowledged, does not mean it has no effect. These

discourses are important because they have the power to create divisions of labour within the military along gendered lines. The rationale for this sounds 'normal' or 'natural' but if it is acted upon it perpetuates the exclusion of women from particular areas of responsibility and will reify gender roles. This can lead to the creation of 'women's jobs' and 'men's jobs' and can ultimately deepen inequalities in the DF.

Figure 12: Discourses on Protection

- Some cultures are women-hating
- Some military men cannot work with women
- men want to protect women
- Protection
- women more vulnerable than men
- some missions are too dangerous

If these protective discourses inhibit women's access to duties outside the mission camp they will not only limit women's access to experience, skill development and promotion but will also maintain hegemonic masculinities and cultural differences within the mission. Therefore, they can be disempowering discourses for women by curtailing the types of mission and jobs allocated to them.

The continuing operation of these discourses undermines the new image of the feminization of peacekeeping where women take on more visible instrumental roles and ranks. In the accounts there is evidence of women being discouraged from deploying to certain missions considered too dangerous or too physically arduous (refer to extract 30). Not everybody within the DF may welcome this feminine aspect of peacekeeping on missions and one way of demarcating boundaries between masculinised and feminized

roles is by positioning women as unable to work in certain missions due to danger. 'Othering' women peacekeepers' allows men to retain the masculinised warrior role while allocating the humanitarian role to women.

Chapter Seven revealed the development of the 'women are protectors' and 'buddies protect regardless of gender' discourses. Although muted they challenge the dominant discourse 'men are protectors/women are vulnerable' by critiquing gender binaries that position women as victims and men as their protectors in the peace/war dichotomy. This study argues that the expansion of these 'protective discourses' to include women as protectors alongside other alternative discourses on cultural and gender relations could lead to a new discourse on the inclusion of women in missions 'Add Women and Transform'.

8.11   Discourses on Divisions of Labour

Divisions of labour are discussed in Chapter Six where the findings respond directly to the over-arching question in this study: 'How does the "equal but different" discourse distribute power in specific contexts and what impact does that have on women's inclusion in PSOs?' This question tests the feminist theory that militaries will only deploy women peacekeepers in ways that will not subvert its masculinised culture. For example, by sending small numbers of women to a mission; including few women in senior ranks; and by retaining certain jobs for men, in other words, women mustn't deprive men of the positions they most value (Enloe, 2000). This theory is borne out in the findings. Men's accounts discuss how women 'can't perform' certain tasks or jobs; or they shouldn't be sent on certain missions because they are 'too dangerous'. There are only three women in the DF in senior-ranking positions above that of Commandant. There are no women in the prestigious 'Ranger Wing' of the DF, and while there are no sex-disaggregated statistics available on women's participation in UN Observer Missions, I was informed by an officer that the numbers were low. It is clear then that the 'equal but different' discourse disproportionately favours men and masculinities over women and femininities and this is outlined in the many contradictory discourses within women and men's accounts. For example, although women have been employed by the DF since 1980, only three have reached the higher echelons of the hierarchy to the rank of Lieutenant

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Colonel. Women's caring work within the family was mentioned in a number of accounts by both women and men as the greatest obstacle to their promotion opportunities as well as opportunities to go on missions. Discourses on divisions of labour include: 'women cannot be equal to men because they do not have the physical capacity of men'; 'It is unfair on women to have to compete physically with men'; 'women are not as qualified as men and this is the reason why they are not being promoted into senior ranks'; 'women do not have to work as hard as men'; '*Men run the show* and women are not fully utilized'; 'women have to work 100 times harder than men'; 'women can exploit male commanders to ensure they get the *'nicer'* jobs'; 'women can create jealousy and resentment amongst men if the men assume women are favoured by senior officers or promotion boards'; 'rumours and sexual innuendo are used covertly to undermine women's promotion and ability'; 'jobs are gender-segregated'; '1325 is creating women's ghettoes' and 'S*ome* women create problems for *all* women' (by having families; or needing special treatment).

One of the most important factors enabling women's access to militaries has been the changing nature of warfare and many national militaries function is now to provide a peacekeeping role. When women peacekeepers take on leadership positions and are given high levels of responsibility, they not only experience a variety of work on a mission that they will not experience at home but they also provide role models to local women. While physical differences between women and men have been used historically to exclude women from soldiering the development of new technology means that face to face combat has become a smaller part of military action and differences in physical size and strength between women and men have become less important. Also, UN peacekeeping missions have mandates that specify the levels of protective or defensive action that needs to be taken and have a different presence and relationship with civilians to that of offensive missions. However, there is still a stereotype operating within some men's accounts that women are not 'real' soldiers because they are physically weaker than men and better suited to traditional roles of caring and nurturing rather than fighting and defending. This emphasis on physical differences may feed off a fear that the presence of women feminizes a military or a mission. Therefore, some men may need to emphasize differences between women and men peacekeepers. By drawing on the 'equal

but different' discourse men can position women's physical differences as the reason why women can't be fully equal and therefore need special treatment to fit in.

Whilst 'difference' is the most common argument for including women in the military, once they join they are expected to be the 'same' as their male colleagues. Women's difference creates discourses on their need for 'special treatment' as men are considered the standard or norm within the military. Contradictory discourses are revealed in women and men's accounts with women arguing they have to work harder than men to be accepted and men arguing that women are given special treatment. Within the equality arena the two areas of concern are the 'difference versus sameness' debate and the 'gender neutrality' debate. An action plan for equality needs to address the transformation of underlying power relations. Discourses on 'women's difference' reveal the underlying dynamic of militarization and how it values uniformity, which by its very nature sets women apart. Women are encouraged to integrate into the masculinised system rather than to challenge it.

Figure 13: Discourses on Divisions of Labour

Circle labels: women's jobs are devalued; women get the nicer jobs; some women create problems for all women; women favoured in promotion competitions; Divisions of labour; women less qualified than men; 1325 could create women's ghettoes; women don't have to work as hard as men; women have to work much harder than men

These discourses demonstrate that women have to perform a very delicate balancing act if they want to win promotion competitions to reach senior ranks within the military. Some men position women as powerful because they assert that these women use their 'gender' and sexuality to achieve advantage and promotion. There is a discourse operating within men's accounts that women can be exploitative of senior men 'to get the nicer jobs' which draws on notions that commanders and officers are being unfairly manipulated by women to be given promotion opportunities. This discourse draws on the notion of 'special treatment' which compares women to the male standard as either the same or different. This can create jealousy and a common reaction is for men to spread rumours and sexual innuendos about women to control them and make them feel uncertain about their ability. Equality policies within militaries that do not assess these invisible power structures that create and enforce inequalities but instead use the 'special treatment' discourse will inevitably position women as gaining unfair advantage over men. These discourses will create a backlash to women's inclusion within the military and make it difficult for them to retain and recruit women.

In response to the theory that women's presence in a PSO will send out a message of equality and non-discrimination to civilians in the host nation, this study concludes that it depends on the jobs women are assigned and if they are visible in senior ranks and a diversity of roles. Because certain jobs and tasks are gendered within the mission setting and few women have reached senior ranks UNSCR 1325 has been received with concern by both women and men participants in this study. The UN's discourse (UNSCR 1325) on the need for gender equity in peacekeeping missions is understood as increasing the numbers of women only, a goal not easily achieved by militaries, and even when numbers are increased research indicates that TCCs are reluctant to deploy women to 'dangerous mission areas' (Schjølset, 2013; Olsson and Möller, 2013). Women discuss concerns that UNSCR1325 may position them in essentialised 'women's roles' such as caring and listening and working predominantly with civilian women rather than in more active soldiering tasks and operational duties. An important concern is raised, that if more women are recruited specifically to fulfil women-facing tasks then the military would be deepening gender stereotypes by homogenizing women and corralling them all together in 'women-friendly' jobs. Men are concerned that women will receive favourable

treatment in recruitment and promotion competitions because of their gender rather than their suitability for a particular job or rank. Feminist politics is not mentioned by most of the participants and the extracts reveal that a transformative project is not uppermost in the minds of the majority of female soldiers. However, some are aware of the significance of increasing the numbers of women in a diversity of ranks, roles and jobs and how this could disrupt gender stereotypes leading to a more equal military and potentially a more secure society. The discourse 'women who create issues' is separated from the 'women who fit in' discourse. Whilst many identify with the concerns of soldier-mothers they do not want to be connected with them in the military imagination. There is a discourse operating within women's accounts that women with children are looking for 'special treatment' from the DF and that this will have a negative impact on all women in the military, as they are seen as a homogenous group. Therefore, some women soldiers distance themselves from 'women who create issues' which inhibits solidarity between different groups of women. These women who distance themselves tend to be young, single, and flexible in relation to their work and overseas duties. They are more likely to draw on the 'no special treatment' or the 'women who fit in' discourse. They fear a diminishing of their position if additional demands are made by soldiers who are mothers. This in turn arises from the presumed homogeneity of the minority group of women by the dominant male group. If one woman causes a problem, all women cause problems, is the central premise of the 'no special treatment' and 'women who fit in' discourses. The gender neutral policy within the DF negates women's role as the primary care giver in most families and creates an 'us' and 'them' division amongst women who do or don't have families. Whilst this may not be an overt policy of the military hierarchy, the outcome is the creation of two discreet camps. These finding support the feminist theory that militarism erodes solidarity amongst women (Enloe, 2000). As women's accounts reveal a disconnect on issues to do with 'family responsibilities' and a solidarity on the practice of remaining silent in the face of 'sexual harassment'.

Chapter Seven magnified muted discourses on divisions of labour and discussed their transformative potential, discourses such as: 'women can be fitter than men'; 'competency and capability matters not gender'; 'women are equals with civilian men and with skills and attributes such as "approachability" that are available to all'. These

discourses reveal how gender identities are not fixed, but are constantly changing. As such, depending on the context of a PSO and its mandate, peacekeepers will have to perform a variety of tasks which will call on a multitude of gender performances including being capable and authoritative as well as sensitive and compassionate. These attitudes and behaviours are often associated with either women or men but are available and utilized by everyone on PSOs, this links in with the concept of 'action competence' and its positioning within the 'third space' which is a theoretical bridging device in this study leading to the development of the 'add women and transform' concept.

8.12   The implications of this study

This study is important because women peacekeepers' participation in leadership and decision-making positions on equal terms with men must be regarded not only as a matter of justice, but also as a potential for societal change. Differences in values and interests amongst women and men may have significant implications for the transformation of state institutions which play an important role in the creation and maintenance of gender norms. Therefore, one of the aims of this study was to broaden the field of IR's understanding to include women peacekeepers' perspectives, experiences and knowledge alongside those of their male peers. This study has provided a close reading of peacekeepers' accounts and a deep analysis of those dominant and muted discourses which can be utilised for further research. It has revealed that discourses affect women's access to job opportunities within PSOs/militaries; and that by including women into the institution discourses are slowly changing.

There is evidence within this study that the 'equal but different' discourse is gender neutral in practice because it draws on the sameness/difference model which does not critically assess how discourses, structures and systems impact on women's roles and positioning in wider society. This study has drawn attention to how if gender is conflated to mean 'women' as the focus of attention in gender training and focus groups it actually emphasizes their difference to the dominant group of men and positions them as needing 'special treatment'. The discourse that women are seen as 'tokens' and are present in the military because they tick a box is undermining women's right to be there on merit. For

example, if gender training only focuses on women, with the exclusion of men, this creates an unbalanced picture of gender relations, at home and abroad.

While the theory of women 'as inherently more peaceful than men' was not drawn on in any of the participant accounts, this study has confirmed theories that militaries do need women.   And in some contexts those women are expected to behave in gender stereotyped ways, such as taking on more of the 'care work', providing the 'emotional gel' to sustain positive relations within the camp; and interacting with women civilians. However, there is also a challenge to the gender stereotyping of women peacekeepers by both men and women. Discourses that demonstrate individual women officers' liberation from normative gender roles while operating on missions; and the evolution of 'a competence' based discourse on individual capability for decision-making and leadership regardless of gender.   These alternative discourses challenge the notion that women in institutions of hegemonic masculinity are mere tokens.

This study has demonstrated that if institutions of hegemonic masculinity no longer rely on strict gender segregation, there is a potential for institutional change and development, and also of changing gender relations. This is necessary because this study has confirmed the concern that the feminization of peacekeeping while creating a context in which to encourage militaries to recruit more women soldiers may also position these women *only* in gender specific roles, such as interfacing with civilian women.   The feminization of militaries/peacekeeping is creating a backlash to women through the use of sexual harassment and bullying as some men respond negatively to being overtaken in promotion competitions by women, who in their view are not the 'real' soldiers.   If women are recruited into a military purely to interface with civilian women this would then not only reinforce the two-tiered hierarchy between women and men but would also devalue those jobs and tasks compartmentalized as 'women's jobs'; as has happened historically.

This research has demonstrated how some women find meaning in peacekeeping the same way that some men do. This research has also identified that most women soldiers are not feminist and do not join the military with the aim to transform it, its gendering

processes or its relations with civilians. However, there is a growing awareness of the relevance and value of gender work and that it can be undertaken by both women and men. The presence of women in a wide variety of roles, including frontline jobs and senior officer ranks, is challenging gender norms within the military institutions themselves with new and potentially disruptive feminine subjectivities. While the numbers of women in militaries remain low these femininities are not so visible but if the numbers grow these femininities may become more visible and potentially transformative for both the institution and the civilian populations it engages with.

This study has gone some way towards filling the gap in our knowledge about how women peacekeepers perceive themselves and their role as peacekeepers; and their male peers' attitudes towards them. It was not only important to reveal gendered perspectives on women peacekeepers and thereby make visible their contribution, but it was also necessary to consider how their contribution can influence and shift power relations within the military, the host nations and wider society. This study made women visible in their differing subjectivities within PSOs and was therefore able to assess how they are positioned within the 'equal but different' discourse. This study filled those 'gender gaps' in other feminist studies by including women's accounts as well as men's and by comparing the discourses and meaning repertoires they draw on to interactively and reflexively position each other and the institution. My conceptual starting point was that by closely observing gender relations and the balance of power within the DF we could begin to draw a picture of what 'equal but different' looks like on a peacekeeping mission and have achieved this by revealing and discussing the many competing and contradictory discourses operating simultaneously in different contexts.

8.13 Bridging the Two Feminist Debates on Women Soldiers

This study used a feminist theoretical framework to examine the overarching question of the thesis 'how does the "equal but different" discourse distribute power in different contexts and what impact does that have on women's inclusion in PSOs?' To examine this question the study drew on two debates within the feminist security sector on women's participation in the military as soldiers and peacekeepers. The first argument is for women's inclusion in militaries on an equal footing with men to create equality of opportunity which may have transformative possibilities on gender relations. The second argument is that women should not engage with militaries as their inclusion is likely to further increase militarism and the militarization of societies. This study has built a bridge between these two debates by using the theoretical 'third space' to develop the 'add women and transform' concept. The 'third space' exists within some of the muted discourses within this study, which have transformative potential if they are encouraged. In response to Enloe's suggestion that researchers consider under what conditions a feminist intervention can be useful (2000) this study adopted a bridging device to help me as the researcher move between the different feminist debates. While I am critical of the potential of UNSCR 1325 to essentialise and militarise more women by encouraging their inclusion within militaries and PSOs; I am also deeply concerned by the immediate needs of civilian women caught up in conflict and marginalised from post-conflict peace processes. As such, this study holds both concerns simultaneously: 1. a concern with the militarization and discrimination of women soldiers. 2. A concern with the targeting of civilian women for GBV by militia men during conflicts; and the positioning of these women as voiceless victims by TCCs. The 'third space' provides a conceptual platform from which to hold and respond to these concerns from both the critical and liberal perspectives and at the same time revealing discourses with transformative potential. Within the 'third space' women are not homogenized, silenced or invisible. They are valued for their individual and multiple subjectivities. Increasing the numbers of women peacekeepers will make little difference unless TCCs have already transformed their own gender relations. If TCCs come to missions with deep understandings of gendering processes individual peacekeepers are able to make appropriate, egalitarian actions 'in the moment'. This may help to roll back unequal systems and structures in host nations

through a shift in attitudes, actions and behaviours on the ground, as well as through the development of transformative institutional policies.

The bridging approach of the 'third space' could be adopted by women soldiers as this study found that they have little solidarity with one another on issues of equality. The discourses 'women who fit in' versus 'women who need special treatment' are divisive amongst women soldiers and between women and men in the DF. These women who fit in are seen as conforming to the male bias of the organisation while the 'special treatment' women typically have families and caring roles outside the DF which means they cannot be as flexible as the 'women who fit in'. This segregation of women elevates one group of women at the expense of the other group (usually the mothers) thereby perpetuating the notion of these women needing special treatment. The bridging device could also be used to create cross sector alliances between women activists and soldiers; and between women peacekeepers and civilian women. 'All women are not natural allies of each other. Most successful alliances are often between victims of militarization and feminists who have devoted their political activism to support women who are victims of militarization such as refugees, ex women soldiers, others' (Enloe, 2000: 279). They can inform each other and work together to bring about structural change in society. Another important aspect of this bridging concept is that of bridging between women and men peacekeepers and their awareness of discourses on gender and how they influence the positioning and stereotyping of the 'other' within a military. By including men's voices and experiences as well as women's this study revealed and analysed the overlap in ideas as well as the gaps, silences, the visible and the invisible, what was noteworthy and what was ignored in the accounts. By drawing on the 'third space' and exploring discourses with transformative possibilities within that space this study created an opportunity for dialogue between women and men peacekeepers which reveals new knowledge on gender relations within peacekeeping and areas where transformations in discourse are taking place. By so doing this study has deepened understanding on how feminists can connect with militaries and their practices while retaining a vision of a future without violence or the need for military institutions.

While feminists work towards the elimination of militarism we need to engage with militaries as they are currently impacting on women's lives and the presence of women in militaries is beginning to transform discourses. This study has demonstrated how it is possible to retain a critical position while also working on the resolution of practical peacekeeping issues. This was achieved by creating a bridge between the two feminist debates. The bridge makes it possible for feminist debates to go beyond oppositional discourse, so prevalent within media reporting on feminism, to harness the energy that goes into defending separate positions, and instead directing it to create solidarity on particular issues. With the bridge the aim is to support each other's efforts wherever they are on the spectrum of feminist praxis while developing new concepts and theories.

8.14   Reflections on the learning journey

When I reflect on my research journey I consider how my initial resistance to the military had affected my approach and I note that at the beginning of the process I consciously portrayed an image of myself as assertive, confident and strong when dealing with DF personnel. These aspects of my own subjectivity were exaggerated to create an impression of an authoritative researcher in control which I felt would match the institutional ethos and garner respect from those individuals which I researched. However, over time my approach softened as I relaxed and became more comfortable with my own research style and with the participants. This was partly influenced by my empathy for the participants, which surprised me, and with which I struggled due to my positioning as a feminist-pacifist. However, as the research proceeded I became more aware of the commonalities between myself and the participants (being Irish, from a similar class background, educational background, interest in politics and conflict resolution) and to similarities (personal ambition, thirst for adventure and travel, desire for challenge and to live life fully, compassion for those who are suffering, motivation to help, and a wish to make a difference in the world in whatever small way possible). These connections enlivened the research process for me as I often identified with the issues the participants were dealing with and I could understand them on a human level. These personal developments came about to such an extent that I began to challenge my own preconceived ideas of soldiering and to question under what conditions I myself would

become a soldier/peacekeeper. To reduce bias I began to imagine what it was like for the 'other' by 'putting myself in their shoes' and to question my own 'othering' of the participants during the research process (on the advice of Cynthia Cockburn given at a seminar in Belfast in 2007).   After much internal dialogue and debate it became clear to me that there were certain conditions within which I would fight and that those were related to my own need to protect family and friends as well as those who were more vulnerable. On that basis I began to develop a new ontology reflecting revised notions of who I am.

The rationale of the women's movement is not to retreat but to transform – and that is what I aimed to achieve with this study. Throughout this research process I was aware of the complexity of the subject and my ongoing struggle with it contradictions, ambiguities, and uncertainties. My feminist identity was an evolving label. However, for the purpose of this study I positioned myself as a neo-radical feminist, which meant taking a decisive step away from 'radical feminism' and theories of essentialism or separatist agendas. By adopting a neo-radical stance I focused on the 'root cause' of gender inequalities and the perpetuation of militarism and war-making; while at the same time considering practical actions that could be taken "in the moment" to transform dominant sexist discourses into more egalitarian ones. This neo-radical position enabled me to simultaneously hold a critical and liberal lens to IR. By positioning myself as such I was able to build a bridge between the two main theoretical positions within feminism on women and soldiering/peacekeeping. And while this study has gathered more evidence of the gender relations within and amongst militaries rather than between soldiers and civilians it has nonetheless brought new knowledge to light on gendering processes and transformative opportunities within a post conflict context.

At times it was difficult to crisply differentiate between my position and that of liberal feminists or critical IR feminists as depending on the topic each theoretical position offered a platform from which to look towards the future with renewed hope and optimism. And it was this hope that I wanted to hold onto. Therefore, the concept of the 'third space' as theorized by Kristeva (1986) was important in allowing me to adopt this neo-radical position. By acknowledging the multiplicity of subjectivities while recognising

individual capacity and skills and the identification of women and men with their gender, the neo-radical position allowed me to see the interdependency between women and men and how cooperation between them can challenge and subvert gender dichotomies. As a researcher it was important that I could imagine a future where fundamental changes or transformations could take place that would value individual subjectivities without stereotyping, homogenization, tokenism or exclusion. It was by being able to envision this transformed social terrain that I was able to position myself as a neo-radical feminist.

Throughout reflexivity was integral to my development as a researcher. Not only did it enable me to reduce bias but it also created a space for me to map the internal development of myself as the researcher alongside the external development of the process. By using reflexivity as a tool I was able to negotiate ambiguities and concerns about my positioning as the military researcher-pacifist feminist. I was continually assessing at what point I might become militarized or co-opted by my own work in a military institution and how I could roll back militarization by reclaiming my choices and developing my identity throughout the years of the study. With each reading of the literature my theoretical sensitivity deepened and new ideas stood out in the terrain. 'In contrast to conventional social scientific methods, acknowledging the subjective element in one's analysis, which exists in all social science research, actually increases the objectivity of the research' (Tickner, 2006: 27). This meant staying open and flexible towards the material and interpreting the data in increasingly complex ways. By positioning myself in the research I created analytical accountability. An important commitment of feminist methodology is that knowledge must be built and analysed in a way that can be used by women to change whatever oppressive conditions they face.

This process taught me how important it is to be flexible as a researcher and to be able to live with ambiguity and the uncertainty of my own positioning during the process. The need to be dynamic and self-reflexive was continuously highlighted to me throughout the process and the confusion that I experienced as I travelled through the research process was an important part of coming to terms with my own self-development as well as my professional development as a researcher. This taught me about the necessity to

recognize and acknowledge feelings that arise during the process, both those of the participants and my own. For example, some interviews left me with strong feelings of sadness, anger, powerlessness and frustration. These could take weeks to move through and I found a process called 'free writing' out my emotional responses on a daily basis an empowering tool which enriched the research and encouraged me to continue rather than to stop with each new challenge. Through mindfulness and by incorporating my own emotional responses I was able to imagine what it might be like for a peacekeeper dealing with new and challenging situations (and sometimes boredom) on a daily basis, and how necessary the development of action competence is for peacekeepers to be able to deal with the unexpected in a positive way.

By acknowledging my strengths and weaknesses as a researcher I was able to negotiate my way fluidly and responsively to each situation. For example, at the beginning of the study I was uncomfortable asking male participants about sexuality, local girlfriends or the use of prostitutes. When I asked these questions the participants would shut down. Therefore, I revised my approach and only discussed sexuality if the participant brought it up themselves. I was also aware of my own performance of femininities during the interview process, particularly how some of the interviews with men were more relaxed while others were more authoritative, responding to the diversity of masculinities. My interviews with women where sometimes very friendly with a lot of laughter and references to 'you know what I mean' and others were more cautious and hesitant. Depending on the individual I would respond fluidly to the situation to try to put the participant at their ease. The women participants often assumed an understanding between themselves and myself and our gender roles, for example, they talked about juggling personal and professional demands. This allowed me to heighten my awareness of the trivialization or denial of issues related to women and femininities. As such I gained confidence in my approach, and my capacity to theorize deepened along with my consideration of new methodologies; while at the same time retaining my humility when engaging with the participants.

8.15   Policy Implications of this Study

What are the implications for policy and practice arising from my findings? This study has given the Irish DF an insight into those discourses that are operating to support, promote or inhibit women's instrumental role as peacekeepers and soldiers; as well as those discourses that position women in their gendered role as carers and empathizers. The study did this by capturing how discourses on gender are dynamic and fluid and continually shifting depending on the time, location, context and mission. For example, when women initially joined the DF they were sent on deportment courses and were dressed differently to men while being positioned within feminized jobs. Today, women are at least in theory, able to access all of the same jobs and ranks as their male peers. Although there are no women in the most elite Ranger Wing of the DF and only three women at senior officer rank above that of Commandant, this study has identified a shift in discourse from 'women can't go there' to 'women are necessary'. While there are still only six per cent of women within the DF 26 per cent of those are officers with decision-making power. This reflects a shift in discourse more generally in Irish society. While the Irish constitution still contains Articles 41.2.1 and 41.2.2 which position women in the home, women made up 46.7 percent of the workforce in 2011 (Central Statistics Office, 2011). Women were airbrushed out of political photos in 1922 and today new legislation on gender quotas will help to balance the political playing field for Irish women. In the Irish society of the future more women will be included within decision-making and leadership roles within a formal political context. It will be interesting to see what if any changes they make to Ireland's policies on peacekeeping missions.

The empirical data gathered by this study suggests that changes in practice could have structural effects. For example, transformative discourses on gender relations in the narratives of both women and men position women as powerful agents of peace and security in their own right. By providing information on alternative discourses with transformative potential this study has shown how there can be cooperation and interdependency between women and men peacekeepers rather than competition. This cooperation provides opportunities for women and men peacekeepers to be positioned within the 'third space'. Women are being positioned powerfully within discourses such

as: 'women are leaders', 'women galvanize', 'women normalize'. Simultaneously they are positioned in ways that reduce their power in discourses: 'women are home wreckers', 'military men can't work with them', 'women are favoured in promotion competitions'. By revealing the many contradictory discourses operating at the same time this study has provided baseline data on gender relations for the DF. This baseline data is useful for mapping progress on the DF's Action Plan on UNSCR 1325 (2013). This study's data on gender discourses will enable the DF to identify where their policies, plans and actions are shifting, reifying or transforming discourses over time depending on the context. The next sections look at specific areas of policy that could be influenced by this study.

Civilian Women & Gender Mainstreaming

The evidence in this study is that most participants understand UNSCR 1325 as increasing the numbers of women specifically to work interfacing with civilian women in the host nations.   Gender is conflated to mean women, masculinities are ignored or invisible within the discourses and women are positioned predominantly as either care-givers or voiceless victims. The gender perspective aspect of the resolution is not clearly understood within the participant accounts for example there are discourses operating on civilian women as uniformly disempowered, of little value to a mission, and with peacekeepers unsure as to the why UNSCR 1325 focuses on the experiences of women. The accounts reveal a bias towards engagement with civilian men in host nations, rather than women.   If a military is genuinely providing peacekeeping services it must acknowledge civilian women's experiences and knowledge of conflict and conflict resolution. The UN Secretary General stated in 2009 that to tackle the discrimination of civilian women PSOs need to include gender perspectives and they need earlier and better coordination and planning with national partners (Dharmapuri, 2013). The needs of civilians were outlined in Chapter Four including how women would like peacekeepers to interact with them as equals, respectfully, with knowledge of gender relations and having listened to women in their own countries talk about their needs before coming on a mission. They requested that some women peacekeepers be available to them as a point of communication between civil society and the PSO, this is important to share knowledge and experiences and to be kept informed about the mission. PSOs must have as part of

their mandate policies and practices that ensure civilian women's inclusion in formal decision-making and peace processes, particularly on post-war reconstruction and reconciliation. Individual peacekeepers need to be able to exhibit 'action competence' which means responding to the needs of the moment in a holistic and human way. This includes positioning civilian women in the 'third space' revealing their multiple subjectivities rather than positioning them as a homogenously disempowered group. By adopting the 'add women and transform' approach the DF could reduce the re-inscription of 'powerlessness' onto civilian women, particularly in Muslim and tribal cultures, and the devaluing of their contribution to peace building processes.

Civilian women need women peacekeepers to relate to them and many women soldiers will be interested in taking on this task. To avoid stereotyping or feminizing this job and to overcome women's concerns about certain jobs such as CIMIC or LMTs becoming feminized and therefore devalued; and women peacekeepers becoming ghettoised in 'women/civilian-facing' jobs; those tasks and roles should be equally distributed between women and men peacekeepers. To reflect the new mission mandates the gender perspectives of civilians need to be made central to all peacekeeping missions and for peacekeepers to understand that it is the needs of civilians that are paramount. By placing the needs of civilians within the centre of all mission planning and mandates and by ensuring that all actions radiate from this centre of concern there is an opportunity to create a paradigm shift within military ways of doing peacekeeping – that goes beyond understanding and knowledge – to right action and action competence, as discussed in Chapter Four.

TCCs, militaries, defence institutes and individual peacekeepers need to be able to understand and speak about gender concepts. This is necessary if PSOs are to support the maintenance of peace; which can only be achieved by transforming unequal gender relations and power imbalances between women and men. Therefore, peacekeepers need to be deeply knowledgeable about gender: sex distributions, sex stereotypes, gendered cultures, gendered identities, gendering as a social process and gender as a relation of power. They need to learn and speak a language that can express concepts of this kind. They need to redesign structures and strategies in gender-intelligent and

gender-constructive ways (Cockburn and Hubic, 2002). Further, the findings in this study point to the need for the UN to give greater consideration to which TCCs are culturally most suited to working together and in which host nations. As cultural differences create gender issues, gender sensitivity and cultural sensitivity training needs to consider how different TCCs will relate to each other as well as how they relate to the host nation. If peacekeeping forces are not rethought along these lines, they will step into post-war situations and risk contributing directly to unequal and oppressive gender relations operating locally. They will aggravate the situation, and fail to contribute what they could to the transit to peace, equality and justice. Without national militaries and humanitarian relief agencies developing gender perspectives within their own organizations and developing a deep understanding of gendering processes they are unlikely to be able to support the reform of unequal gender relations in host countries.

Agenda Setting Gender Mainstreaming Approaches

If the gender perspective aspect of UNSCR 1325 is to be activated by the DF it would need to develop an agenda-setting gender mainstreaming policy to actively transform gender relations both within its own ranks and between itself and civilians in host nations. The agenda setting approach involves a fundamental re-think not only of procedures but also of the end goals of policymaking. However, most institutions adopt the integrationist approach which introduces a gender perspective into existing policies. This approach does not challenge gender binaries but simply adds to patriarchal and state-centred structures already in existence. The integrationist approach, alternatively known as 'add women and stir' is heavily critiqued by feminists as a piecemeal approach considered inadequate for transformation. The DF needs to ensure that it does not conflate gender to mean 'women' only. For example, if training programmes on gender are 'women focused' by excluding men's experiences they will not fully explain the power dynamics in a post-conflict situation. This will create a lack of understanding and analysis of how inequalities are created and recreated; how discourses, systems and attitudes can encourage sexism; and how they can be transformed to egalitarian and respectful relationships. Training programmes on gender if only highlighting the different experiences and roles women have during and after a conflict, can further isolate women

by drawing attention to their differences and their positioning as a minority group both within and without the military.

Gender mainstreaming approaches need to be understood deeply by everyone involved in peace agreements, conflict resolution and post conflict reconstruction including: politicians, policy makers, military and civilian trainers, peacekeepers and activists for them to take root and flourish. They also need to be incorporated within institutions in such a way that the institutions are motivated to respond reflexively and appropriately to the challenge of promoting gender equality so that it is not just about improving the numbers and visibility of women but that an 'agenda-setting' approach is adopted that aims to transform not only the gender balance of the institutions but how they research, plan, design, train, assess, and monitor and evaluate their programmes (Hafner-Burton & Pollack, 2002). Gender mainstreaming will only challenge deep rooted sexism and inequalities within post conflict settings if it is applied to men as well as women; civilians as well as mission personnel. And only if it is adopted fully by institutions including the UN, state militaries, and new institutions in post-conflict countries. As a result it would have the effect of highlighting gender power differences and inequalities and thereby create new knowledge that would enable institutional reform; and dismantling gender neutral policies.

If affirmative action towards women because of their minority status in the DF is seen as sexist, even by women, this leaves no space for 'difference' to flourish. Therefore, the 'agenda setting' approach to gender mainstreaming must be adopted by involving a fundamental re-think of procedures as well as end goals of policymaking. Besides different technical skill sets missions also need a multiplicity of talented people who are expert in gender dynamics, emotional intelligence and action competence. These experts would develop tools to reform, challenge, question, understand, deconstruct, reassemble and reconstruct gender dynamics in a post-conflict setting. But first the agenda setting process needs to be adopted by all peacekeeping militaries to fully grasp what gender reform looks like the individual peacekeeper will need to ask deep questions about their own attitudes and beliefs to develop the 'action competence' outlined in Laugan Haaland's research (2012) discussed in Chapter Four.

<u>Women's Recruitment and Retention</u>

While 1325 is clearly not only a numbers game - numbers are important. The military is male dominated which gives men control over how the military and peacekeeping is organized, strategized, what is prioritized and what is minimized. Without numbers of women in the military women will not have influence over agendas and how things are done. Rather than dealing with the root causes of why so few women join the DF which are listed in the TNS MRBI report (2007) as: a perception that the DF is aggressive, macho and regimented, with women having to work harder than men to be accepted; positioned as tomboys or sex objects; and with issues of isolation, bullying, few promotion opportunities, and poor work/life balance. The DF has changed the basic physical requirements for recruits (the minimum height standard is now 5 foot 3 inches). While it is a positive step towards creating access for more women (and men) it does not go far enough. The first step in any modern military taking the needs of women in post-conflict situations seriously, is to take the needs of women within their own ranks seriously. This is not likely to happen if the numbers remain low and women are seen by civilians and other troop contributing countries as being positioned tokenistically within missions. Therefore, the policy to recruit women needs to be followed through with a wholehearted intention to secure a place in the armed forces for them as full and equal members. Otherwise, militaries can expect a high turnover of women and continued low numbers in recruitment rounds.

There is a contradiction between international pressure by the UN to create gender equity in militaries and the intractability of the military as a deeply masculine institution and culture. In response to the question: 'Does the inclusion of women enable different voices and perspectives to be heard?' this study concludes that women peacekeepers' needs, experiences and ideas are not being gathered and incorporated into the planning and decision-making of PSOs by the DF. Women's accounts indicate that the DF still has difficulty in changing its systems and practices to become an institution that is an equal opportunities employer. Gender neutral approaches drawing on the 'equal but different' discourse do not consider structural forces and social inequalities so demands for equality will always appear as women wanting it both ways. For example, extract 42 discussed

how few women can access senior command and staff courses and revealed how the gender neutral policy within the DF operates. Most women with families will not be able to leave them for up to 10 months to complete a course, therefore, the gender neutral policy makes women's social roles outside the military, often as primary carers for children and the elderly, invisible. As women do not usually have a 'wife' equivalent at home (that most men have), to take on these caring roles and relieve them to undertake a year-long training course. This is made clear by looking at the numbers of women who have so far completed a senior command and staff course – only three – after 30 years of women's integration into the DF. With only six percent of women present in the DF there are few women to challenge policies and systems that work against them, however, if the numbers were to increase this may give them enough influence to push for more women/family-friendly policies that would encourage women's retention and future recruitment. Unless more women reach senior ranks within the DF they are unlikely to be retained not only will the organisation lose them but also their valuable experience and knowledge.

However, the findings in this study also reveal a concern amongst women that by increasing their numbers this would create a backlash onto them from male peers. There is a discourse operating that increasing women's presence some men may feel their identity has been de-masculinized by a military that is becoming increasingly feminized. However, there is also a fear amongst women that although increasing the numbers of female personnel may provide opportunities for civilian women to access the PSO, if women are positioned only in 'women-friendly' jobs this will entrench gender stereotypes both within the military and within the host nations and position many women peacekeepers in jobs they simply do not want to do.   Therefore, the DF needs to build trust and confidence in its systems to guard against gender stereotyping. This can only be created through equality of power-sharing amongst women and men, ensuring that women have as much influence as their male peers, on the organizational systems and procedures. Policies should reflect a diversity of experiences and knowledge. To enable the inclusion of a diversity of perspectives and experiences the DF should encourage more of its personnel to undertake research on gender. If the DF were to actively encourage gender research; and to learn from it; and include its findings into policy and practice it

would position itself as a world-leader in the implementation of UNSCR 1325 and its sister resolutions. Thereby, the DF would be seen as a reflective and flexible organisation capable of responding dynamically to a diversity of peacekeeping situations whilst implementing a gender sensitive approach to conflict resolution.

8.16   Recommendations for Future Research

Women are engaging with militaries in multiple contexts, jobs and roles and they have important new insights and knowledge as a result of these relations. I recommend that the DF find ways to encourage research by women officers into gender issues, both within the institution and in relation to its engagement with civilian populations. Ryan articulates that 'the hallmark of a learning organisation is not only its capacity to learn and to innovate but also its eagerness to do so' (2012: 62). Future scholarship within the DF could be dedicated to resolving the contradictions within the findings in this thesis to bring about actual change within a military institution. The DF is an organisation in flux, as part of his research for an MA in the senior command and staff course a male officer explains the institutions future challenges:

> The challenge for the DF is to recognise the discourses that are at play within its own environment, to examine these discourses with a view to identifying whether they are appropriate to the development of improved military-societal relations and to establish, both for itself and for those with whom it interacts, a clear sense of identity. It must articulate what it means to be an Irish soldier. The implications for the Irish DF and society are that inconsistent and misunderstood relations will result in mistrust and the undermining of a core state institution. (O'Lehan, 2009: 49)

This research has identified the many competing and contradictory discourses at play within the DF and the contexts and locations in which they are activated. The next step in transformational movements on gender relations is to create alternative discourses and this requires the expansion of consciousness to include a vision that transcends the 'myopic vision of the global marketplace' (O'Sullivan, 2002: 8). Future research could assess how Ireland's NAP on UNSCR 1325 is shifting discourses on gender within the DF and the impact this is having on practice within missions. The DF's plan of action includes the provision of training on UNSCR 1325 to all its peacekeeping personnel. It also aims to increase the numbers of women in peacekeeping and to incorporate gender perspectives

and actively support women's participation at every level of decision making in peacekeeping. Further objectives include holding Irish personnel accountable for their actions while on a mission and to put in place 'robust accountability mechanisms' to deal with discrimination, sexual harassment and bullying against women. Additional actions include strengthening institutional capacity through gender mainstreaming policies and to be responsive to the different security needs and priorities of civilian women (DFAT, 2011). Future research should include the experiences and perspectives of civilians who interact directly with Irish peacekeepers as well as military personnel of 'other ranks', who often have more day-to-day contact with civilians. In relation to the gender perspectives of civilians the DF should engage with asylum seeking and refugee women currently living in Ireland who have come from war-torn countries. By seeking their insights and experiences of interacting with peacekeepers the DF would demonstrate a genuine commitment to understanding the needs of civilian women. In relation to the inclusion of 'other ranks' within the research the findings are likely to be quite different from those from officer's accounts, due to their class positioning within the military hierarchy. My recommendation is that these studies would use an action research-based approach to gathering data. This approach would begin with group discussions with the peacekeepers/civilians based around the themes outlined in this study. These discussions would be semi-structured in order to create the most suitable circumstances for new knowledge and themes to emerge. Drawing on their experiences as peacekeepers the participants would be given an opportunity to discuss their insights on the strengths, problems and tensions within PSOs and the DF on gender issues. These group discussions would be followed by one-to-one semi-structured interviews with the participants based around the outcomes from the group discussion. Once all the interviews were transcribed and analysed the participants would be brought together for a final group discussion to tease out and share the research outcomes and to invite feedback before drafting the final paper outlining the study's findings and its implications. The research would benefit PSOs, the DF and feminist scholarship by moving the conversation along to include the knowledge and perspectives of civilians and peacekeepers of 'other ranks' on PSOs.

In relation to academic scholarship more broadly the contradictory discourses revealed in this study could be used within discussions on gender in the military and peacekeeping by

exploring how individuals 'resist and oppose dominant discourses, either by taking up positions outside these discourses, or by developing alternative discourses, or both' (Ryan AB, 2001: 138). Through the concept of positioning we can see how individuals can be positioned simultaneously in different discourses and look for how individuals critique and create alternative discourses, based on their awareness of the contradictions between the discourses in which they are situated. This has implications for the transformation of power relations. Therefore, it is a matter of urgency that feminists also engage with women peacekeepers to elucidate how power relations are operating within military institutions and the gendering processes inherent.

8.17   Concluding Remarks

This study has shed light on gendering processes within a military institution (the DF) which position women and men in particular roles, formally and informally. It has revealed how discourses on gender support or inhibit women's access to PSOs depending on the context. It has also outlined alternative discourses with transformative potential that could lead to the empowerment of women peacekeepers and equalize gender relations. While this research revealed many contradictory discourses at play within the DF on gender relations it has also gone some way to articulating how the 'Irish peacekeeper' sees herself/himself in relation to others, whether they are civilians or soldiers from other peacekeeping nations. The use of discourse analysis allowed me to produce new empirical data which serves feminist interests. By identifying where women are positioned in the DF/PSOs and the shifting dynamics of gender relations this study has revealed gender perspectives on women's inclusion within a military; and elaborated on how women want their position and roles within the military to develop. They have emphasized that the institution should not create 'women's ghettoes' and place all women together in the same type of jobs and ranks to fulfil their commitment to UNSCR 1325.

By asking 'How does the "equal but different" discourse distribute power within certain contexts and what impact does that have on women's inclusion in PSOs?' this study outlined how women are positioned powerfully within discourses as gatherers of diverse information, communicators with local women, and as bringers of a new energy that

includes care-giving, normalizing, empathy as well as galvanizing and motivating the troops. While discourses that draw on barriers to women's inclusion within PSOs are numerous by developing the concept 'add women and transform' this study created a bridging device from which to view alternative muted discourses with inclusive and transformative potential. The use of the 'third space' enabled this study to demonstrate how it is possible to retain a critical position while also working on the resolution of practical issues. By considering how women's presence is leading to the creation of transformative discourses such as 'buddies protect regardless of gender' and 'women can integrate without adopting host culture' this study has drawn attention to how women's presence can undermine traditionalism and militarism in certain contexts and specific moments.

The discourses in this study imply that it is military culture that needs to transform if it is to incorporate women as equal members. Women are not just an adjunct to men on a mission. Men need to understand the value of women to a mission beyond their care-giving roles. The 'Add Women and Transform' concept provides a feminist lens through which to view women peacekeepers and to consider the possibility of their presence enabling something different to happen, perhaps something unexpected. A plan of action for gender equality must ensure that women are positioned multiply in a variety of ranks, jobs, tasks, and roles on a mission. By positioning women peacekeepers inclusively within a mission, and especially within decision-making and leadership roles, will demonstrate to civilian women in fragile post-conflict situations, that the UN and national militaries take gender equality seriously. And that they acknowledge the empowerment of women as a necessary step towards the creation of a just and peaceful world.

ENDS

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Appendix I

Questionnaire I

1. Name:
2. Rank:
3. Gender:
4. How long have you been with the army?
5. Why did you decide to join the army?
6. What rank were you when you joined the army?
7. How has your career progressed?
8. How many promotions have you had since them?

Peacekeeping Missions

9. When did you go on your first peacekeeping mission?
10. How did you get chosen?
11. What was your role on the mission (and subsequent missions?)
12. List the key duties:
13. How did you feel when you put the blue beret/helmet/armband on for the first time? (pride, ambivalence, inhibited? etc)
14. Were you clear about your mandate and your specific role as a peacekeeping battalion?
15. Were there any aspects of your soldier training that made the 'peacekeeping' job more difficult or confusing?
16. Did you come into contact with senior female commanders from other countries whilst on the mission?
17. If so, what was the 'general' reaction of the troops to this senior woman?

Contact with Civilian Population

18. Did you come into contact with local civilians?
19. And did you come in contact with women equally with men?
20. What impact did your battalion have on the local civilian population? (increased security/insecurity; calming/threatening; created new businesses [what kind?], cultural exchanges?)
21. How did the local civilians react to a mixed group of female and male soldiers? How did they react to you? Surprise, positively, negatively, with trust, with cynicism? neutrally???

22. Were you aware of being a woman/man while working on the mission? How? Specific examples.

23. Were you ever aware that being a woman/man hindered or helped you in your role as a peacekeeper? Give examples:

24. Do you have any particular stories/memories of coming into contact with local civilian women/men and their reaction to you?

25. Do you ever mark the buildings you build with plaques etc?

26. What was your impression of the local civilians in the countries you visited whilst on missions? (religious beliefs, friendly/unfriendly, distrustful/trusting, etc).

Gender

27. Do you believe you were ever asked to complete a task specifically because of your gender? (For example, talk to a local women's group because you would be perceived as less threatening then a male soldier or vice versa?)

28. Did you ever believe that you were stopped from undertaking a task because of your gender? (For example, not involved in low-level negotiations with local civilian men; not involved in what was considered a dangerous element of the mission?)

29. Were there times when you needed a woman on the peacekeeping team because she would have been able to talk to local civilian women who needed information or reassurance? How did you deal with this situation?

30. Do you have memories of particularly tense situations that could have become violent except for a third party (female or male) stepped in to diffuse the situation? What did they do/say?

31. Do you think there should be more women in peacekeeping battalions? Yes/no? why?

32. Have you ever worked for a woman officer?

33. If yes, how different was it from working for a man officer? Give examples:

34. Who do you prefer working for, men or women? Why?

Decision-making and agency

35. Were you involved in local elections or human rights education programmes? How? What was your role? Outline your experience:

36. Were you involved in the rebuilding/re-supplying of local schools/hospitals/etc? How did this work effect your relationship with the local civilian population? Improved trust, friendship, etc

37. Were you ever invited to the peace-table, ie informal or formal, low or high-level discussions with civilians, NGOs, politicians regarding the cessation of conflict and the creation of peace?

38. If yes, outline:

39. Why were you chosen? (particular skills, experience?)

40. Were there women/men of the same ranking available who could have gone in your place?

41. Have you ever been asked to do something that you either didn't want to do or couldn't do? Yes/No

42. If yes, what was it? Discuss

43. How much freedom were you given regarding decision-making? Give an example:

44. Are you regularly asked for recommendations and suggestions while undertaking your tasks on a mission? Yes: No:

45. If yes, were you satisfied that your recommendations were adequately discussed and analysed?

46. Were your recommendations carried through: regularly: sometimes/never/Give examples:

47. Do you feel treated equally with female/male soldiers of the same rank?

48. If not, why not? If yes, give example:

Promotion

49. How did your performance on the mission impact your promotion opportunities?

Feelings/Coping with Memories

50. Do you have particular stories/memories of your experience on a peacekeeping mission that you tell to friends and family? (Or ones you have never told because they upset you?)

51. How does retelling that story make you feel?

52. How do your friends and family react to you and your experiences of peacekeeping? (ie proud, shocked, fearful, distance themselves etc)

Debrief/feedback/sharing

53. Did you debrief on your return from the mission?

54. Yes/No

55. If no, were there any informal methods for debriefing in place? (discuss)

56. If yes, in what form? A statement? Answered a series of questions? Interview?

57. Was this debrief information fed back into the system? (i.e. Fed back into the training procedures or other policy documents re peacekeeping missions?)

58. Do you think there needs to be an opportunity to discuss your experiences on the mission?

59. If yes, why, what do you think it would achieve? If no, why not?

Peacekeeping as Meaning:

60. Did you enjoy the mission?

61. What did you like best about the mission?

62. What did you like least about the mission?

63. Would you like to go on future peacekeeping missions?

64. Did you ever feel that the mandate for a mission you were on was wrong/ineffective? If yes, how did this make you feel?

65. How would you say your experience of peacekeeping has affected your skills as a soldier and vice versa?

66. Are you proud to have been a member of a peacekeeping force?

67. Are your family proud of you?

68. Do they recognise your contribution?

69. Have you ever been judged or criticised for being a soldier/peacekeeper?

70. What, if any, changes would you like to see made to the structure/process of peacekeeping missions?

71. What, if any, changes would you like to see made to the ideological makeup of the Irish Army?

72. If you could put forward recommendations for change within either the Irish Army or Peacekeeping missions, what would they be?

Appendix II

Questionnaire II

1. What was your impression of the people you were sent to protect?

2. What did you particularly admire about the local women/men?

3. How did the local women/men cope?

4. Did you ever recommend changes in ways of dealing with local women and men e.g. report sexual harassment or abuse of local women?

5. Did you ever raise awareness of gender issues (rape, trafficking, prostitution, refugee camp abuses, etc).

6. Did you ever get the impression that local combatants or civilians were more or less relaxed around you (because you were a women/ or because there was a mixed unit of women and men)?

7. Have you ever met with local civilians to hear their stories about the conflict, how it affected them, their ideas about how to end the conflict, how the peacekeepers have impacted their lives?

8. Did you ever do anything in the host community that positioned you as a positive role model? For example, as a teacher/trainer/spokesperson?

Other Armies and NGOs

9. Which NGOs did you come into contact with and why? What were the relationships like with the NGO workers?

10. Did you ever witness/or were you aware of abuses of power by peacekeepers (from the IDF or other armies) towards the local population? If so, were they gender-related

11. What do other armies do, regarding cultural issues, anything different to the IDF?

Decision-making and agency

12. Were you involved in local elections or human rights education programmes? How? What was your role? Outline your experience:

13. Were you involved in the rebuilding/re-supplying of local schools/hospitals/etc? How did this work effect your relationship with the local civilian population? Improved trust, friendship, etc

14. Did you enjoy your missions?

15. What did you like best/least about the missions?

16. Would you like to go on future peacekeeping missions?

17. Did you ever feel that the mandate for a mission you were on was wrong/ineffective? If yes, how did this make you feel?

18. Do you feel powerful/powerless whilst on a mission? In what way?

19. How would you say your experience of peacekeeping has affected your skills as a soldier and vice versa?

Human Rights/Women's Rights

20. Did you feel that your human rights/gender based violence training was sufficient before you went on peacekeeping missions?

21. Were you prepared for the magnitude of the abuses against women and children during warfare?

22. Did you have any dealings with the civilian Gender Affairs Offices?

23. Have you ever worked with any local women in any capacity?

24. What was your impression of how the local women were treated in their society?

25. Did the position the local women held in the country affect how you performed your tasks or duties (did it inhibit you in anyway?)

26. Have you ever met women in any capacity (local civilian, NGO worker, army officer/soldier, politician) who stood out as being a powerful spearhead for the creation of peace in the region - through their actions - what did they do? How was it different from what everybody else was doing?

Gender and Peacekeeping

27. What sports/recreation activities do you have in the camp?

28. Do you believe you were ever asked to complete a task specifically because of your gender? (For example, talk to a local women's group because you would be perceived as less threatening then a male soldier or vice versa?)

29. Did you ever believe that you were stopped from undertaking a task because of your gender? (For example, not involved in low-level negotiations with local civilian men; not involved in what was considered a dangerous element of the mission?)

30. [to man officer] Were there times when you needed a woman on the peacekeeping team because she would have been able to talk to local civilian women who needed information or reassurance? How did you deal with this situation?

31. Have you [woman officer] ever had to diffuse tension either amongst your own troops or amongst local civilians and if so, what did they do? How did the men react to a woman diffusing tension? Any comments?

32. Did you notice the impact this had on local women and men?

33. What impact did the presence of women soldiers have on male soldiers?

34. Also this is a bit tricky - but 4 out of 4 women officers so far interviewed are married to officers in the army. I really do need to probe a bit about personal relationships on missions too - because it's important to know if the presence of women as potential partners on missions also affects the way men/women behave/act.

35. Have the women ever thought they need to behave 'like men' to be accepted / respected and to achieve promotion?

36. Do you think there should be more women in peacekeeping battalions? Yes/no? Why?

Recognition and Pride

37. Are you proud to have been a member of a peacekeeping force?

38. Are your family proud of you?

39. Do they recognise your contribution?

40. Have you ever been judged or criticised for being a soldier/peacekeeper?

Recommendations for change

41. What, if any, changes would you like to see made to the structure/process of peacekeeping missions?

42. What, if any, changes would you like to see made to the ideological makeup of the Irish Army?

43. If you could put forward recommendations for change within either the Irish Army or Peacekeeping missions, what would they be?

Appendix III

Questionnaire III

Women peacekeepers serving in Kosovo

Date: 24-30 November 2008

1. Tell me about why you became a soldier and your experience on peacekeeping missions to date

• Why did you join the PDF?

• How many missions have you been on?

• What role/ranking have you had on the missions?

2. Have you been able to conduct your full set of duties or did some adjustments have to be made once you arrived in Kosovo?

• Have you ever had your role curtailed because of a male peer objection (overnight stay in post?; jealous wife? Not a suitable job for a woman? It isn't safe? Need a man and a woman as opposed to two women? Other?)

3. What reminds you that you are a woman and one of a minority when you are on a mission?

• Requests for help/support?

• Do male peers ask for advice regarding domestic issues – as much as a female peer, more than, less than?

• Do you ever feel stereotyped as a woman in relation to your male peers if so give examples? (comments about when you have children or marry how you will leave the forces or stop going on overseas missions/comments about sexuality or relationships?

• Do you always feel included within the Battalion? (separate accomodation, facilities,leisure activities?)

4. What do you think of / or how do you feel about the people you are here to protect?

5. What is the reaction of the local population to you when they meet you?

• Surprised to see you're a woman, nonplussed, happy, treat you with more/less respect than your male peers? Relaxed around you, direct more/less of their conversation toward you? Have you noticed a difference in the way local women and men react to you?

6. How has the culture of the peacekeeping host country impacted on the performance of your duties?

• Shaking hands with local men, change of dress, working on checkpoints of posts, body or vehicle searches, working in remote locations, conducting negotiations with local men, etc?

7. How do you think your presence impacts local women?

• Do you think your presence mobilises local women by building confidence in the possibility of women taking on peace and security roles – leadership etc? Give examples.

8. How do you think your presence impacts local men?

• Do you think your presence challenges gender stereotypes and traditional gender roles?

9. What do you like best and what do you like least about being a peacekeeper/ on this particular mission?

10. Other women officers I have interviewed tell me they consider themselves to be equal but different to men, do you feel like this? Why? Give me an example.

11. Have you ever experienced sexist remarks from a male soldier or from a civilian or soldier from a different peacekeeping country?

12. What do you see as the greatest challenges for women in the defence forces?

• How has the PDF changed in relation to gender equality since you've joined?

• Do you think it is getting easier to climb the ranks or is there no change? Do you hope to reach the role of Lieutenant Colonel or higher yourself one day? Do you think this is likely?

13. What would you like to see research of this kind achieving?

14. Anything else you would like to mention in relation to your experience as a peacekeeper?

15. Any questions you would like to ask me about this research?

*****

Appendix IV

Consent Form

Dear Officer

Shirley Graham is carrying out a study on gender and international peacekeeping. Shirley is a PhD candidate in the School of Social Justice at University College Dublin (UCD). The aim of the study is to examine women and men officers' perspectives of and attitudes towards peacekeeping; their implementation of tasks, duties and responsibilities; and to reveal the impact any differences may have on mission outcomes. In total Shirley is requesting that 20 officers (10 women and 10 men) from the Irish Defence Forces take part in the study.

Your conversation with Shirley will be taped and the information therein will be shared with her supervisors. The content of the interview will be transcribed by Shirley and sent to you for confirmation of accuracy and if need be, information may be added or deleted at this stage. When quoting or referring to any content in the interviews, participants will either be referred to as 'female officer and year of interview' or given a false name or identifying code. Shirley has signed a Proforma agreeing to receive approval of use from the Irish Defence Forces, Human Resources Department, before using any material from the interviews.

Shirley has a Masters Degree in International Relations and she has experience of conducting research. Her research is being funded by the Irish Council for the Humanities and Social Sciences. If you have any questions about this study at any time please feel free to contact Shirley at email address and telephone number supplied.

Your Consent

I have received an explanation of the study and agree to allow Shirley Graham to use the information from my interview in her PhD thesis. I understand that my participation in this study is strictly voluntary.

Name_____   Date_____

Please keep a copy for yourself and return one signed copy to me at: ***Thank you for your participation.***

APPENDIX V

APPROVAL FROM DF

Hi Shirley,

I have read your thesis and am satisfied that it does not contravene your agreement with the DF in any way.

regards,

Jayne Lawlor

Comdt

PSS, Gender, Equality and Diversity Officer

DHRM

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