



Sexual Exploitation and Abuse by UN Peacekeepers

Shirin Bakhti

Human Rights
Bachelor Thesis
15 hp
Spring 2019
Supervisor: Mikael Spång
Wordcount: 16 059

Abstract

During the last decade reports of international personnel perpetrating acts of sexual exploitation and abuse against the very population in which they are mandated to protect are a disturbing outcome of some peace operations provided by the United Nations.

Sexual exploitation and abuse have been a problem since the first peacekeeping operations in the beginning of 1990's, however it was not until 2004 when the media reported disturbing acts of sexual abuse of children by French peacekeepers that the whole worlds eyes turned to these claims. This thesis will deal with a sensitive and relevant topic, sexual exploitation and abuse by United Nations peacekeepers. The purpose of this research is to understand and explain why United Nations peacekeepers are involved in the horrors which they seek to address.

Keywords:

United Nations, sexual exploitation and abuse, peacekeepers, feminist theory, militarized masculinity, impunity, the Democratic Republic of Congo.

Table of Content

Abstract2

List of abbreviations5

1. INTRODUCTION7

 1.1. Aim and Research Questions8

 1.2. Theory and Method8

 1.3. Previous Research9

 1.4. Relevance for Human Rights10

 1.5. Delimitations10

 1.6. Contributing Factors of SEA10

 1.7. Chapter Outline.....11

2. THEORY13

 2.1. Feminist Theory13

 2.2. Militarized Masculinity15

 2.3. Social Masculinities19

 2.4. Impunity/Immunity20

3. METHOD AND MATERIAL25

 3.1. Case Study25

 3.2. Material25

4. BACKGROUND OF UNITED NATIONS PECEKEEPING 27

 4.1. Sexual Exploitation and Abuse by UN Peacekeepers 27

 4.2. Allegations Against UN Peacekeepers 28

5. CASE STUDY29

 5.1. Background of The Democratic Republic of The Congo29

 5.2. UN Missions to The DRC - *MONUC & MONUSCO*30

 5.3. The Scandal and The Response By The UN32

6. ANALYSIS	37
6.1. Feminist Theory and SEA	37
6.2. Peacekeepers and Militarized Masculinity	39
6.3. Social Masculinity and The Inclusion of Women	42
6.4. Peacekeepers and Impunity/Immunity	43
7. CONCLUSION	46
8. REFERNCE LIST	47

List of Abbreviations

CEDAW	Committee on the Elimination of Discrimination Against Women
DPKO	(United Nations) Division of Peacekeeping Operations
GBV	Gender-based Violence
MONUC	United Nations Organization Mission in the Democratic Republic of the Congo
MONUSCO	United Nations Organization Stabilization Mission in the Democratic Republic of the Congo
NGO	Non-governmental organization
OIOS	The Office of Internal Oversight Services
SG	Secretary-General
SEA	Sexual exploitation and abuse
TCC	Troop contributing countries
UN	United Nations
UNFPA	United Nations Population Fund
UNTSO	United Nations Truce Supervision Organization

“My body has become sad. I have no happiness”

(35 year-old year old woman, raped by a UN peacekeeper in the DRC)

“A few minutes later, he threw himself on top of me and started to rape me. I said nothing to my parents because I was afraid”

(15 year-old girl in the Congolese village of Mavivi)

“It was the first man who ever touched me”

(11 year-old girl that was left pregnant after the rape of a UN peacekeeper. She was 13 when the second peacekeeper raped her and got her once again pregnant)

“The peacekeepers try to distract the girls with cookies, candy and milk to rape them”

(A witness in one of the UN camps in DRC)

"I was just coming back from the river to fetch water, two [UN] soldiers came up to me and told me that if I refuse to sleep with them, they will kill me. They beat me and ripped my clothes. One of the [UN] soldiers raped me"

(15 year-old girl in eastern Congo)

1. INTRODUCCION

The United Nations (UN) defines sexual exploitation as “[a]ny actual or attempted abuse of a position of vulnerability, differential power, or trust, for sexual purposes, including but not limited to, profiting monetarily, socially or politically from the sexual exploitation of another”, and sexual abuse as “the actual or threatened physical intrusion of a sexual nature, whether by force or under unequal or coercive conditions” (ST/SGB/2003/13, p.1). These definitions can be found in the Secretary-General’s Bulletin on Protection from Sexual Exploitation and Abuse 2003, in which it also states that, “[u]nited Nations forces conducting operations under United Nations command and control are prohibited from committing acts of sexual exploitation and sexual abuse, and have a particular duty of care towards women and children” (ST/SGB/2003/13, p.1). Regardless, the truth remains, sexual exploitation and abuse (SEA) still persists in various missions.

In all humanitarian assistance, such as peacekeeping, one main principle of peacekeeping which derives from international humanitarian law is to “do no harm” (UNHCR, 2019). It is a peacekeepers duty to protect the vulnerable and to refrain from doing harm. However, events suggest that some peacekeepers do not fulfil their role of protectors.

The issue of SEA against women and children in various war-torn countries has existed for as long as there have been conflicts (Bartels et al., 2013) and has been reported throughout various peacekeeping missions. Developments in the recognition of SEA by UN peacekeepers can be traced back to the early 1990’s to UN peacekeeping missions in Bosnia and Herzegovina and Kosovo. By then the international community recognized the paramount impact that sexual violations committed against women and children have during armed conflict. Ever since then, cases of alleged SEA committed by UN peacekeepers have occurred frequently and in different missions around the world (Defeis, 2008).

The Democratic Republic of Congo (DRC) is known as the “rape capital” in the world. The country’s history is shattered with civil wars and brutal acts of sexual violence. In 1999 the UN’s Security Council authorized peacekeeping forces in the DRC and established the United Nations Organization Mission in the Democratic Republic of Congo (MONUC) to help bring peace and stability to the conflict-ridden country. Shortly after MONUC established, reports regarding SEA by UN peacekeepers emerged. The UN got strongly criticised by the international community in how they handled allegedly acts of SEA, and “in mid-2004 numerous high-level [U.N.] officials responded to the charges” (Defeis, 2008, p.187). The scandals in the DRC included acts such as rape, torture, sexual relations with girls

as young as 10 years old in exchange for food (Notar, 2006) and also raping of women with knives or sticks (Amnestyinternational, 2004). To solve the issue, the UN provided multiple resolutions and documents and even provided a gender reform, Resolution 1325, which would give the troop contributing countries (TCC) an insight on how to treat the local women in the countries they were deployed to. In spite of the many efforts from the UN with various resolutions and documents, the situation in the DRC remained unsolved (Notar, 2006). The question is then what are the reasons as to why peacekeepers continue performing acts of SEA when deployed and why have the documents and resolutions provided by the UN not put an end to this problem?

1.1. Aim and Research Questions

The aim with this thesis is to try to find the root factors as to why acts of sexual exploitation and abuse occur under the UN and how the UN handle these allegations. This is particularly vital since the people who are sent to preserve the peace by the UN end up doing the contrary. To be able to understand this phenomena I will be using four theories and apply them to a single case study about the DRC.

There will be two research questions that I will look into in this thesis. My research questions are:

- *Which factors contribute to sexual exploitation and abuse by UN peacekeepers?*
- *How does the UN handle these allegations?*

1.2. Theory and Method

There are four theories that have been used in this paper. The first one is feminist theory followed by militarized masculinity, social masculinity and finally impunity. These theories can either be applied separately or together since they are all interconnected to each other.

The method consist of a single case study in the DRC, which involves an in-depth examination of acts of SEA as well as its related contextual conditions. The case study will also be my focus point when applying the theories to analyse the issue. It is also important to mention that one can analyse SEA from a postcolonial perspective, which reflect the gender stereotypes and is reinforced by racial discrimination where the perpetrator exercising their belief that women of the “third world” are of inferior status to them. Another theory that also can be applicable in this case is the strategic rape theory, which is used as a tactic by military

forces to achieve military objectives or to cause humiliation to break up family bonds and even communities and can also be used as a means of genocide (Bitar, 2015). However, the focus in this thesis is about peacekeepers and not military tactics. Furthermore, I have chosen not to use a specific type within feminist theory since the core of the theory is about gender inequality.

1.3. Previous Research

Previous literature has mostly focused on studying the outcomes of peacekeeping missions and not enough scholars have actually addressed the actual consequences of SEA by peacekeeping (Nordås and Rustad, 2013). The literature on SEA in peacekeeping missions are mostly ruled by policy reports and case studies. However, many studies explain the reasons of SEA by applying theories such as a legal theory and the theory of militarized masculinity.

An extended part of the previous research has been focused on the legal aspects of the issue. Scholars have concluded that the main problem with SEA is due to immunity that results in impunity. Accordantly, different countries have different laws and regulations, this in turn makes it hard to prosecute potential perpetrators of SEA. Odello and Burke concluded that the problem lies within the legal regulations concerning the rights and duties of states to prosecute peacekeepers that commit acts of SEA during peacekeeping operations, creates “a de facto impunity” (2016). In the same token, legal feminist scholars also apply the law and make use of the legal systems to explain the reason. Yet, they concluded that the problem is not merely about immunity but rather the very foundation of the jurisdiction in a country, which is patriarchal and discriminating against women (Enloe, 1990; Karim and Beasley, 2016; Gilliard, 2012; Behr, 2011).

Militarized masculinity studies have discussed the construction of masculine identities during military training. Scholars such as Sandra Whitworth and Paul Higate claim that during military training soldiers get prepared to be aggressive and violent and thus soldiers masculinity changes to militarized masculinity (2004; 2007). Whitworth conducted interviews with trained soldiers and concluded that in the military, young men get promised to become “real men” and celebrate their aggressive elements of masculinity, which promotes violence (2004). Accordantly, there are various ways to explain why peacekeepers commit acts of sexual violence, however, it is vital to note that there is not only one way to explain this issue.

This paper will focus on the factors and root causes that contribute to SEA and will look closely into the social structures that creates unequal power relations.

1.4. Relevance for Human Rights

The issues of sexual exploitation and violence in wartime and peacekeeping operations are seldom brought up in the Western world's discussion in regards to gender or sexual violence in general, and are thus very important to shine a light on. SEA is a violation of international human rights norms. The lives of victims of SEA change forever and they are left without adequate help and in some cases even get excluded from their own families. Left with degrees of neglect, poor and alone, these victims end up on the streets or in worst case scenario, they have to sell their bodies in exchange for food or money. Accordantly, peacekeepers that commit acts of SEA against women and children are actually depriving them from some of their most fundamental rights; right to life and security, as described in the Universal Declaration of Human Rights (Unitednations, Art 3, 1948). Overall the subject of sexual exploitation and abuse is a very sensitive and delicate topic, especially in regards to the victims that are under-aged, and therefore it requires an insightful and respectful research approach.

1.5. Delimitations

The delimitations of this thesis extend to the reliance on secondary sources. Although, this thesis focus on a country in Africa, it has no access to primary sources written in an African native language or English, nor did it have access to primary sources when it comes to interviews made with victims and perpetrators of SEA. To find reports about the specific cases regarding peacekeepers that committed acts of SEA, was also problematic since the reports were not public. Further on, male and boys constitute a minority of victims of SEA but have not been focused on in this paper. It is also important to note that there is a lack of legal venues for victims of SEA but due to time limitation, focus on the victims and their remedies will not be included in this paper.

1.6. Contributing Factors of SEA

There are many factors contributing to the problem of SEA and many theories that can help explain the occurrence of SEA. One of the contributing factors is the existence of a culture of sexual exploitation that already persists in many of the countries that have experienced a higher number of SEA. Certainly, the infrastructure, attitudes and systems that are operating during a conflict are more likely to continue in peacetime and these conditions get even worse in the aftermath of war, especially for women (López, 2015). Consequently, a culture of sexual exploitation encourages abusive behaviour and also encourages its silent acceptance

since the victims that have been raped gets rejected by their families and also become socially stigmatised, hence the culture of silence. The worst case missions have occurred in countries where the socioeconomic situations are desperate and the local people are distressed for basic requirements like water and food (Wiker, 2016). Moreover, the history of the countries have often been violent with conflicts and civil wars. Due to the countries past instabilities, the culture of normalizing the concept of SEA is affected and this causes to reinforce the inequalities that are already present in today's society (Wiker, 2016). Feminist theory aims to change the existing patriarchal structures and include more women into the decision arena. The theory claims that women and girls who live in countries with higher levels of gender-based discrimination and unequal power relations "are at a much higher risk of sexual victimization" (Banwell, 2014, p.51). In a country like the DRC, women are generally disproportionately disadvantaged socially, economically and legally and are at a lower status to men. Thus, this unequal gender power relations results in an environment of SEA to thrive.

Some argue that the problem of SEA is not only related to gendered power relations but also to the jurisdictional immunity that the peacekeepers enjoy in territories where they are deployed to. Indeed, UN peacekeepers that are deployed on missions have impunity, which result in immunity. This means that they cannot be prosecuted for any alleged misconduct, such as SEA, by the UN or by the country in which they are deployed to. The jurisdiction of prosecution falls upon the troop contributing countries. Others have argued that the problem lays within the very core of military training, where soldiers get prepared to react quickly in aggressive and violent circumstances in which the masculinity of many soldiers changes creating a specific identity that they call "militarized masculinity" (Wiker, 2016; Whitworth, 2014; Enloe, 1990). Militarized masculinity possesses the traits and attitudes that are hyper-masculine and anything that can be considered as feminine will get ridiculed (Lopes, 2011). From uncertain manliness to strong and emotionless warriors to the dehumanizing of the "enemy", the notion associated with this theory is, that soldiers are entitled to have sexual encounters with whomever, however and wherever they want. By the same token, the theory of social masculinity stems from the argument of militarized masculinities but rather focus on the institutions and social structures to explain the issue of sexual exploitation.

1.7. Chapter Outline

The first chapter covers the introduction to the topic followed by aim and research question, then a brief mention regarding the chosen theories and method, previous research, relevance

for human rights, delimitations, contributing factors of SEA and finally chapter outline. Chapter two describe the different theories in depth while chapter three explain the method and material used in this paper. In chapter four an overall background about SEA in UN peacekeeping missions will be presented. Chapter five consist of a case study which begins with the background of the DRC followed by the UN mission and mandates of MONUSCO and MONUC in the DRC to end with the scandals of SEA in the DRC and UN's response to it. An analysis will be conducted in chapter six, where the theories will be used and applied. Conclusion will be found in chapter seven and lastly chapter eight consist of an reference list.

2. THEORIES OF SEA

In this section I will go through the main four theories; feminist theory, militarized masculinity, social masculinity and impunity. By splitting them up into different factors these theories affect and contribute to the issue of SEA. However, they can also be treated as a whole.

Feminist theory aims to understand the nature of gender inequalities and examines women's and men's social roles in the society. This theory impacts all institutions and aims to replace the current patriarchal.

Militarized masculinity is characterized by a combination of attitudes and traits that are hegemonic, hyper-masculine and also associated with the military. It contributes and aspires to acts of violence and demonstration of power. According to this theory, the "true man" has to be devoid of any feminine attributions, such as: soft, passive and peaceful (Whitworth, 2004).

Social masculinity focuses on the importance of social structures in the society. Most of the countries that require peacekeeping have a weak infrastructure and bad socio-economic conditions, this in turn creates a social situation in which the accountability and responsibility are limited, which the peacekeepers take advantage of.

The UN peacekeepers enjoy immunity during peacekeeping missions, meaning that they are protected by the UN and this is so that they can work without any limitations. Consequently, the UN does not have the legal authority to prosecute peacekeepers that are involved in acts of SEA, instead it is the responsibility of the peacekeepers home countries.

2.1. *Feminist Theory*

Feminist theory is a broad and contested term which consists of a set of ideas that reflect the diversity of women worldwide. Deriving from the belief that women are equal to men and not only valuable in relationship to men. Feminist theory impacts all institutions and call for the replacement of the current patriarchal order. Accordantly, the systems, structures, and disciplines in place must change to bring justice, fairness and equality for all women everywhere (Tong, 2001). This theory challenges the assumptions about 'maleness' and 'femaleness' as well as human nature (Tong, 2001) and believe that gender is a social construction that affects how both men and women act and think, as well as how their behavior is related to their own concept of gender (Gilliard, 2011).

Accordantly, feminist theory involves several types of issues but given my focus on SEA in particular, it is interesting to also consider feminist accounts of violence during war

time. Susan Brownmiller is one of the first pioneers in feminist theory, especially when it relates to sexual violence and rape by men during wartime. Brownmiller claims that rape for men is the basic weapon of force against women and also a test to a man's superior strength and triumph of his manhood (1997). Historically put, rape or sexual violence has always been a part of war. Many claim that the problem lays within the human anatomy, "when males discovered they could rape, they started doing it [and] if it were not this "accident of biology", rape would not exist" (Bitar, 2015, p. 27). Allegedly war is "enacted by men and men are subject to their biologically driven heterosexual needs; hence men rape" (Eriksson Baaz and Stern, 2013, p.6). Yet, this does not explain why some soldiers rape with sticks of wood, hot papers or broken glass (HRW, 2002), instead of actual penetration of the reproduction organ.

Some feminist scholars claim that the desire to exert power, control and dominance are the real reasons as to why acts of SEA happen (Behr, 2011; Brownmiller, 1997). Accordantly, patriarchal societies allow the perpetrator to declare his or her "manliness" through acts of dominance and power, which in some cases results in sexual violence (Brownmiller, 1997). For some soldiers the culture of militarized masculinity allows them to declare power and dominance through acts of sexual violence and consent both men and women to "claim authority on the basis of affirmative relationships with the military" (Reit, 2009, p.12). Yet, masculinity is socially constructed and therefore takes on different forms. For some, an individuals physical rhetoric such as; strength and toughness, are certified as masculine while others find competence and trustworthiness as a documentation of masculinity (Reirt, 2009). Since militarized masculinity has different forms, women who join the army need to conform to the masculine standards (Reirt, 2009). Indeed, some women demonstrate traits that are typically considered masculine, such as; aggression, power, strength and independence (Reirt, 2009).

Women in the military are faced with significant challenges. To be able for them to fit the warrior hero archetype "[t]hey first must overcome barriers of visual masculinity and socially constructed assumptions about gender in order to adopt traditionally masculine ideals" (Reirt, 2009, p.17). Thus, it is important to note that the relationship between the military and masculinity relates to all genders. However, the pressure to perform militarized masculinity can be more challenging for the ones who do not identify as men (Reirt, 2009).

In 1979, the Committee on the Elimination of Discrimination Against Women (CEDAW) was adopted by the UN General Assembly. The convention states that sexual violence is a subset of gender-based violence (GBV) and is described as "one of the most pervasive and systematic human rights violations in the world today" (Behr, 2011, p.11). Still,

men, women and children can be targets of GBV and it often intensifies and has a tendency to become more extreme in the event of crisis (Leatherman, 2013; Bastick, Grimm, and Kunz, 2007). The manifestations of GBV include acts such as; trafficking in women and girls, female genital mutilation, domestic abuse, marital rape, gang rape, non-penetrating sexual assault, enforced prostitution, punctured vaginas and the removal of breasts (Behr, 2011; Bastick, Grimm, and Kunz, 2007), which are all influenced by the social, economic, cultural and political factors within the country (Behr, 2011; Leatherman, 2013; Gilliard, 2012).

To prevent acts of SEA from happening during UN peacekeeping missions, the UN provided a variety of key documents that emphasizes the importance of gender mainstreaming in all aspects of peacekeeping missions, from the earliest stages of a mission's creation to its deployment and closure. These documents are aiming to "develop an active strategy to prevent and respond to incidents of" (Higate, 2003, p.3) SEA.

2.2. Militarized Masculinity

"What has remained neglected in the warming glow surrounding peacekeeping...is any sustained analysis of the overwhelming reliance in soldiers to conduct peacekeeping operations" (Whitworth, 2004, p.12).

The clear majority of UN personnel deployed on peacekeeping missions have been soldiers skilled in the arts of violence and the protection of nation and territory (Whitworth, 2004). The militarized masculinity theory claim that the masculine views and roles entrenched on young recruits in the military, which represent some of the most discriminatory, aggressive, and violent features of some men, are the reasons for their abusive behaviour during peacekeeping missions (Wiker, 2016).

Within the context of the army, militarized masculinity is constructed as the opposite of femininity and for masculinity to exist, it has to challenge femininity (Abrahamyan, 2017). "If femininity is associated with peace, masculinity is associated with war" (Abrahamyan, 2017, p.4). Thus, the functioning power relations linked to masculinity are more valued than to the ones linked to femininity. In order for females in the army to become members of the "group" they are expected to 'act like one of the guys', to be as a man and be more tougher and more violent than the guys (Höpfel, 2003). Female soldiers must neglect their feminine attributes and completely incorporate into the military service that is masculine in nature (Höpfel, 2003). To incorporate "into the military body is, therefore, achieved via a cancellation of the feminine...to e-maculate...to remove the ovaries, to make sexless" (Höpfel, 2003, p.28). "Either way they are dis-membered as females in order to

constructed/erected in relation to male members” (Höpfel, 2003, p.28). Consequently, masculinity is more privileged over femininity and by performing masculinity, the possibility to continue maintaining power and enjoy other privileges that derives from masculinity is accomplished (Abrahamyan, 2017). Hence, militarized masculinity is not about men or women, it is about the desire to control and exert power. Therefore, male to male sexual violence is no less gendered than female to male violence, it is a way of asserting power and masculinity (Abrahamyan, 2017).

Militarized masculinity contributes and aspires to the accomplishment of violence and power, while the army is an institution that produces violence (Abrahamyan, 2017). During military training, young recruits are trained and prepared to react quickly in highly violent and aggressive circumstances (Lopes, 2011) and to become killers and warriors. Feminist scholars, such as Sandra Whitworth (2004) and Cynthia Enloe (1990), argue that the masculinity of various soldiers transforms throughout this military training process, which creates a specific identity that they call “militarized masculinity”. Militarized masculinity is characterized by a combination of “traits and attitudes that are hyper-masculine, hegemonic, and are associated primarily with military soldiers” (Lopes, 2011, p.2). Those that have these traits and attributes of hyper masculine elements “can thus be seen as enforcing exploitative and abusive behaviour, as questionable behaviour is accepted and even encouraged for multiple years during military training” (Wiker, 2016, p.11).

Whitworth claim that soldiers are made and not born (2004). The celebration and reinforcement of making a soldier are “some of the most aggressive, and most insecure, elements of masculinity: those that promote violence, misogyny, homophobia, and racism” (2004, p.3). Following the same line as Whitworth, David Morgan also provide a description of some of the traits associated with militarized masculinity: “[t]he stance, facial expressions, and the weapons clearly connote aggression, courage, a capacity for violence, and sometimes, a willingness for sacrifice...” (1994, p.165). Despite far-reaching social, political and technological changes, the soldier still is a key symbol of masculinity (Morgan, 1994). Accordantly, with these features, militarized masculinity creates warriors or “machines”, that are ready to fight at command and that are seen as useful in time of conflict. This image of the warrior provides soldiers to survive violent conflicts and wars. Yet, it “can easily turn to violent and entitled behaviour outside those extreme military situations” (Wiker, 2016, p.11), such as during peacekeeping missions. In addition, some have suggested that the military’s primary responsibility is to teach manhood firstly, while teaching soldiering comes secondary (Whitworth, 2004). Furthermore, there are numerous of consequences from the construction

of militarized masculinity, such as the notion that soldiers are entitled to sexually assault and exploit when deployed on peacekeeping missions (Lopes, 2011; Whitworth, 2004). With the enforcement and encouragement of these hyper masculine traits that have existed for years, it is no surprise that peacekeepers often perceive the local population to be used without permission.

The critics developed by authors on masculine behaviour suggest that soldiers aspire to a form of masculinity, they are drawn to the notion of “domination of weaker individuals” (van der Mark, 2011, p.7). During training, this masculine behaviour is encouraged and exemplified, and all feminine traits and behaviour are ridiculed. Soldiers are seen as strong and if they display any emotions, except for anger, they are seen as weak and unmanly, they are “neither men nor soldier” (Whitworth, 2004, p.161). A soldiers’ characteristics get constantly questioned, and the soldier learns to “deny all that is ‘feminine’ and soft” (Whitworth, 2004, p.161), and if the soldiers fail to be “masculine” enough, they are mocked with degrading name calling, such as “sissy”, “lady”, “women”, “pussy”, “bitch”, “faggots” and “whores” (Whitworth, 2004; Simic, 2009).

Theorists who have studied both the concepts of militarism and masculinity claim that the connection between military organizations and hegemonic representations of masculinity is strong (Lopes, 2011). A crucial part of hegemonic depictions of militarized masculinity is the involvement to eliminate and dehumanizing the enemy in times of war (Lopes, 2011; Kadar, 2013). Whitworth points out that in order to dehumanize the enemy, one must first eliminate the “other” within themselves, which the military trainings provide with (Kadar, 2013). Basic military training contributes to nurturing the ideals of masculinity and manhood. However, this transformation to a militarized masculinity is most effective through the denigration of everything that is different, whether that be a woman, homosexuality, or people with disabilities (Kadar, 2013).

According to Kadar, “hegemonic masculinities’ dominance relies on its opposition to and competition with subordinated masculinities and femininities...and as masculinity is the valued term, it can be argued that femininity is merely a residual category, a foil or Other for masculinity to define itself against” (2013, p.23). Accordantly, to claim masculinity is therefore a positional claim in opposition to a feminine other, constructing it as the lesser of the two binaries (Kadar, 2013, p.24). Thus, it is not by coincidence that the insulting language that most new recruits face are gendered, raced, and homophobic in their nature. In fact, it teaches the young soldiers to deny and even obliterate the “other” within themselves. It can become very dangerous to dehumanize the “other” and to diminish all things considered

“feminine”, as it often can pave the way for sexual exploitation and abuse of women, outside the realm of military warfare (Lopes, 2011).

When talking about gender relations in regards to dehumanization of the “other”, it is important to mention that masculinities and femininities are “socially constructed identities that designates differences, roles and characteristics” (Behr, 2011, p.86) between the different sexes. Thus, in times of conflict, women are more exposed to threats to their security and this is partly because they are “‘othered’ through their gendered and ethnic identities” (Lopes, 2011, p.4). Consequently, the practice of teaching the soldiers to deny all that is feminine and soft constitute both the construction of the “other” and the “self” vis-à-vis the other (Kadar, 2013).

With the vast majority of personnel deployed on peacekeeping missions by the UN being soldiers that are trained to use violence, militarized masculinity can be “implicit within the identity of UN peacekeeping soldiers” (Lopes, 2011, p.5). Karim and Beardsley argue that sexual relationships in peacekeeping missions are central to soldiers identity and that these soldiers construct a part of their identity in relation to the local population (2016). The two scholars claim that “with sexual relationships so tied to peacekeeper identities, a ‘hyper-masculine’ culture that encourages tolerance for extreme sexual behaviours had evolved within peacekeeping missions” (2016, p.53).

However, the paradox is that peacekeeping missions depend on soldiers, yet it denies many of the traits and behaviours that define what it means to be a soldier (Lopes, 2011; Whitworth, 2004). Peacekeepers are supposed to perform military duties without being militaristic. Yet “soldiers with the same background and same training in combat are deployed in both missions where they actively have to seek and kill an enemy, as well as in those ones where they have to play the role of peace-builders” (Simic, 2009, p.399). Subsequently, peacekeepers are deployed on missions that apparently will “make a virtue out of otherwise unsoldierly skills” (Whitworth, 2004, p.12). However, these blue helmet soldiers are depicted as benign, compassionate, altruistic and neutral and are believed to bring a sense of security to the conflict areas which they seek to protect (Lopes, 2011).

As feminist scholar Cynthia Enloe describes it: “[t]he form of military force that is inspiring perhaps the greatest hope is the United Nations peacekeeping force. It inspires optimism because it seems to perform military duties without being militaristic” (Whitworth, 2004, p.12). Nevertheless, “[t]o date we in fact know amazingly little about what happens to a male soldier’s sense of masculine license when he dons the blue helmet or armband of the United Nations peacekeeper” (Whitworth, 2004, p.12). Thus, it is important to bear in mind

that not all peacekeepers possess the same traits and behaviours as others nor are all peacekeepers involved in sexually violent acts. However, since “contemporary military training practices are very similar across nations” (Behr, 2011, p.88), “militarized masculinity of soldiers cannot be assumed to automatically disappear during peacekeeping operations” (Lopes, 2011, p.6). Moreover, the violence and actions of hyper masculinity on behalf of some peacekeepers often imply the opposite, “confusion about “warriors” vs. “peacekeeper” identities underpins this iterated crisis of masculinity” (Kovatch, 2016, p.170).

Conceptualizations of militarized masculinity suggest that the openness and willingness towards sexual violence, and the self-proclaimed “license” to have individuals at their disposal at any time, is entrenched within the identity of many soldiers (Lopes, 2011). One can claim that these traits and attitudes are maintained within the identity of the same soldiers who are deployed on peacekeeping missions provided by the UN. However, implied within military training is the notion of power and manliness that can be achieved by violence. Yet, in many cases of sexual violence by UN peacekeepers are justified with the excuse that “boys will be boys” (van der Mark, 2012 p.8). Within this “boys will be boys” culture, a “wall of silence” has developed and it allows to protect the reputation of peacekeepers. This is seen as essential, therefore, instances of sexual abuse and exploitation may go unreported and moreover, if a peacekeeper act as a “whistle-blower” he would be stigmatized and punished and seen as an outcast (Defeis, 2008; Kovatch, 2016; Salvá, 2015). But it is not only a matter of protecting each other’s reputations and trying to fit in. In some cases, acts of SEA are committed as a result of peer pressure. Accordantly, Kovatch claim that when soldiers are surrounded in a hyper-masculinized militarized environment, they will be more prone to commit brutal acts of violence, this include even the ones who were not previously prone to violence and this is to gain the respect and approval of their peers (2016).

Some argue that the sexual desire and behaviour of men is explained by their biological attributes. “Men are depicted with a need for sexual release, hence having sexual relations with the local population” (van der Mark, 2012, p.8). However, to argue that it is a biological component ignores the fact that women also indulge in acts of SEA and it also ignores the significance of unequal power relations and social structures.

2.3. Social Masculinities

Critics have argued that the patterns of SEA are not fully captured by the concept of militarized masculinities but instead it “regulates peacekeepers and accordingly neglects variances within the troops” (Mattsson, 2016, p.10). However, Higate argues that the concept

of a predominantly oppressive “social masculinities” provide a better explanatory power since this approach better captures “the intersectionality of gender, power and sexuality” (2007, p.100).

Consequently, social masculinity stems from the argument of militarized masculinities, however it rather focus on the importance of social structures to explain the issue of sexual exploitation since social structures “incorporate the importance of context in explaining behaviour” (van der Mark, 2012, p.8). The theory of militarized masculinities have frequently been applied when explaining the prevalence of SEA in peacekeeping missions. However, some researchers have argued that this reasoning is not sufficient enough to explain this relationship (Higate, 2007; Mattsson, 2016).

Gender roles are socially and historically constructed and shaped by international and domestic politics, thus “the issue of masculinity itself must be understood as multifaceted and diverse which signifies that male peacekeepers and their masculinities are an intrinsically multifarious installation” (Mattsson, 2016, p.10). As a result, peacekeepers’ masculinities are not only shaped by military organizations, but also by other variable conditions such as religion, culture and class (Mattsson, 2016). Scholars like van der Mark (2012) and Kovatch (2016), claim that one of the explanatory factors for the reappearing of sexual exploitation of local women and children by peacekeepers is a result of the social and economic power relations which are based on a “supply-demand cycle whereby food or money is exchanged for sex” (van der Mark, 2012, p.8). The peacekeepers misuse their economic powers by providing basic necessities to those that are willing to pay through sexual favours (van der Mark, 2012). Some peacekeepers even believe that by exchanging food, resources or money for sexual favours, the local women are made more secure (Higate, 2007). Ultimately and accordantly to scholars, due to the social and economic power relations some peacekeepers ignore the harm and consequences of their actions and take advantage of the situation for their personal gain.

2.4. Impunity/Immunity

A common factor of this issue that should be mentioned is “to consider sexual violence as an inevitable consequence of war...[t]he sexual exploitation and abuse of women is viewed as something tightly, naturally and inevitably linked to the breakdown of law in a conflict-ridden state” (Lopez, 2015, p.9). Therefore, to sexually exploit and abuse are rather political acts, which are deeply rooted in the political economy of war rather than something inevitable or natural.

It has been argued that impunity for sexual violence can fuel a generalized culture of impunity as well as feeding the cycle of conflict (Anderson, 2010). Therefore, in order to understand why sexual exploitation and abuse keeps on reoccurring during peacekeeping missions, it is important to clarify *how* immunity works during these circumstances. UN peacekeeping missions consist of different categories of personnel. The operations can consist of military components, police components, and international civilian components (Zeid, 2005). Due to these divisions of labour, different kinds of immunity entails and in turn, different jurisdiction, rules and processes for investigating and punishing peacekeepers wrongdoing apply, and this is a central consideration when dealing with sexual exploitation by members of peacekeeping operations (Odello and Burke, 2016). The different categories and their jurisdiction are:

- United Nations staff members...have the status of officials under the 1946 Convention on the Privileges and Immunities of the United Nations (the General Convention) and are thus immune from legal process in the host State in respect of acts performed in their official capacity (Zeid Report, Article A.1 p.32, 2005).
- United Nations civilian police and military observers are considered as experts on mission in the meaning of the 1946 General Convention and are also immune from legal process in the host State. “Including immunity from personal arrest and detention...immunity from legal process of every kind in respect of...acts done by them in the course of performance of their mission” (Zeid Report, Article A.15 p.36, 2005).
- Military members of the military component of the mission have the privileges and immunities set out in the status-of-forces agreement (SOFA) and “members of peacekeeping operations shall be subject to the exclusive jurisdiction of their respective participating States in respect of any criminal offences committed in the host State” (Zeid Report, Article A.27 p.28, 2005). The model SOFA provides that “criminal jurisdiction and disciplinary matters over military members of military contingents stay with the sending State” (Zakrisson, 2015 p.16).

Accordingly, representatives of the UN may under certain circumstances enjoy immunity. The reason for the concept of immunity is based on “considerations of functional necessity and aims to facilitate for State officials and officials of international organizations [such as the UN] to effectively carry out their functions” (Zakrisson, 2015, p.16). According to Article 105 of the UN charter, UN staff members in peacekeeping operations cannot be prosecuted by

the host States jurisdiction, “[t]he Organization shall enjoy in the territory of each of its Members such privileges and immunities as are necessary for the fulfilment of its purposes.” Furthermore, “[r]epresentatives of the Members of the United Nations and officials of the Organization shall similarly enjoy such privileges and immunities as are necessary for the independent exercise of their functions in connection with the Organization” (Article 105 (2)). However, the UN Secretary-General has the power to waive the immunity granted to peacekeepers where he contends the immunity will impede the course of justice (Odello and Burke, 2016). The rules of immunity referred to above does not apply to military personnel, which is a major problem since they consist of the largest group of personnel in peacekeeping missions and the “majority of allegations of misconduct reported is directed against military members of national contingents” (Zakrisson, 2015, p.16). These Blue Helmets criminal jurisdiction and disciplinary matters are attributed to the sending State and thus prosecution and investigation of crimes that are committed by members of a national contingent should therefore be carried out by the domestic authorities of the sending State. Instead, members of military contingents enjoy the privileges and immunities laid down in the model SOFA agreement; military members are “subject to the exclusive jurisdiction of their respective participating States” (Model SOFA, A/45/594, p.12 Art. 47 (b)) for any criminal offences they may commit. Consequently, to prosecute these crimes the sending State must have a domestic provision in place enabling the prosecution of acts committed extraterritorially, which is not the case in all states (Odello and Burke, 2016).

The Memorandum of Understanding (MoU) agreement between troop-contributing countries and the UN, places the responsibility of prosecution on the TCC’s for any crimes committed by its military members on missions. However, this agreement has no official monitoring mechanism over State prosecution and investigation (Odello and Burke, 2016). The UN has no enforcement power and does not have the capacity to exercise criminal jurisdiction over its personnel and consequently “state laws may not be applicable extraterritorially to cover these crimes” (Odello and Burke, 2016, p.848) and further on, the State’s legal system may be highly dysfunctional and a fair trial cannot be guaranteed. Accordantly, a different State may instigate a legal process against the perpetrators of sexual violations but if the different State chooses not to prompt a legal process, the result is impunity. Even if a legal process is instigated by another State or other home State against UN officials or an expert on mission, difficulties in accessing witnesses and evidence may arise, including difficulties in securing the cooperation of the host State so that an effective prosecution and investigation can be carried out (Odello and Burke, 2016). Furthermore, legal

institutions of the host State may not be strong enough and sexual offences committed abroad may not be considered a crime.

Indeed, different countries have different laws, culture and social and economic structures and have evolved differently to the issue of SEA. The dilemma is whether UN should choose peacekeepers based on countries that are more evolved in their culture, economic and social structures or choose peacekeepers from less evolved countries. Accordantly, sexual violence is the eruption of a society's social and cultural development and is manifested in the historically unequal power relations between men and women, which is reflected in both private and public life (Behr, 2011). In many TCC's gender inequality is very low and some countries severely lack proper legislation in their domestic laws regarding sexual and gender-based violence (Kovatch, 2016). For instance, "[i]n Bangladesh, the first country in the ranking of military and police contributions to UN operations...prostitution is legal" (López, 2015, p.10). Thus, the issue is not merely immunity from a legal process, instead the problem is immunity from prosecution and investigation by the host State (Odello and Burke, 2016). Moreover, it is not solely immunity that is the main problem but also "the sense of impunity that such immunity creates, particularly in relation to the violation of the human rights of the victims" (Odello and Burke, 2016, p.850).

To save face and avoid risking any negative publicity, some states may not even have the will to investigate and prosecute abuses and crimes committed by their personnel while deployed abroad (Zakrisson, 2015). Furthermore, the TCC's and the UN are unwilling to admit that their soldiers are capable of committing serious sexual crimes and offenses in the host countries where they are deployed, since "the image of a soldier who sacrifices himself to protect "vulnerable" women and children in a hostile and dangerous environment serves as a national pride icon, desirable for sustaining militarism and legitimacy for occupying another country" (Simic, 2009, p.397). No country is willing to embarrass themselves in the eyes of the international community and be "the nation whose citizens, instead of protecting "vulnerable people," go overseas and rape or otherwise sexually abuse children and women" (Simic, 2009, p.397). Thus, "[t]he requirement of double criminality, as certain activities in one state may not be considered criminal in the country of origin of the alleged perpetrator; the lack of criminal provisions in national criminal codes (both civil and military); the possible conflict of jurisdiction by different states; the exclusion of jurisdiction for the host state through a MoU and Status of Forces Agreement (SOFA) between the UN, the host state and the TC[C]S, all contribute, in different ways, to limitations of prosecution" (Odello and Burke, 2016, p.844). All of these different mechanisms, "create a de facto impunity that

leaves victims of exploitation and abuses without adequate protection and remedy” (Odello and Burke, 2016, p.844).

Thus, with all the already existing documents containing legal frameworks, agreements between TCC’s and the UN and the Zero tolerance policy, the UN have failed to put an end to the atrocities. In another attempt to possibly put an end to the problem, the UN developed several other documents and this time about specific guidance and policies, under which are general rules and codes of conducts for the personnel on peacekeeping operations to follow. Ultimately, SEA violates the universally recognized international legal norms and standards and such behaviour is prohibited and unacceptable for the UN staff (van der Mark, 2012). There are two publications created by the Department of Peacekeeping Operations in 1996; “We Are United Nations Peacekeepers” and “Ten Rules: Code of Personal Conduct for Blue Helmets”. The “Ten rules code of personal conduct for blue helmets” consist of rules that peacekeeping personnel must follow while on peacekeeping missions. The first rule states that the peacekeepers have to “[d]ress, think, talk, act and behave in a manner befitting the dignity of a disciplined, caring, considerate, mature, respected and trusted soldier, displaying the highest integrity and impartiality. Have pride in your position as a peace-keeper and do not abuse or misuse your authority” (UN, 2003). Rule number four focuses on what peacekeepers must not do; “[d]o not indulge in immoral acts of sexual, physical or psychological abuse or exploitation of the local population or United Nations staff, especially women and children” (UN, 2003). This document makes it clear that the UN does not tolerate acts of SEA and demands that their staff act and behave appropriately.

We expect peacekeepers to bring peace and stability in the regions to which they are deployed and their employer, the UN, expects them to “act in accordance with all UN policies, codes of conduct, and mandates” (Behr, 2011, p1). Accordingly, “United Nations peacekeeping is a noble calling and serves as an integral part of the world’s efforts to maintain peace and security. Sexual exploitation and abuse by peacekeeping personnel must first be eliminated and then prevented from happening again” (A/59/710, p.2). Instead, in many situations and due to different factors such as immunity, peacekeepers do the opposite and have a different view about what a peacekeeper ought to do.

3. METHOD AND MATERIAL

This section will provide with a description about the chosen method and materials.

3.1 Case Study

A case study is “[t]he detailed examination of a single example of class or phenomena” (Flyvberg, 2006, p.2), and “can be defined as an intensive study about a person, a group of people or a unit” (Gustafsson, 2017, p.2). In this thesis, the use of the single case study method is helpful since the research is of an explanatory nature and helps in answering “how” and “why” questions (Yin, 2003, p.9) and the focus is a group of people, peacekeepers. The single case study is a very suitable option as its “focus is on a contemporary phenomenon within some real-life context ” (Yin, 2003, p.1) and involves “multiple sources of information...and reports” (Gustafsson, 2017, p.2), which can help to provide a perspective for understanding the phenomenon of SEA in the DRC. Furthermore, this thesis has focused on one single case study, the DRC, which helps to “have a deeper understanding of the exploring subject” (Gustafsson, 2017, p.11).

Like any other research methods, case studies have its strengths and weaknesses. In this particular case the weakness lies in being bias (Yin, 2003). The bias in this lays within the focus on peacekeepers as perpetrators and ignores cases in which peacekeepers are the victims. Therefore, not all of the evidence has been presented fairly since the focus is on male peacekeepers as perpetrators of SEA, when there is also cases about female peacekeepers that have been involved in acts of SEA. It is also important to mention that reliability is also considered to be a weakness. However since reliability lies in repeating the same case study as conducted before and arrive to the same conclusion and findings (Yin, 2003), which is proven to be the case in this thesis, it is therefore not considered to be a weakness. The strengths with this method however is the intensive study of a phenomenon, which is investigated and explored in a deep and thorough way, which gives the readers a detailed and in-depth view of the particular event or phenomenon (Yin, 2003; Flyvberg, 2006).

3.2 Material

In order for me to receive first-hand information from victims of SEA by UN peacekeepers in the DRC, I would had to conduct interviews. However, this was not possible due to the time limit and language barrier. Therefore, I have relied on reports by the NGO’s: Human Rights Watch and Save the Children, which interviewed several of the victims and also interviews

conducted by journalist from Washington Post and The Guardian who met with victims. To be able to know about the allegations against peacekeepers in the DRC, I read the UN's OIOS Investigation Report and also articles in the newspapers: AP News, The Guardian and Frontline.

Regarding the response by the UN about the allegations, I relied on numerous reports such as: Zeid Report, Resolution 1325 and SG Bulletin, that was provided with recommendations. The actions done by UN came in form of resolutions. Resolution 1325, aimed to incorporate more gender mainstreaming in peacekeeping missions and Code of Conduct was to be seen as guidelines in what not to do during a peacekeeping mission and was primarily for the peacekeepers in the DRC. However, these reports and resolutions are not legally binding.

The use of the legal Convention on the Privileges and Immunities of the United Nations and the legal Charter of ICC was used to understand the problem with impunity.

An expanded part of my research was used with the help of secondary sources. These secondary sources contribute in finding the factors that contribute to sexual exploitation and abuse by UN peacekeepers, due to their use of the theories chosen in this paper. In their books, feminist researches Enloe and Whitworth, have provided with analytical tools to the concept of militarized masculinity in peacekeeping missions. Articles in academic journals done by feminist and legal scholars helped me to apply feminist theory, social masculinity theory and the issue with impunity to the problem. Also a few bachelor's and master's thesis with case studies about the DRC was used. All of these sources were useful and helped me to arrive to a conclusion.

4. BACKGROUND OF UNITED NATIONS PEACEKEEPING

The UN was established in 1945 after the Second World War by 51 countries. It currently consist of 193 countries with four goals in common; to maintain the international peace and security, promote social progress and develop strong relations among nation states, create better living standards and maintain human rights (UN, 2015). To promote this stabilization and co-operation of the world, the international organization established peacekeeping operations, concentrating in maintaining security and help rebuild countries and societies to achieve international peace and stability. The first peacekeeping mission began in 1948 with the United Nations Truce Supervision Organization (UNTSO) deployed in the Middle East to bring stability to the area and since then, 71 peacekeeping operations have been carried out by the UN and with 16 ongoing missions (UN Peacekeeping, 2019). In 1988, the Nobel Peace Prize was awarded to the United Nations Peacekeeping Forces for their many peace agreements, ceasefires and for bringing stability in many conflict-ridden areas (Nobelprize, 1988). Although, the successes of peacekeeping missions are many there have also been many unfortunate failures.

4.1. Sexual Exploitation and Abuse by UN Peacekeepers

Sexual exploitation and abuse is a serious problem that keeps on reoccurring during peacekeeping operations, despite of the UN policies, codes of conduct and mandates. The international organization have strongly been criticized by the international community regarding of how they handle allegedly violations of SEA for more than twenty years. In 2015, as a response to allegedly sexual violations by UN peacekeeping personal in the Central African Republic (CAR), the UN established numerous resolutions and documents for the elimination of SEA within the organization. In a letter to the President of the General Assembly, the Secretary General openly writes about the problem with SEA; “[t]he reality of prostitution and other sexual exploitation in a peacekeeping context is profoundly disturbing to many because the United Nations has been mandated to enter into a broken society to help it, not to breach the trust placed in it by the local population...the Organization should not in any way increase the suffering of vulnerable sectors of the population, which has often been devastated by war or civil conflict” (A/59/710, p.8). Furthermore, the Secretary General concluded that the problem with SEA is due to the different categories of personnel; “difficulty of dealing with sexual exploitation and abuse is compounded by the fact that a peacekeeping operation may

have up to five categories of personnel” (A/59/710, p.4), which are protected by different rules and disciplinary procedures.

4.2. Allegations Against UN Peacekeepers

In today's multidimensional peacekeeping missions, peacekeepers are deployed to “facilitate the political process, protect civilians, assist in the disarmament, demobilization and reintegration of former combatants, support the organization of elections, protect and promote human rights and assist in restoring the rule of law” (UN peacekeeping, 2018). However, allegations of SEA create a negative outlook on the UN and the peacekeeping missions will further on prevent a successful transformation of peace and stability to the host country. It still remains a taboo topic to discuss allegations of SEA by UN peacekeepers, yet, it is “vital to explore if peacekeeping operations continue to help establish order and peace” (van der Mark, 2012, p.5)

Allegations of SEA by peacekeepers emerged in 1993 with the UN's mission to Cambodia. It was reported that “around 25,000 children were fathered by peacekeepers” (Fürer, 2017, p.1) and an increase of prostitution and human trafficking had blossom. Further reports of SEA followed from Bosnia and Herzegovina, Haiti, the Democratic Republic of Congo (DRC), East Timor, Liberia, and Sierra Leone (Karim and Beardsly, 2016, p.101). Since the 1990's the phenomenon of SEA by peacekeepers has risen to an epidemic problem (Fürer, 2017, p.1).

In 2004, stories of the alleged involvement in “survival sex” and rape with women and children in the Congo began to emerge. Multiple media and NGO's covered the scandals, and their reports revealed horrendous exploitation by peacekeepers which included acts such as: rape, torture and sexual relations with girls as young as 10 in exchange for food (Notar, 2006; Lopez, 2013). One case involved a French logistic employee that had hundreds of videotapes of himself torturing and sexually abusing naked girls (Wax, 2005). Other reports told of young girls raped by militias and then abandoned by their families. With their honour lost, poor, desperate and starving, they found themselves “obligated” to trade sex for small amount of money or food, in what Congolese call “survival sex” (Notar, 2006).

5. CASE STUDY

This case study examines complex phenomena in their natural setting in order to increase understanding of the issue of SEA.

5.1. Background of The Democratic Republic of The Congo

The region that is now the Democratic Republic of the Congo has had a turbulent history, characterized by political and violence turmoil. As a Belgian colony from the beginning of the twentieth century until the 1960s, its struggle for independence was destabilizing as the other regions throughout the country ended up fighting each other for power (Behr, 2011). The 1994 Rwandan genocide of the Tutsi ethnic group, directed by members of the Hutu majority government and the shaky central government, set the stage for many violent and unstable years in the history of the Congo. Around two million Rwandan refugees fled to eastern Congo and soon enough the refugee camps turned into an army base for the Rwandan Tutsi tribe (Nieuwenhuizen, 2013). The Tutsi tribe terrorized the local population and in 1996 the Congolese forces pushed the tribe out of the Congo (Reyntjens, 1999). In response to this, Ugandan and the Rwandan Tutsi forces invaded the Congo and joined the opposition in the country and overthrew the country's dictator. This is known as the first Congo war (Nieuwenhuizen, 2013). In 1997, rebel forces overthrew the government and established the Democratic Republic of Congo (DRC), however, the violence continued as new rebellions ignited, spreading destruction to neighbouring areas. The former dictator was replaced by a rebel leader who after a while turned on his Ugandan and Rwandan allies and expelled them from the DRC. One year after, Rwandan and Ugandan forces invaded the DRC and this led to the second war, also known as the "first African world war" (Reyntjens, 1999, p.247). Violent and rebellious conflicts followed the nation as the two Congolese Civil Wars brought more destruction, which resulted in the losses of millions of people (Wiker, 2016). However in itself, the DRC is a factor of destabilization with nine neighbouring countries in which seven of them are acutely unstable (Reyntjens, 1999). Consequently, if the DRC was to "re-emerge as a centrally controlled coherent polity, this would not necessarily lead to regional stability" (Reyntjens, 1999, p.250).

From 1998 to 2003, combatants in the DRC used disturbing and brutal acts of sexual violence as a weapon of war and systematically attacked civilians. The practise of sexual violence was a tool of the patriarchal society that were used as a mechanism for maintaining power and masculine authority (Behr, 2011). It was a way for combatants to accomplish

power by inflicting violence in different forms. Targeting mostly women and girls, but also men and boys. Getting beaten in the genitals with rifles, getting raped (Bastick, Grim and Kunz, 2007) and also forcing family men to sexually violate their daughters, sister, and mothers at gun point (UNFPA, 2008). The social system of patriarchy allows male domination and implies institutionalization of male rule and privilege (Karim and Beardsley, 2016) and by committing acts of SEA, the combatant displayed their power. Indeed, reports of combatants raping women with sticks of wood, hot papers, broken glass, corns of cob, knives, bayonets and sometimes even fire their guns into the victim's vagina or mutilating them with razor blades or knives was reported (HRW, 2002). Some combatants attacked girls as young as five years old or elderly women as old as eighty, some killed their victims while others left their victims to die of their injuries (HRW, 2002).

An overall of at least 200,000 Congolese women and girls have suffered from sexual violence and in MONUSCO an estimate of 36 victims of sexual violence everyday (Behr, 2011). In light of these numbers, Margot Wallström, the UN special representative on sexual violence in conflict, describes the DRC as “the rape capital of the world” (UN News, 2010). According to Wallström and Dr. Margaret Agama, the UNFPA representative for the DRC, the core of the problem is impunity, which results in weak application of the law on sexual violence that allows the TCC's personnel to act with impunity (UN News, 2010; UNFPA, 2008).

5.2. UN Missions to The DRC - MONUC and MONUSCO

The Rwandan genocide in 1994 set the phase for many violent and unstable years in the history of the DRC. Violent conflicts erupted throughout the nation as the Congolese Civil Wars brought instability and destruction and resulted in the losses of millions of people (Wiker, 2016) and the violence continued on after the establishment of the DRC in 1997. Eventually, in 1999, the conflict-ridden period was brought to an end as the UN Security Council called for a ceasefire and the warring parties signed the Lusaka Ceasefire Agreement (UN, 1999).

In order to sustain the ceasefire and promote the peaceful liaison between all parties that signed the agreement, the Security Council established the United Nations Organization Mission in the Democratic Republic of Congo (MONUC). MONUC's mandate got expanded after a while from allowing personnel to take “the necessary action” including lethal force, to fulfil their mission, protect themselves, other personnel, civilians, UN equipment and the effectiveness of their operations” (Behr, 2011, p.60) to monitor the implementation of the

peace agreement and other related tasks such as: facilitating humanitarian assistance and monitoring human rights, with special regards to vulnerable groups like children and women (Nieuwenhuizen, 2013). More than forty TCC's provided with personnel for MONUC with the primary contributors from India, Bangladesh, Pakistan and Nepal (Behr, 2011). Although, the operation was successful in many ways, as it reinforced the country's first free elections in 46 years (Wiker, 2016), the DRC was still suffering from violent fighting in 2000, despite the presence of UN troops. Because of this, the UN Secretary-General, Kofi-Annan, proposed a reorientation of the mission to protect the security in key areas of the country (UN, 2000). Alan Doss, the Special Representative of the Security-General for MONUC, explained that MONUC has the "longest list of mandated tasks ever handed down to a mission by the Security Council" (Behr, 2011, p.62).

The mission's mandate for MONUC kept on expanding to include more cooperation and training with the local governments' army and police forces (HRW, 2009). In 2007, MONUC was ordered to help build up and train the capacity of the Congolese forces. Regardless of multiple trainings, including gender training received by MONUC's personnel, the Congolese remained confused about what consent was, assuming that sex with minors was consensual as long as the person was paid (HRW, 2009). In 2004, the mandate was yet again expanded and the MONUC's tasks now included: improving the border security, providing support to conflict resolution in politically violent areas and contributing to the security of the country (UN, 2000). By this stage MONUC received international attention and a demand for reinforcements was made from different humanitarian organizations as the true scale of SEA situation came to light.

To properly depict the new phase the country had reached, MONUC was renamed in July 2010 to The United Nations Organization Stabilization Mission in the Democratic Republic of the Congo (MONUSCO). MONUSCO's "mandate included continued support of the government with the peace consolidation and stabilization efforts, the fight against the impunity with which human rights violations have been committed and the protection of UN personnel, other humanitarian personnel and civilians" (Behr, 2011, p.64). MONUSCO is the largest peacekeeping mission ever established by the UN, with the largest personnel from "India, Pakistan, Bangladesh, Uruguay and South Africa" (Behr, 2011, p.64). Moreover, both MONUC and MONUSCO had the "highest rates of SEA by peacekeepers across all missions since data on the topic first started to be collected" (Kovatch, 2016, p.158).

5.3. The Scandal and The Response by The UN

Throughout history, rape has been a constant aspect of warfare and is used as a brutal and systematic weapon against the civilian populations. Even after a conflict have ended “the post-conflict environment remains hostile towards women...[and] in many post-conflicts societies there are ‘forceful attempts to define women’s roles and rights as secondary to those of men’” (Meger, 2010, p.121). Thus, the occurrence of sexual violence during conflict is a “reflection of the social attitudes towards women even in peacetime...and can be seen as a continuance of the violence women experience in times of peace” (Meger, 2010, p.121).

In 2000, rumours started to spread regarding incidents of SEA by UN personal in the DRC and as a result, the UN Office of Internal Oversight Services (OIOS) and the Office of the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR) opened an investigation to address and investigate these allegations (Burckhardt, 2010). The OIOS investigated seventy-two allegations in the DRC, in which the majority of the victims were between twelve and eighteen years old (Notar, 2006). Six of the cases, involving under aged girls, were validated, in two of the cases the evidence were ““convincing but not fully substantiated”, and in eleven cases, there were evidence of peacekeepers sexual abuse but it was not corroborated [and] in none of the nineteen cases did the peacekeepers admit any wrongdoing” (Notar, 2006, p.418).

To fully tackle the issue, the Security Council introduced a gender reform, resolution 1325, also known as, SC 1325, with the purpose to “outline actions that were to be taken by the UN and member states to incorporate a gender mainstreaming policy in peace and security policies” (van der Mark, 2012, p.10). The resolution pointed out that peacekeeping personnel should receive training on the right and needs of women and since it was the first time the Security Council considered the importance of women’s experiences in conflict and post conflict situations, the resolution was unique (van der Mark, 2012). The SC 1325 covers a variety of issues, such as the importance of including women in peace processes, the need to protect women during conflict and gender mainstreaming in peace missions as well as in the UN system (UN, 2000). This was considered to be a landmark step in raising awareness about the paramount impact that armed conflict has on women and girls as well as “acknowledging the crucial role women can play in conflict resolution and peacebuilding” (Kadar, 2013, p.38). Moreover, to be able to prevent SEA, the incorporation of gender perspective is seen as crucial, since it “reinforces a zero tolerance towards violence against women” (van der Mark, 2012, p.10).

In the DRC women are seen as the “weaker” sex and as a weapon of civil war, rape has been used frequently in the DRC, affecting the population living in the eastern provinces

since 1998 (Meger, 2010). Therefore, to incorporate a gender mainstreaming policy in a country, where women are already seen as “less important”, was considered a failure. Furthermore, the responsibility to provide such gender-awareness training to both military and civilian police personnel participating in peacekeeping operations, lays on the Member States (Lopes, 2011) and “it is not mandatory for all personnel to receive basic or specialized training” (Lopes, 2011, p.11).

The MONUC and MONUSCO missions in the DRC have the highest rates of SEA by UN peacekeepers across all missions since the first collection of data on the topic (Kovatch, 2016). The first incident of SEA in the DRC happened in 2004, where stories about UN peacekeepers allegedly involved in rape of children and women emerged (Notar, 2006).

In the DRC, a girls virginity is very important in order for her to be a prospective bride. When raped, the girls lose their honour and sometimes even get rejected by their families and the consequences results in girls selling their body for means of survival. The war-shattered society left many people in extreme poverty and in order to stay alive girls engaged in what the Congolese call “survival” or “obligation” sex, where young girls trade sex for “a mug of milk, a cold soda or...a single dollar” (Wax, 2005). Sometimes girls have sex with the peacekeepers in UN cars or at their camps (Notar, 2006). One case involved a sixteen years old girl who got raped by a peacekeeper while gathering food in the field, after the incident the girl began to trade her body for sex, “she negotiated to have sex with one Moroccan peacekeeper but then five other Moroccan peacekeepers raped her” (Notar, 2016, p.417).

In response to the Washington Post reports in 2004 of allegations of SEA in DRC, the OIOS conducted a comprehensive report about the allegedly cases. In light of the OIOS report, the UN Under-Secretary for peacekeeping operations sent a special investigation team to the DRC in 2005 to create a SEA focal-point network composed of all UN agencies, programmes and funds in the country (S/2005/167). The United Nations Division of Peacekeeping Operations (DPKO) established a website for the mission’s personnel with clear guidance on what constitutes SEA as well as reporting mechanisms and a hotline for confidential reporting (S/2005/167). Yet, another resolution was issued in the beginning of March 2005 regarding the DRC, which extended MONUC’s mandate to October 2005 and condemned “U.N. peacekeepers from Morocco, Pakistan and Nepal of seeking to obstruct U.N. efforts to investigate a sexual abuse scandal that has damaged the United Nations’ standing in Congo” (Burekhardt, 2010, p.101). The resolution yet again reaffirmed its concern about acts of SEA by the UN personnel and asked the SG to ensure compliance with the zero

tolerance policy on SEA, to investigate, discipline and penalize those found to be responsible as well as provide support to the victims (S/RES/1592).

By the end of March 2005, the UN issued a comprehensive report recommending different ways to prevent SEA by peacekeepers. In the Zeid report, the UN Secretary-General, Kofi Annan, condemned the abuse by peacekeepers in the DRC and stated that how the wrongdoings by peacekeepers highlights and urgently require the need for preventative measures to discourage future misconduct (A/59/710) and also confirmed that SEA by peacekeeping personnel “is not a new phenomenon” (A/59/710 p.7). The report further emphasized that peacekeepers who commit SEA while on mission “damages the image and credibility of a peacekeeping operation and damages its impartiality in the eyes of the local population... The ill discipline engendered by sexual exploitation and abuse also degrades the effectiveness of the peacekeeping operation, especially in times of crisis” (A/59/710, p.9). The report affirmed that while important efforts are under way to address SEA by peacekeepers, they have been “ad hoc and inadequate to deal with the problem” (A/59/710, p.9) and what is needed is a fundamental change in the “prevention, identification, and response” (A/59/710, p.9). In spite of the many official efforts by the UN through resolutions and reports to fight this phenomenon, the reports show that sexual abuse continues to occur. The media continued to report that over one hundred local women throughout the DRC claimed that MONUC personnel had committed a variety of sexual crimes. The OIOS made an investigation into 72 allegations but were only able to substantiate seven claims (Behr, 2011).

One year after the resolutions and the Zeid report, another story of SEA by UN peacekeepers in DRC was reported, this time about a 16 year old girl selling her body in a brothel; “[t]he best [customers] are from the UN peacekeeping force, particularly the South Africans and the Indians” (Burckhardt, 2010, p.101). Two years after, in 2008, the NGO ‘Save the Children’ released its report “No One to Turn To”, stating that “[c]hildren as young as six are trading sex with aid workers and peacekeepers in exchange for food, money, [and] soap...” (Csáky, 2008, p.5). It was stated in a report by the OIOS that 10 girls had given birth or were pregnant with children allegedly fathered by peacekeepers (A/61/841). Regardless of the OIOS investigation, peacekeepers continued to commit sexual violence and “not a single peacekeeper admitted that he had engaged in sexual relations with any Congolese girls” (OIOS, 2007, p.9). In 2006 additional 217 allegations were filed against a total of 75 peacekeepers and only one allegation was substantiated (OIOS, 2007). Accordantly, a total

number of 623 allegations of SEA against MONUC personnel were established between the years 2004-2009 (Behr, 2011).

In response to these allegations, MONUC established more restrictions on its personnel, which included; “a non-fraternization policy, a curfew for military personnel, off-limits areas and the requirement of military personnel wearing their uniforms at all times when they are outside of their base” (Behr, 2011, p.65). In spite the anti-SEA policies created by the UN, the DRC was still unstable and the two missions, MONUC and MONUSCO, were singlehandedly responsible for the increase of allegations of SEA cases from 2008 to 2009 (Behr, 2011).

In 2016, the international organization conducted yet another resolution, UN Security Council Resolution 2272, when further allegations surfaced in the DRC concerning UN peacekeepers involvement in sexual relations with minors and also paternity claims. In line with the zero tolerance policy, this resolution expressed deep concern about the continued allegations and the under-reporting of SEA by their peacekeepers (S/RES/2272), yet with no adequate progress. However, in 2017, a Romanian peacekeeper got suspended for getting an underage girl pregnant. The peacekeeper was among five other peacekeepers accused of acts of SEA within the first three months of 2017 (BBC, 2017). Yet, the allegations did not end there. In 2018, a journalist interviewed Annie, a young girl whose parents got murdered by a rebel group in front of her, and then she was gang raped by them (Miller, 2018). To help and protect the people the government soldiers arrived to the town, but instead they gang raped her too and at that point Annie fled but she was still not safe, she came across a UN peacekeeper who also raped her, although his purpose was to protect her (Brannen, 2018). In total, the UN has recorded over 2,000 allegations of sexual exploitation and abuse by UN peacekeepers around the world over the past 13 years and the numbers are increasing (Larson and Dodds, 2017).

In March 2018, the Security Council adopted Resolution 2409 and renewed the mandate of the MONUSCO, extending it until 31 March 2019 with more focus mandate to help protect the civilians, to hold all perpetrators of SEA accountable and “to take the necessary measures to ensure full compliance of all personnel in MONUSCO with the United Nations zero-tolerance policy on sexual exploitation and abuse” (UN, 2018).

As the allegations in the DRC surfaced and repeated reports about SEA continued to appear, it became even clearer that the measures currently in place to address SEA in peacekeeping operations were manifestly inadequate and that a radical change in approach was needed. Regardless of the many efforts made by the UN with different resolutions and

rules, when peacekeepers are placed in countries such as the DRC, which have a high tolerance for SEA and also a strong culture for impunity, the risk for conforming to such behaviour increases (Wiker, 2016).

6. ANALYSIS

This chapter provides an analysis of UN peacekeepers in the DRC as perpetrators of SEA and the reasons as to why these peacekeepers commit acts of SEA in the DRC. Three reports from the UN has been used in the analysis; Zeid report also known as zero tolerance policy; Code of Conduct and Resolution 1325 and two documents; Secretary-General's Bulletin on Protection from Sexual Exploitation and Abuse and the Convention on the Privileges and Immunities of the United Nations. One interview from the newspaper, The Guardian, was also used. The time frame of the reports, documents and interview analysed in this section was between April 2018 – May 2019.

6.1. Feminist Theory and SEA

Feminist scholars have argued that the institutional silence and impunity on SEA, which has pervaded these past decades, are inherently linked to gender relations of power and of patriarchal and militarised notions “that marginalise gendered forms of insecurity, such as sexual and gender-based violence” (Smith, 2017, p.410). Indeed, sexual violence are natural outcomes, evitable by economic and political actions produced by social and gender inequalities that has been documented, created and controlled by men (Gilliard, 2010; Whitworth, 2004). To claim that the “system is patriarchal means that at the expense of women, social, political and cultural structures benefit men” (Gilliard, 2010, p.30). Certainly, patriarchy has thrived and manifests itself in the culture and laws and the social and political structures are created to benefit the men in the DRC. As stated in the Congolese Family Code, a woman is legally assigned secondary and subordinate status to men and obligates to obey her husband (Latek, 2014; Behr, 2011). Thus, if even the law state that women are subordinate status to men and the agents of the State abuse their power to rape women and girls (Lwambo, 2013), to sexually exploit these women will be seen as permitted by the foreign men in blue helmets.

Certainly, “female prostitutes were viewed as active participants who negotiated the price on their own bodies” (Gilliard, 2010, p.29) and in the words of one peacekeeper “[i]f a dollar can buy me a blow job imagine what ten could do” (Gilliard, 2010, p.29). Furthermore, some peacekeepers argued that local women were more secure “because they receive “donated” food, resources, or money” (Higate, 2007, p.100). This makes it even more clearer that the unequal power dynamics encourage those that already exploiting their positions.

It is clear that some peacekeepers do not care about their actions and view women as merely an object for them to use for their personal gain or even for competition amongst their colleagues as claimed by a female UN employee in the DRC. She stated that “a number of peacekeepers...kept a ‘mental tally’ of the number of women or girls they had paid to have sex with as a way to compete with one another and ‘satisfy’ their sex drives” (Higate, 2007, p.106). Accordingly, some scholars claim that the drive force of men’s actions are a result of their urge to satisfy their sexual needs (Eriksson Baaz and Stern, 2013, p.6) regardless of the age and situation of the victims. Indeed, girls as young as 10 years old have been victims of SEA by peacekeepers (Notar, 2006). While other argue that it is an act of power and a way to show authority (Karim and Beardsley, 2016). In some cases, the peacekeepers do not bother to make use of a condom when having sex with the women and girls and this results in “[t]he birth of tens of thousands of “peacekeeper babies” (Higate, 2007, p.100), which are left without adequate help and living standards.

Instances of women and girls selling their body in order to survive are another case in the DRC. Indeed, young girls and women who are poor, starving and desperate feel obligated to trade sex for money or food, which the peacekeepers make use of. In some cases, children as young as six years old trade sex with peacekeepers in exchange for money and food (Csáky, 2008). The exchange of sex for food or money is sometimes viewed as an expression of agency in which appear to increase “her sense of control over her body as *she* is choosing to engage in sexual activity” (Higate, 2007, p.108). However, this desperate situation is largely overlooked by peacekeepers and instead the peacekeepers become the victims. “[T]he image of the innocent male seduced by the immoral female’ whose ‘allurement’ rendered men ‘powerless’” (Higate, 2007, p.108). By seeing themselves as victims, peacekeepers can buy sex and so exercise patriarchal structures that gives them access to human bodies without feeling guilt and remorse (Higate, 2007).

Many documents and resolutions has been established in an attempt to address the MONUC scandals. The zero tolerance policy with its recommendations did not succeed partly due to its partial implementation and due to the fact that it had to be implemented by the TCC’s. Resolution 1325 was aimed to incorporate a gender mainstreaming policy. The main goal of the resolution was for peacekeepers to receive training on the rights and needs of women before being employed abroad. Yet, the resolution did not take cultural and historical structures into consideration. Indeed, according to the political structures, women and girls in the DRC have little to no rights and as a result, “they are incredibly susceptible to the advances of peacekeepers” (Gilliard, 2010, p.30). Thus, to create a document with no regards

to the country's social and political structures and pressure the "government to implement the new constitution, including the section to promote female participations at all levels of society, [which] it has been unable to protect its citizens and promote equality" (Gilliard, 2010, p.31) are inevitable a failure. Despite the many efforts by the UN to address and change the issues in the DRC, the problem lays within the lack of legal legislation. Hence, the Zeid report, resolution 1325 and the code of conduct, which were seen by the peacekeepers as "just another piece of paper to put in your pocket" (Higate, 2007, p.12), are all useless if they are not legally binding.

Within peacekeeping, gender mainstreaming is of paramount importance since it aims to ensure that concerns of both men and women are factored into the implementation, planning, design, evaluation and monitoring of all programs and policies in the mission, which can help to improve the effectiveness of peacekeeping operations (Gilliard, 2011). However, in order to implement gender mainstreaming the patriarchal system need to change. Patriarchy "produces and reproduces social mechanisms that exert male dominance over women" (Karim and Beardsley, 2016, p.103). Therefore, most of the humanitarian assistance organizations have no gender-sensitive approach and more than often, women are not properly protected and left unsafe. The lack of gender-disaggregated data makes it difficult to assess the most vulnerable people with the most needs, e.g. pregnant women and old women (Enloe, 2013). Thus, the focus cannot lie in only including gender in UN analysis, "but in aiming to change detrimental gender roles which foster inequality" (Gilliard, 2010, p.29). Indeed, by reducing the patriarchal system and change the institutionalized militarized masculinity through the composition of the forces, the hyper-masculine norms that may perpetuate SEA in peacekeeping operations can change (Karim and Beardsley, 2016). Concluding, there is de facto difference in power relations in today's patriarchal society that we cannot ignore and to be able to change incidents of SEA in the DRC, feminist theory suggest that the political structures which foster gender inequality must be changed.

6.2. Peacekeepers and Militarized Masculinity

The analysis of SEA by peacekeepers has gradually "been treated as one element of the "critical studies on men" approach within the context of the concept of military or militarized masculinities" (Higate, 2007, p.101). Since the overwhelming majority of peacekeepers are combat trained military men, the concept of militarized masculinity would seem to offer a useful analytical point in explaining the different dynamics of gendered power relations (Higate, 2007). Within these terms, peacekeepers social practice toward local women and

girls in the DRC derives from military-masculine identities that are constructed around the notion of the inferior feminine. Indeed, traces of femininity are considered to be weak and “[w]hen you want to create a solidaristic group of men...you kill the woman in them” (Whitworth, 2004, p.166).

As stated in section 2.2 soldiers are trained to inflict violence and other forms of harm, even during peacekeeping missions. Yet, a peacekeeper must “combine qualities of a soldier and a social worker” (Nordås and Rustad, 2013, p.514) and thus peacekeeping is viewed as being less honourable than traditional military since peacekeeping missions do not involve armed conflict and warfare (Whitworth, 2004).

The history of the DRC is shattered with civil wars, conflicts and brutal acts of sexual violence used as a weapon of war against women, girls and sometimes even men and boys. Overall, women in the DRC are seen as subordinate to men and have less opportunities and legal rights than men, which results in unequal power relations. As scholar Desiree Lwambo points out, when even the agents of the State enact violent masculinities such as rape through police or armed forces, the views regarding women’s bodies as tradable products encourages men to demand sex in exchange for goods, favours and services and “discourage them from valuing consent from other female partner (2013, p.59). Thus, in the mind-sets of most peacekeepers deployed to the DRC, the activities of SEA are unlikely to worsen the already current state of the country and its people, which manifest itself in a weakened sense of responsibility.

Certainly, most people live in extreme poverty and for many women and girls the only option to survive is to exchange services and goods for sex. The exploitation of “survival” sex provided by women and girls in the DRC, implies that “male peacekeepers in the DRC believed that they were doing nothing wrong by offering local women food, money or protection for sex...[instead it] was actually a benevolent act” (Gilliard, 2010, p.28; Higate and Henry, 2004, p.491). Certainly, some peacekeepers offered as little as \$1 dollar or a cup of milk in exchange for sex. Thus, how a societies norms and practices relates to gender equality, is a predisposing condition of SEA. Indeed, individuals from more patriarchal societies with low gender equality may be more prone to commit acts of SEA or at least less willing to denounce it (Karim and Beardsley, 2016).

The majority of peacekeepers in the DRC did not take the social, economic or historical context of the local women’s lives into consideration and believed that the local women actively chose prostitution and other types of sexual exchange (Higate and Henry, 2004). In general, the peacekeepers did not recognize the power inequality that shaped their

relations with the local women and this in turn reinforced the message that peacekeepers are entitled to sexual services in order to “fulfil their inherent “masculine” needs and perform their military duties better” (Lopes, 2011, p.9). As shown in the case, some peacekeepers even competed with their colleagues by “keeping a tally of the number of women or girls with whom they had sex [with]” (Higate and Henry, 2004, p.490). Furthermore, many peacekeepers believed that “the local women played an active role in their sexualized liaisons” (Higate and Henry, 2004, p.490), by being ‘enthusiastic’ in attracting the peacekeepers. Thus, sexual conduct of peacekeepers was normalized and sexual engagements with the local women were understood as central to their masculinities.

The sexual activities of UN peacekeepers with the local women in the DRC led to different resolutions and also a code of conduct for the blue helmets. Resolution 1325 was an attempt to shed a light to the importance of gender mainstreaming in peacekeeping missions, but was a failure. On the one hand, the resolution was not a binding decision, had no monitoring mechanism in place to properly ensure that it was complied with and was a decision for the government in the DRC to take, which the UN has very limited influence on. On the other hand, the culture of the DRC was another obstacle, the lack of “understanding the traditional structures within a society...that hold strongly patriarchal and rigid ideas about gender roles” (van der Mark, 2012, p.11; Behr, 2011, p.81) made the resolution even harder to implement. Nevertheless, the UN did not give up.

In 2004 the “Blue Helmet Codes of Conduct” was established. In the code of conduct, peacekeepers were warned to; involve in any acts of sexual activities with the local women and girls and stressed that while the age of consent is 14 years in the country, UN peacekeepers were prohibited to engage in sexual relationships with anyone under the age of 18, as well as exchange money or goods or services for sex with prostitutes or others (MONUC Code of Conduct, 2004). This was an attempt to regulate and shape the peacekeepers masculinities in terms of sexual expression or aggression and its impact on the local people. Despite the rules set out in the code of conduct, the sexual abuses continued. Moreover, some of the commanders in peacekeeping missions in the DRC did not take enough measures to enforce the code of conduct. The peacekeepers were told to “park their UN vehicles away from bars and clubs that were “out of bounds” in order for them to be able to engage in sexual activity with local women, without being seen” (Lopes, 2011, p.9). This further encourages peacekeepers to continue with their sexual exploitations without being caught or held responsible, allowing them to act with impunity, instead of eliminating the problem.

Thus, the problem lies within the fact that documents and resolutions only confine the amount of which soldiers can express their militarized masculinity, instead of examining the core issue of it. Indeed, the issue of SEA in peacekeeping missions has its roots in militarized masculinity and patriarchy, which invite and reinforces some of the most brutal acts of power (Karim and Beardsley, 2016). To claim that a soldier's willingness to sexually exploit and abuse women can be explained by their biology is to ignore the already existing unequal power relations that manifests itself in the social structure.

6.3. Social Masculinity and The Inclusion of Women

As stated previously, one of the explanatory factors for the recurring of SEA by UN peacekeepers against local women and children is the result of "poor socio-economic conditions which create relationships between the peacekeeper and the local citizen" (van der Mark, 2012 p.14). The poor women and girls have no choice but to sell their bodies in exchange for food, money or even soap, which the peacekeepers gladly take advantage of. The two main strategies from the UN to combat social masculinities are the SC 1325 and the Zeid Report (A/59/710), that emphasize the importance of inclusion of more women in peacekeeping missions, which will "help to promote an environment that discourages sexual exploitation and abuse" (A/59/710, p.19). It appears as if the inclusion of more women in peacekeeping operations will somehow influence the level of SEA. However, according to an investigation by scholar Carlyn van der Mark, "the increase of female personnel in peacekeeping missions do not directly affect the levels of allegations of sexual exploitation and abuse...because the assumption is based on essentialist argumentation" (2012, p.30-31).

The inclusion of women within a military context "does not change the hyper masculine culture of the military, [i]nstead women fit into the culture opposed to change it" (van der Mark, 2012, p.31). Consequently, by including more women into peacekeeping operations with the conviction that women are more peaceful than men, the social structures that cause for SEA are ignored. In fact, the few women serving in the UN mission in the DRC "are mostly in lower-level positions, working mostly on communications, logistics or nursing [and] rarely go into the field" (theguardian, 2015) and they also describe a "persistent, prevailing machismo culture in peacekeeping" (theguardian, 2015). Thus, to claim that more women in peacekeeping operations means less allegations, is an invalid solution. In an attempt to broaden ones understanding of gendered power relations with respect to SEA, it is also important to consider the amount to which they experience impunity in these cases.

6.4. Peacekeepers Impunity/Immunity

The Secretary General's 2003 Bulletin "Special measures for protection from sexual exploitation and abuse" (ST/SGB/2003/13), defines sexual exploitation and abuse as two separate violations. On the one hand, "sexual exploitation" is defined as "any actual or attempted abuse of a position of vulnerability, differential power, or trust, for sexual purposes, including, but not limited to, profiting monetarily, socially or politically from the sexual exploitation of another". On the other hand, the term "sexual abuse" similarly means "the actual or threatened physical intrusion of a sexual nature, whether by force or under unequal or coercive conditions" (ST/SGB/2003/13). These two definitions criminalize any act and form of sexual relations in the context of peacekeeping missions. Despite this zero tolerance policy, the issue of accountability towards the UN personnel's actions and the lack in domestic law is still a major problem.

The DRC is party to a variety of international agreements related to human rights, women and girls. Many of these instruments declare sexual violence a violation of women's and human rights and also a crime of war. Despite their apparent agreement with these international norms, the national laws are still severely lacking. According to the Family Code, a woman is legally assigned secondary and subordinate status to men (Latek, 2014). These discriminatory provisions are problematic from a legal perspective in the fight against sexual crimes. The code stipulates that a woman is obligated to "obey their husbands, submit to having their wealth controlled by their husbands and are more harshly punished for committing adultery than their husbands" (Behr, 2011, p.59). Traditionally, rape was "solved" by having the perpetrator either pay or marry the victim (Behr, 2011).

In 2006, a legislative and judicial reform was launched that was less tolerant of sexual violence and friendlier towards women. In addition to the new reform, the DRC government revamped its anti-sexual violence laws. The Congolese Penal code criminalise sexual violence and prohibits rape, which is defined by sexual slavery, sexual mutilation and penetration in addition to the insertion of objects into the vagina (Behr, 2011). The new laws imposes a penalty of five to 20 years imprisonment for rape and furthermore stricter penalties were established for indecent assault, which does not include penetration. The Penal Code also criminalize sex with children under the age of 18 and guarantees more protection for the wellbeing of the victims and witnesses in criminal proceedings (Behr, 2011).

Despite the progress of these new laws, the Bureau of African Affairs reports that there have been very few successful prosecutions for indecent assault and rape (Behr, 2011), and this is most likely due to the Congolese authorities lack of efforts to prosecute such

crimes (Latek, 2014). Accordingly it is the TCC that have to hold their troops accountable for any acts of crime, which is also stated in the MoU agreement between TCC's and the UN. Thus, the responsibility and the legal jurisdiction to prosecute and investigate cases of SEA is left to the national authorities in the sending State and the problem then is that not all states have the domestic provisions to enable prosecution of acts carried out abroad and neither does all states consider sexual offences as a crime. The lack of legal prosecution of the national authority encourages the feeling of impunity and keeps the peacekeepers continue to feel untouchable. Furthermore, as stated in 2.4 some states are not willing to prosecute or even investigate cases that their personnel have done while deployed abroad, and this is to avoid negative attention or having outsiders meddling in their domestic affairs. However, if the allegations are substantiated, the UN has the authority to ban peacekeepers from future missions but any further juridical or disciplinary process is the TCC's responsibility.

Yet, the fact is that legal provision is different for different personnel in UN peacekeeping missions, which makes it difficult to arrest or detain the accusers. The military personnel, that consist of the largest group of personnel in peacekeeping missions, have their own legal provisions. According to the Convention on the Privileges and Immunities of the United Nations, all officials are "immune from legal process in respect of words spoken or written and all acts performed by them in their official capacity" (A/63/260). The General Assembly can however account for criminal accountability only "if and after proper investigation, there is evidence to support allegations of sexual exploitation or sexual abuse, these cases may, upon consultation with the Office of Legal Affairs, be referred to national authorities for criminal prosecution" (ST/SGB/2003/13). Consequently, military members of national contingents should be "held accountable by the criminal jurisdiction of their own national authorities" (van der Mark, 2012, p.36) and they are also "expected to abide the Ten Rules: Code of Personal Conduct for Blue Helmets and We are the United Nations Peacekeepers" (van der Mark, 2012, p.36). However, these documents are more as guidelines than rules to abide and the expansive prohibitions of the Secretary-General's 2003 Bulletin are not even contained in the guidelines, which may give rise to the inference that they are non-binding.

Decades of lack of justification, inaction and looking the other way have had an effect on the mind-set of the peacekeepers that the culture of impunity succeeds in UN peacekeeping operations. With this in regard, the situation of SEA appears to have become a "zero-compliance with zero tolerance" (van der Mark, 2012, p.34) and the difficulty of

implementing the zero tolerance policy from a legal point of view is, that the UN does not have the legal authority to prosecute its own personnel.

7. CONCLUSION

This thesis has analyzed acts of SEA by UN peacekeepers in the DRC as well as the response by the UN. Accordantly, SEA are more likely to happen in countries that are more male-dominated and less protective of women's rights. A countries poor social and economic conditions, cultures and social structures are important factors for how individuals view sexual violence. Indeed, in patriarchal societies male dominates nearly all aspects of life and the institutionalization of male privilege and rule is dependent on female subordination. Thus, the unequal gender power relations encourage the ones that already are exploiting their positions, as presented by the conducted case study of the DRC. For peacekeepers, the combination of patriarchal ruling and the culture of militarized masculinity creates an environment in which assessing power is necessary and manliness is considered the norm. Militarized masculinity is all about being masculine and any traits of femininity is ridiculed. Women who join the army are forced to fit into the culture, act like one of the guys and demonstrate aggression, strength and power, that is considered as masculine. Hence, militarized masculinity is not about men or women, it is about the desire to control and exert power, while the army is the institution that produces, contributes and aspires to the accomplishment of violence and power. There is de facto difference in power relations in today's patriarchal society that we cannot ignore. To be able to change incidents of SEA in the DRC, the political structures, which foster gender inequality, must be changed.

The lack of proper handling of the problem by the UN is multifaceted. The UN's response to it has been in form of numerous documents and resolutions, yet, there is still a gap between the texts and the reality. The Zeid report, resolution 1325, the code of conduct, all of which are recommendations and guidelines to follow and not legally implemented. It all comes down to the lack of legal implementations and its culture of impunity. As investigated in this paper, the issue is not so much that the host state's laws are not applicable for crimes committed by peacekeepers, it is rather the jurisdictional immunity for the peacekeepers that prevent them from being prosecuted. As sexual exploitation and abuse have become the rule rather the exception, the need for a drastic change is of paramount importance.

This paper conclude that the factors, which contribute to SEA, have its roots in both the institution of militarized masculinity and social structures in which displaying power and establishing manliness is vital, both for men and women. The lack of proper prosecution and the issues of immunity are also contributing factors of SEA. Regardless of the amount of documents created by the UN, the issue will still prevail. Since the root of the problem remains the same.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Abrahamyan, Milena (2017). “Tough Obedience: How is Militarized Masculinity Linked with Violence in the Army?”. Available at: feminism-boell.org/eng/2017/02/08/tough-obedience-how-militarized-masculinity-linked-violence-army. [Accessed: 8 August, 2019].

Amnesty International (2004). *Stop violence against women*. Available at: <https://www.amnesty.org/download/Documents/92000/afr620182004en.pdf>. [Accessed: 2 August, 2019].

Anderson, Letitia (2010). Politics by Other Means: When does sexual violence threaten international peace and security?. *International Peacekeeping* 17(2). pp.244-260.

Banwell, Stacy (2014). Rape and sexual violence in the Democratic Republic of Congo: a case study of gender-based violence. *Journal of Gender Studies* 23(1). pp.45-58.

Bartel, Susan et al. (2013). Militarized Sexual Violence in South Kivu, Democratic Republic of Congo. *Journal of Interpersonal Violence* 28(2). pp.340-358.

Bastick, Megan, Grimm, Karin and Kunz, Rahel (2007). *Sexual Violence in Armed Conflict – Global Overview and Implications for the Security Sector*, (Geneva: Geneva Centre for the Democratic Control of Armed Forces).

BBC (2017). “DR Congo: UN peacekeepers face fresh sexual abuse claims,” *BBC*, April 28, 2017. Available at: <https://www.bbc.com/news/world-africa-39745357> [Accessed: 15 May, 2019].

Behr, Kelly (2011). “A Dangerous Euphemism: The Dark Side of Peacekeeping Missions. A Case Study of the United Nations Missions to the Democratic Republic of Congo.” Available at: <https://deepblue.lib.umich.edu/bitstream/handle/2027.42/91804/behkell.pdf?sequence=1&isAllowed=y> [Accessed: June, 2018 – May, 2019].

Bitar, Sali (2015). “Sexual violence as a weapon of war: the case of ISIS in Syria and Iraq.” Available at: <https://www.diva-portal.org/smash/get/diva2:889178/FULLTEXT01.pdf> [Accessed: March, 2019].

Brannen, Kate (2018). “The Unchanging Reality of the UN Sex Abuse Scandal,” *Just Security*, 24 July, 2018. Available at: <https://www.justsecurity.org/59682/unchanging-reality-sex-abuse-scandal/> [Accessed: 15 May, 2019].

Burckhardt, Echeverry Yosi (2010). Sexual abuse by United Nations peacekeeping forces and the legitimacy of peace operations, *Crisis Management Centre Finland*. Available at: https://www.cmcfinland.fi/wp-content/uploads/2017/01/40866_Yearbook_2010.pdf#page=98 [Accessed: May, 2019].

Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination against Women New York (1979). CEDAW. Available at: <https://www.ohchr.org/EN/ProfessionalInterest/Pages/CEDAW.aspx> [Accessed: 15 May, 2019].

Csáky, Corinna (2008). “No One to Turn To: The under-reporting of child sexual exploitation and abuse by aid workers and peacekeepers,” *Save the children*. Available at: https://resourcecentre.savethechildren.net/node/2732/pdf/no_one_to_turn_to_1.pdf [Accessed: June, 2018].

Charter of the United Nations and statute of the international court of justice (ICC). Available at: <https://treaties.un.org/doc/publication/ctc/uncharter.pdf> [Accessed: 24 April, 2018].

Defeis, Elizabeth (2008). U.N. Peacekeepers and Sexual Abuse and Exploitation: An End to Impunity. *Washington University Global Studies Law Review* 7(2). pp.185-214.

Egan, Shannon (2008). “Campaign Says ‘No’ to the Sexual Violence that Rages in DRC,” *United Nations Population Fund*, April 4, 2008. Available at: <https://www.unfpa.org/news/campaign-says-no-sexual-violence-rages-drc> [Accessed: June, 2018].

Enloe, Cynthia (1990). *Bananas, Beaches and Bases: Making feminist sense of international politics*, (Berkeley: University of California Press).

Enloe, Cynthia (2013). *Seriously! : Investigating Crashes and Crises As If Women Mattered*, (Berkeley: University of California Press).

England, Paula (2001). Gender and Feminist Studies. *International Encyclopaedia of the Social & Behavioural Sciences*. pp.5910.

Flyvbjerg, Bent (2006). Five Misunderstandings About Case-Study Research. *Qualitative inquiry* 12(2). pp.219-245.

Gaestel, Allyn and Shelley, Allison (2015). “Female UN peacekeepers: an all-too-rare sight,” *The Guardian*, January 22, 2015. Available at: <https://www.theguardian.com/global-development/2015/jan/22/female-united-nations-peacekeepers-congo-drc> [Accessed: May, 2019].

General Assembly A/45/594 (1990) *Model SOFA*. Available at: <https://undocs.org/A/45/594> [Accessed: 24 April, 2018].

General Assembly (2007). *Report of the Office of Internal Oversight Services on its investigation into allegations of sexual exploitation and abuse in the Ituri region (Bunia) in the United Nations Organization Mission in the Democratic Republic of the Congo, A/61/841*. Available at: <http://undocs.org/A/61/841> [Accessed: 29 August, 2018].

Gilliard, Natalie (2011). Peacekeepers or Perpetrators? An analysis of Sexual Exploitation and Abuse (SEA) by UN personnel in the Democratic Republic of Congo. *Mapping Politics* 3. pp.27-35.

Gustafsson, Johanna (2017). Single case studies vs. multiple case studies: A comparative study, *Academy of Business, Engineering and Science*, (Halmstad University).

Higate, Paul (2007). Peacekeepers, Masculinities, and Sexual Exploitation. *Men and Masculinities* 10(1). pp.99-119.

Human Rights Watch (2002). *The war within the war; Sexual Violence Against Woman and Girls in Eastern Congo*. Available at: <https://www.hrw.org/reports/2002/drc/Congo0602.pdf>

[Accessed: March, 2018].

Human Rights Watch (2009). *Soldiers Who Rape, Commanders Who Condone; Sexual Violence and Military Reform in the Democratic Republic of Congo*. Available at:

<https://www.hrw.org/sites/default/files/reports/drc0709web.pdf>

[Accessed: April, 2018].

Höpfel J., Heather (2003). Becoming a (Virile) Member: Women and the Military Body. *Body & Society* 9(4). pp.13-30.

Kadar, Anna (2013). A Feminist and Postcolonial analysis of how and why peacekeeping missions are involved in the very horrors they seek to address. *Comparative Women's Studies in Culture and Politics*. (Utrecht University).

Karim, Sabrina and Beardsley, Kyle (2016). Explaining sexual exploitation and abuse in peacekeeping missions: The role of female peacekeepers and gender equality in contributing countries. *Journal of Peace Research* 53(1). pp.100-115.

Kovatch, Bonnie (2016). Sexual exploitation and abuse in UN peacekeeping missions: A case study of MONUC and MONUSCO. *The Journal of the Middle East and Africa* 7(2). pp.157-174.

Larson, Krista and Dodds, Paisley (2017). "UN peacekeepers in Congo hold record for rape, sex abuse," *AP News*, September 23, 2017. Available at:

<https://www.apnews.com/69e56ab46cab400f9f4b3753bd79c930>. [Accessed: 7 May, 2018].

Latek, Marta (2014). Sexual violence in the Democratic Republic of Congo, *European Parliament*. Available at: <http://www.europarl.europa.eu/EPRS/EPRS-AaG-542155-Sexual-violence-in-DRC-FINAL.pdf> [Accessed: 2018].

Leatherman, Janie (2013). *Sexual Violence and Armed Conflict*, (Polity Press: UK).

Lopes, Hayley (2011). Militarized Masculinity in Peacekeeping Operations: An Obstacle to Gender Mainstreaming. *Peacebuild*.

López, Catalina (2015). “Sexual exploitation and abuse by UN peacekeepers, Calling into question solutions implemented.” Available at:

<http://diposit.ub.edu/dspace/bitstream/2445/65716/1/2%20CATALINA%20LÓPEZ%20-%20Trabajo%20final%20de%20Máster.pdf> [Accessed: May – June, 2018].

Mattsson, Josefin (2016). “Unravelling the causes of SEA in peacekeeping.” Available at:

<http://www.diva-portal.org/smash/get/diva2:1071979/FULLTEXT01.pdf> [Accessed: April, 2018].

Maria, Viveros Vigoya (2016). *The Oxford Handbook of Feminist Theory; SEX/GENDER*, (New York: Oxford University Press).

Meger, Sara (2010). Rape of the Congo: Understanding sexual violence in the conflict in the Democratic Republic of Congo. *Journal of Contemporary African Studies* 28(2). pp.119-135.

Miller, Leila (2018). “How We Found Unreported Claims of UN Peacekeeper Abuse,”

Frontline, July 24, 2018. Available at: <https://www.pbs.org/wgbh/frontline/article/how-we-found-unreported-claims-of-un-peacekeeper-abuse/> [Accessed: 18-22 May, 2019].

Morgan, David (1994). *Theatre of War: Combat, the Military, and Masculinities*, Harry Brod and Michael Kaufman (eds.), *Theorizing Masculinities*, (London: Sage Publishers).

Niuewenhuizen, Romy (2013). “Who will guard the guardians? Sexual exploitation and abuse by peacekeepers: focus on the Democratic Republic of the Congo.” Available at:

<http://arno.uvt.nl/show.cgi?fid=132415> [Accessed: April, 2018 - May, 2019].

Nordås, Ragnhild and Rustad C.A., Siri (2013). Sexual Exploitation and Abuse by

Peacekeepers: Understanding Variation. *International Interactions* 39(4). pp.511-534.

Notar, Susan A (2006). Peacekeepers or perpetrators: sexual exploitation and abuse of women and children in the democratic republic of the Congo. *Journal of gender, social policy & the law*.

Odello, Marco and Burke, Róisín (2016). Between immunity and impunity: peacekeeping and sexual abuses and violence. *The International Journal of Human Rights* 20(6). pp.839-853.

Reyntjens, Filip (1999). Briefing: The second Congo war: More than a remark. *African Affairs* 98. pp.241-250.

Reit, Rachel (2009). “The Relationship between the Military’s Masculine Culture and Service Member’s Help-Seeking Behaviors.” Available at:

<https://pdfs.semanticscholar.org/dab8/37659d5eb9040b8bc48eaa531e190ecbcee7.pdf>

[Accessed: 9 August, 2019].

Simic, Olivera (2009). Who should be a peacekeeper?. *Peace Review* 21(3). pp.395-402.

The Nobel Prize (1988). *The Nobel Peace Prize 1988*. Available at:

<https://www.nobelprize.org/prizes/peace/1988/summary/> [Accessed: 13 May, 2019].

Tong, Rosemarie (2001). Feminist Theory. *International Encyclopaedia of the Social & Behavioural Sciences*. pp. 5484-5491.

United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees. *Humanitarian principles*. Available at:

<https://emergency.unhcr.org/entry/223864/humanitarian-principles> [Accessed: 2 July, 2019].

United Nations Peacekeeping. *Gender*. Available at:

<https://peacekeeping.un.org/en/gender> [Accessed: 13 April, 2018].

United Nations Peacekeeping (2019). *Our history*. Available at:

<https://peacekeeping.un.org/en/our-history> [Accessed: 13 May, 2019].

United Nations Peacekeeping (2018). *Terminology*. Available at:
<https://peacekeeping.un.org/en/terminology> [Accessed: June, 2018].

United Nations Peacekeeping. *Preventing Conflicts*. Available at:
<https://peacekeeping.un.org/en/preventing-conflicts> [Accessed: 4 April, 2018].

United Nations Peacemaker (1999). *United Nations Security Council, Ceasefire Agreement*. Available at: <https://peacemaker.un.org/drc-lusaka-agreement99> [Accessed: 26 June, 2018].

United Nations Peacekeeping (2018). *What is Peacekeeping*. Available at:
<https://peacekeeping.un.org/en/what-is-peacekeeping> [Accessed: 6 August, 2018].

United Nations (1946). *Convention on the privileges and immunities of the United Nations*. Available at: <https://www.un.org/en/ethics/pdf/convention.pdf> [Accessed: July, 2018].

United Nations (1948). *Universal Declaration of Human Rights*. Available at:
<https://www.un.org/en/universal-declaration-human-rights/> [Accessed: 8 August, 2019].

United Nations (2015). *History of the UN*. Available at:
<https://www.un.org/un70/en/content/history/index.html> [Accessed: 13 May, 2019].

United Nations (2007). *Office of internal oversight services investigations division (OIOS). Redacted report of investigation Allegations against peacekeepers*. Available at:
<http://francegenocidetutsi.org/OIOS-20070130-01.pdf> [Accessed: June, 2018].

United Nations (2000). *Security Council Resolution 1291 S/RES/1291 (2000)*. Available at:
[https://www.un.org/en/ga/search/view_doc.asp?symbol=S/RES/1291\(2000\)](https://www.un.org/en/ga/search/view_doc.asp?symbol=S/RES/1291(2000)) [Accessed: 26 July, 2018].

United Nations (2003). *Ten Rules/Code of Personal Conduct for Blue Helmets*. Available at:
<https://conduct.unmissions.org/ten-rulescode-personal-conduct-blue-helmets> [Accessed: 13 May, 2019].

United Nations General Assembly (2008). *Criminal accountability of United Nations officials and export on mission, Report of the Secretary-General, A/63/260 (2008)*. Available at: <https://undocs.org/A/63/260> [Accessed: June, 2018].

United Nations News (2010). *Tackling sexual violence must include prevention, ending impunity – UN official*. Available at: <https://news.un.org/en/story/2010/04/336662> [Accessed: April, 2019].

United Nations Secretariat (2003). *Secretary General's Bulletin on Protection from Sexual Exploitation and Abuse, ST/SGB/2003/13*. Available at: <https://oios.un.org/resources/2015/01/ST-SGB-2003-13.pdf> [Accessed: 26 July, 2018].

United Nations Security Council (2005). *Report, S/2005/167 (2005)*. Available at: <https://undocs.org/S/2005/167> [Accessed: 16 May, 2019].

United Nations Security Council (2005). *Resolution 1592, S/RES/1592 (2005)*. Available at: <http://unscr.com/en/resolutions/doc/1592> [Accessed: 16 May, 2019].

United Nations Security Council (2016). *Secretary Council Resolution 2272, S/RES/2272 (2016)*. Available at: [https://undocs.org/S/RES/2272\(2016\)](https://undocs.org/S/RES/2272(2016)) [Accessed: 15 May, 2019].

United Nations Security Council (2018). *Unanimously Adopting Resolution 2409 (2018), Security Council Extends Mission in Democratic Republic of Congo until 31 March 2019*. Available at: <https://www.un.org/press/en/2018/sc13265.doc.htm> [Accessed: 15 May, 2019].

United Nations Security Council Resolution 1325 (2000). *On Women, Peace and Security, Resolution 1325*. Available at: http://www.un.org/womenwatch/osagi/cdrom/documents/Background_Paper_Africa.pdf [Accessed: 21 May, 2019].

United Nations Organization Mission in the Democratic Republic of Congo (2004), MONUC. *Code of Conduct on sexual exploitation and sexual abuse*. Available at: http://www.pseataforce.org/uploads/tools/codeofconductonsea_unmissionindrc_english.pdf [Accessed: 17 May, 2019].

van der Mark, Carlyn (2012). “Sexual exploitation and abuse by U.N peacekeepers – why the problem continues to persist.” Available at:

<https://openaccess.leidenuniv.nl/bitstream/handle/1887/19387/Final%20Master%20Thesis%20Sexual%20exploitation%20by%20UN%20peacekeepers.pdf?sequence=1> [Accessed: April, 2018].

Wax, Emily (2005). “Congo’s Desperate ‘One-Dollar U.N. Girls,” *Washington Post*, March 21, 2005. Available at: https://www.washingtonpost.com/archive/politics/2005/03/21/congos-desperate-one-dollar-un-girls/26b5e610-d9ed-42e1-909a-03b2e061377d/?utm_term=.2f34f42393d7 [Accessed: 20 May, 2019].

Whitworth, Sandra (2004). *Men, Militarism, and UN Peacekeeping – A gendered Analysis*, (London: Lynne Rienner Publishers).

Wiker, Anna-Maria (2016). “Sexual exploitation and abuse in U.N peacekeeping.” Available at: <https://webcache.googleusercontent.com/search?q=cache:PzFuPIzAUyAJ:https://digi.lib.ttu.edu/i/file.php%3FDLID%3D6149%26t%3D1+%&cd=1&hl=en&ct=clnk&gl=se&client=safari> [Accessed: March, 2018 – May, 2019].

Yin K, Robert (2003). *Case study research Design and Methods*, 3rd edition (California: Sage Publications).

Zakrisson, Fanny (2015). “Addressing impunity through state accountability? A study on responsibility for human rights violations committed by UN peacekeepers.” Available at: <http://lup.lub.lu.se/luur/download?func=downloadFile&recordId=8506763&fileId=8522975> [Accessed: 4 April, 2018 – 23 May, 2019].

Zeid Ra’ad Zeid Al-Hussin (A/59/710). *A comprehensive strategy to eliminate future sexual exploitation and abuse in United Nations peacekeeping missions. United Nations General Assembly, 24 March 2005*. Available at: <https://peacekeeping.un.org/en/report-of-secretary-generals-special-advisor-prince-zeid-raad-zeid-al-hussein-comprehensive-strategy> [Accessed: 23 April, 2018].