

**Constructions of peacekeeper's masculinity in the discourse on misogynist,  
racist and homophobic violence performed during UN missions**

Elisa M. Zenck (3427757)

CWSCP (MA 1) Master Thesis

Supervisor: Dr. Eva Midden

Second Reader: Prof. Dr. Gloria Wekker

Gender Studies Department

Universiteit Utrecht

July 2010

## Table of Contents

1. Introduction.....	3
1.1 Research Question and Approach.....	4
1.2 Methodology.....	7
2. The development of masculinity studies: State of current research.....	10
2.1 Introduction.....	10
2.2 Masculinity studies and the concept of “hegemonic masculinity”.....	11
<i>Masculinity and (hetero)sexuality</i> .....	12
<i>Masculinity and violence</i> .....	13
2.3 The concept of “militarized masculinities”.....	14
2.4 The concept of “social masculinities”.....	15
2.5 Introducing: “de-individualized masculinity”.....	16
Excursus: UN peacekeeping in the light of nationalism and gender.....	18
3. Theoretical framework: the masculinity of the UN soldier.....	22
3.1 Introduction.....	22
3.2 On essentialism.....	22
3.3 The constitution of the soldier.....	23
3.4 The sexuality of the soldier.....	26
<i>Unauthorized Violence and the soldier</i> .....	28
4. The discourse on violence by male peacekeepers against gendered, racialized and sexualized ‘others’: an analysis of selected statements.....	29
4.1 Introduction.....	29
4.2 Peacekeeper violence justified? Western UN soldiers' violence in Somalia.....	30
4.3 The linkage of militarization and prostitution: Cambodia.....	32
<i>Do women in Western countries like sexual harassment?</i> .....	35
4.4 Militarization and human trafficking: the UN mission in Bosnia and Herzegovina.....	36
4.5 Rape, “prostitution as survival” and sex with minors: early 21 <sup>st</sup> century missions in West and Central Africa.....	39
4.6 The Zeid report: a turning point in UN policies?.....	40
<i>Critical UN self-assessment on the organization's progress</i> .....	42
4.7 Excursus on (discourse on) female UN soldiers.....	44
5. Conclusion.....	45
5.1 Recommendations.....	47
6. Abbreviations.....	48
7. Bibliography.....	49

## ***1. Introduction***

Having been involved in research on gender-based violence in Nazi Germany – particularly, forced prostitution within concentration camps – in my previous studies in Political Science, I thought only few issues would still provoke me. One of these issues turned out to be the excessive involvement of UN peacekeepers in human trafficking in Bosnia and Herzegovina (BiH) in the 1990s, brought to my attention by watching Karin Jurschick’s excellent documentary “The Peacekeepers and the Women” in the course of the NOISE summer school 2009, which marked the beginning of my studies at the University of Utrecht. Coincidentally, this topic became my focus of research during my internship at the Bureau Nationaal Rapporteur Mensenhandel in The Hague in early spring 2010. By researching the legal and political instruments installed in response to allegations of peacekeeper sexual exploitation, I came across some very disturbing statements published in UN documents and uttered by high-ranking officials. They were disturbing in the sense that images of masculinities and femininities were disseminated that I had considered outdated due to their essentialist backgrounds.

During the Bosnian War between 1992 and 1995, women and girls had suffered from various forms of gender-based violence. The Dayton Peace Agreement, officially ending the war in November 1995, however did not put an end to sexual violence against women and children in Bosnia and Herzegovina. On the contrary: The deployment of international soldiers, police officers and civilian personnel serving under the missions of the UN, NATO, EU and OSCE – to implement and stabilize the peace – marked the beginning of yet other forms of sexual violence, for example the trafficking in women and girls from other Eastern European countries to Bosnia in order to serve the sexual demands of comparatively wealthy, foreign men.<sup>1</sup> Moreover, local women were subject to various forms of assault and rape by those peacekeepers that were originally deployed to protect them.

The involvement of international personnel in acts such as human trafficking – both by visiting forced prostitutes as well as by directly engaging in the purchase-reselling-process – and the rape of women and sexual intercourse with minors in Bosnia was revealed by Kathryn Bolkovac. She was deployed in Bosnia as an employee of DynCorp, a private security company serving under the UNMIBH (UN Mission in Bosnia and Herzegovina) and was subsequently fired. High UN officials such as the organization’s representative in BiH,

---

<sup>1</sup> German UN soldiers for example earn 150 € per day (tax free) in addition to their regular monthly salary. (Waller, no year: 12)

Jacques Paul Klein, tried and succeeded to cover and later downplay the misuse by staff members. Klein was particularly criticized by UN High Commissioner for Human Rights in BiH, Madeleine Rees, for not taking the problem seriously and instead following the “Boys will be boys” – attitude that had been proclaimed by Special Representative to the Secretary-General (SRSG) Yasushi Akashi in Cambodia in the early 1990s relating to similar forms of misuse. Analogously, the deployment of international blue helmets following the conflicts in Somalia, Sierra Leone, the Democratic Republic of Congo and other regions in the late 1990s and early 2000s produced sexual exploitation – not so much in regular prostitution and human trafficking, but rather in the form of “prostitution as survival”, rape and sexual intercourse with minors – as well as racist and homophobic violence and its silencing. What struck me most was the very late reaction of the UN, other international organizations and national authorities in terms of implementing measures to prevent and punish such misconduct.

### 1.1 Research Question and Approach

In my thesis, I will analyse what gendered and racialized images and stereotypes have led to the misuse by peacekeeping soldiers, and how UN officials have responded to the allegations and how they have suggested to prevent further ‘misconduct’; for example, many guidelines now demand more female soldiers in international missions, assuming that women are “inherently more peaceful” (Steinberg 2009: 1). While I will include representations of femininity, the primary focus will be on masculinity, as a critical discussion of its relation to the military is still in the early stages – aside from groundbreaking research of R.W. Connell, Cynthia Enloe, Sandra Whitworth and Paul Higate. The idea behind this focus is that in order to get closer to equality among the genders – which this thesis seeks to contribute to – it is important to investigate the constitution and dynamics of masculinities instead of focusing on women only.

The male peacekeeping soldier<sup>2</sup> is oftentimes regarded and looked down upon – from other soldiers – as effeminate and less masculine due to his status of “lesser militarism.”<sup>3</sup> Deriving from the prohibition to use armed force – the only exception being self-defence – his task is instead to mediate between opposing parties and to build peace; in opposition of being an

---

<sup>2</sup> As this thesis will focus on masculinity, I will primarily discuss the male peacekeeping soldier. I will refer to female UN soldiers and the discourse around them in an excursus in the analytical chapter.

<sup>3</sup> As summarized by one UN soldier, “the fact is, peacekeeping is boring.” (cited in Whitworth 2007: 86)

armed actor within a conflict/war. His from a “regular” soldier differing status has by some scholars such as Cynthia Enloe been comprehended rather positively, as she understands the “lesser militarist” characteristics of the peacekeepers as promising:

*“The 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. And its troops at first glance appear to escape the distorting dynamics of militarism because they may not depend so heavily on patriarchal masculinity.”* (Enloe 1993: 33)

This challenged version of militarized masculinity is what interests me in the discourse on his activities of sexual exploitation and racist violence in times of deployment. With my focus on the masculinity of the peacekeeping soldier as constructed by the UN I intend to expand the knowledge produced about militarism and masculinity, namely to show the variety of non-hegemonic military masculinities.<sup>4</sup> The knowledge acquired will add to the research on the peacekeeper's masculinity, which is a highly controversial and relevant issue, not only because of contemporary UN missions still being deployed in Kosovo, Haiti and various African regions. I will also attempt to add to the knowledge by introducing a new concept to grasp the UN peacekeeper's masculinity. This will serve to better understand and analyse the similarities and differences between the various forms of masculinities, not only in military contexts.

The thesis is structured as follows: subsequent to the chapter on methodology, I will elaborate the theoretical framework of masculinity studies, in particular the ideas produced by Connell on hegemonic and subordinated masculinities, which is to my knowledge the first attempt to analyse masculinity as a structural phenomenon. I will then frame the issue of sexual exploitation by UN peacekeepers against the background of initiations of feminist scholars such as Cynthia Cockburn, Cynthia Enloe and Sandra Whitworth to analyse the militarized masculinities of “blue helmets”. I will discuss whether the concept of “social masculinities” (Connell and later Paul Higate) or the one of “militarized masculinities” (Whitworth) is more applicable to analyse UN peacekeeper's masculinity, and will introduce a new concept in combination of the two.

I will then continue by sketching the issue itself, namely the various forms of sexual, homophobic and racist violence performed by these soldiers during missions, from the

---

<sup>4</sup> Connell evolved the concept of hegemonic masculinity/masculinities in Connell 2005.

beginning of the 1990s until now, in Cambodia, Bosnia and various African areas of conflict. I will show, on the basis of various statements and documents, what kinds of racialized and sexualized masculinity have been produced. My main focus will thereby be on the peacekeeper's sexuality. I will use both statements by high-ranking UN representatives as well as publications by two of the most important UN bodies, namely the Secretary-General (SG) and the Security Council (SC). Furthermore, I will analyse the reactions by selected national authorities whose national peacekeepers have engaged in acts of unauthorized<sup>5</sup> violence.<sup>6</sup>

Using Foucault, I will then dismantle the gendered and racialized knowledge and power therein created. Following that, I will assess the UN's discursive shift – from uttering highly essentialist statements to condemning these forms of unauthorized violence – along the question of which meaning this shift has for the political position of the UN. The final objective of my thesis is to contribute to the research on masculinities and militarism by contextualizing the UN peacekeeper against the background of my own concept referring to Connell's/Higate and Whitworth. I thus hope to be able to expand the knowledge on images of soldiers giving special attention to the intersections of gender, sexuality and race<sup>7</sup> using the debates on UN peacekeepers' sexual, racist and homophobic assaults.

---

<sup>5</sup> I am applying the term “unauthorized violence” to those acts of sexualized, racialized and homophobic violence committed by peacekeepers to underline the fact that they are soldiers who are entitled to armed force – even though in their specific case it is limited to self-defence. Unauthorized violence performed by regular soldiers – within NATO missions for example – have become recently infamous by the torturing (and its documentation) of prisoners in Guantánamo and Abu Ghraib, referred to by Anne McClintock as “*established but concealed circuits of imperial violence.*” (McClintock 2009: 52)

<sup>6</sup> To specify, the documents I will use are connected to UN peacekeeping missions of the previous 20 years as well as general bulletins. Furthermore, the investigations into sexual exploitation during missions in general and West Africa in particular, initiated and published by the General Assembly (GA) and the Secretary-General respectively, give interesting insights into the dynamics and ideas of the UN, considering that investigations were not undertaken in the final decade of the 20<sup>th</sup> century. Apart from that, I will use information gathered in various reports by organizations and independent researchers, such as Ruecker 2000 (on UNTAC, the UN mission in Cambodia), Human Rights Watch 2002 (on the mission in Bosnia), UNIFEM 2002 (on several missions), Refugees International 2005 (on several missions), Whitworth 2007 (on UNTAC as well as on the involvement of Canadian peacekeepers in various missions). Regarding the particularly infamous mission in Bosnia in the 1990s – the majority of sex workers in the Balkan country was not voluntary, in contrast to Cambodia where soldiers had also visited prostitutes frequently, – I am relying on statements by several high UN officials presented in Karin Jurschick’s documentary “The Peacekeepers and the Women” (2003). Apart from that, I will draw on interviews and commentaries by selected officials, such as UN Special Representatives of the Secretary-General (SRSG) to the particular missions – Yasushi Akashi (UNTAC) and Jacques Paul Klein (UNMIBH) – as well as former UN Under-Secretary-General for Peacekeeping Operations Jean-Marie Guéhenno and Madeleine Rees, the latter served as UN High Commissioner for human rights in UNMIBH. In addition, in order to be able to frame the UN peacekeeping missions properly in the context of geopolitics and international law, I am referring to the works of international specialists Ray Murphy (2007) and Barbara Bedont (2001).

<sup>7</sup> Other axes of differentiation such as class and age seem less significant in the issue discussed in this thesis, which is why I will focus on gender, sexuality and to a less extent, race.

## 1.2 Methodology

Before outlining the development of masculinity studies and the theoretical framework of my thesis in the field of the construction of the soldier's masculinity, I would like to briefly sketch the methodology used to discuss the issue of sexual exploitation by UN peacekeepers. What I consider most noteworthy in my research is to proclaim my “situated knowledge” according to Donna Haraway. Haraway in 1988 has contradicted the conventional notion of rationality and science, and has instead argued for a

*“politics and epistemologies of location, positioning, and situating, where partiality and not universality is the condition of being heard to make rational knowledge claims.”* (Situated knowledges 1988: 589)

Haraway thus challenges the centuries-old prevalent idea of the rational, objective scientist who conducts his research without any intentions, whom she has named as the “modest witness.” I consider this approach valuable for the field of masculinities studies.

Following Haraway, I would argue that there is no “objective” outsider position as a researcher and that my social situatedness has influenced both the choice of topic and the questions I am posing. Nevertheless, this situatedness of the researcher, as long as it is reflected on and made explicit, can be considered as academically valid. In relation to this research project, I define myself as a female university student, white, from a wealthy country and a middle-class background, with a strong political position informed by radical leftist, feminist, anti-militarist theory, predominantly heterosexual (however, rejecting conventional categorization) and extremely critical to “hegemonic” masculinity (in the form of machismo, sexist, homophobic, racist etc). Working on an issue of militarism has thus been highly challenging for me, since on the one hand I feel strongly opposed to misogynist, homophobic and racist military practices; on the other hand, I reject the institution of the military by itself and would rather see it abolished than improved or reformed.

Moreover, I feel the need to contemplate on why I continue choosing research topics of this kind that are disturbing and oftentimes emotionally difficult to work on. I think the answer is that I do not believe in a separation of the personal and the academic, in the sense that I would not be able to process a research on a topic that does not move me. The specific issue of sexual exploitation has been to the fore since my internship in India in 2005/2006, where I was confronted with survivors of various forms of violence such as human trafficking, rape and forced marriage. It was difficult to not become emotionally involved with their

experiences, and I decided to keep working on these issues. I would thus state that what drives me to do this work is anger on variously unjust conditions in intersectional terms. By researching on these issues, I am also hoping to change these unjust conditions, in the sense that I consider “*feminist scholarly writing ... [to be] politics by scientific means*” (Åsberg: 40; original emphasis).

Against the background of my own situatedness, let me now draw the attention to methodology. I will discuss the issue of construction and reconstruction of the UN peacekeeper’s specific masculinity by analysing the official discourse on peacekeeper sexual exploitation through the Foucauldian concept of power/knowledge. Foucault argues that knowledge is always a form of power, and that furthermore power is constantly implied in whether, when and how knowledge is applied or not. Knowledge is always politically, historically and locally situated and cannot be understood as operating within a void. According to Foucault,

*“there is no power relation without the correlative constitution of a field of knowledge, nor any knowledge that does not presuppose and constitute at the same time, power relations.”* (Foucault 1977: 27)

The corpus of knowledge is hence produced by what Foucault names “*power-knowledge, the processes and struggles that traverse it and of which it is made up.*” (ibid: 28-29) Foucault is thus arguing against truth in an absolute sense – Truth – but claims that a “regime of truth” is discursively formed depending on context, space and time.<sup>8</sup>

In connection to the issue of my thesis, we thus have to understand masculinity as a regime of truth, as historically and locally constituted, insofar that military masculinities differ in various degrees in time and space. The regime of truth being scrutinized here will be the contemporary masculinity of the predominantly Western male UN peacekeeper. In the course of this thesis, I will try to answer the questions what kinds of masculinities have been produced in the discourse by the documents and statements of the UN and national authorities and how they can be situated in terms of power/knowledge. How do these productions contribute to or challenge the general perception of masculinities in military contexts?

---

<sup>8</sup> “*Truth isn’t outside power;*” he states, “*it is produced only by virtue of multiple forms of constraint. And it induces regular effects of power. Each society has its regime of truth, its ‘general politics’ of truth: that is, the types of discourse which it accepts and makes function as true; the mechanisms and instances which enable one to distinguish true and false statements, the means by which each is sanctioned; the techniques and procedures accorded value in the acquisition of truth; the status of those who are charged with saying what counts as true.*” (Foucault 1980: 131)

Apart from the Foucauldian concept of power/knowledge, my thesis will be deeply informed by intersectionality, meaning that human experiences and interaction are always structured by various axes of difference, such as gender, class, race, sexuality, age and ability. (Wekker/Lutz 2001) This approach is highly relevant for the issue of – blatantly put – white, wealthy, middle-aged heterosexual men using their status to exploit non-white/ Eastern European impoverished, young women and children.<sup>9</sup> Furthermore, I am arguing that the construction of the male UN soldier is mainly constituted by notions of sexism and misogyny, homophobia (in the need to prove his heterosexuality) and racism. My focus will be on masculinity and its intersection with sexuality; race – particularly whiteness – will be less frequent part of analysis.<sup>10</sup>

---

<sup>9</sup> This juxtaposition reproduces the dichotomy of perpetrator (male) and victim (female) and thus remains in the discourse of “victim feminism” which has been criticized to deny women's agency. I have decided to write this sentence in this particular way in order to make clear the power relations in the issue of my thesis, even if the situations are not always that diametrically structured.

<sup>10</sup> In accordance with Wekker and Lutz, I understand whiteness as a “*material, cultural and subjective location which is variable according to time and place and can be described.*” (Wekker/Lutz 2001: 22)

## ***2. The development of masculinity studies: state of current research***

### ***2.1 Introduction***

Issues of gender and violence in general, and gender and militarism in particular have not been thoroughly discussed until lately. The link between masculinity and violence had not been questioned.<sup>11</sup> A change in this presumably given link has only recently been introduced through the work of critical masculinities researcher R. W. Connell. Connell has been challenging the essentialist suggestion that testosterone is responsible for male aggression and violence, by arguing that, on the contrary, high testosterone levels “... *are as likely to be the consequence of social relations.*” (Connell 2002: 34) Other feminist researchers in the field of critical conflict studies have used this deconstruction of inherently aggressive masculinity to theorize sexual violence performed by soldiers. While masculinity and violence, as well as militarism – namely the regular militaries of nation-states – have been subject to feminist theorizing,<sup>12</sup> I am drawing the attention to a soldier that is more difficult to comprehend, as both his masculinity and his militarism are – primarily due to his restraint to armed force – not that of a hegemonic masculinist/militaristic discourse: the UN peacekeeper. Apart from the research of the scholars such as Cynthia Enloe,<sup>13</sup> Sandra Whitworth and Paul Higate, Cynthia Cockburn and Dubravka Zarkov have contributed to the analysis of peacekeeping and masculinities with their anthology “The Postwar Moment” in 2002, containing articles by R. W. Connell, Madeleine Rees and many others.<sup>14</sup>

I will now sketch the development of masculinity studies and will draw the attention to the different concepts having attempted to analyse the masculinity of the soldier, specifically the UN peacekeeper. I will furthermore attempt to clarify my own position in this debate by introducing the concept of “de-individualized masculinity.”

---

<sup>11</sup> Similarly, the presumed linkage between women and peacefulness had for along time not been scrutinized either. Early attempts to explain violence performed by women have not been successful due to essentialist assumptions: for example, the many passionate women serving Nazi Germany as concentration camp supervisors committed similar atrocities against the prisoners as their male colleagues. However, for decades they were regarded as seduced victims, or their behaviour was explained amongst others due to the fact that they were not mothers and were thus lacking the ability of compassion. The violence and cruelty performed by their male colleagues however was not questioned but was rather assumed as “normal”. See Grossmann, 1991 for an elaboration on these forms of representation. A more recent summary (in German) on the development of research on women in National Socialism is Herkommer 2007.

<sup>12</sup> For example Miedzian 1991; Brod/Kaufman 1994; Murnen/Wright/Kaluzny 2002.

<sup>13</sup> Enloe has made the first major contribution to the analysis of the UN peacekeeper’s masculinity in 1990 with her book ‘Bananas, beaches & bases: making feminist sense of international politics’.

<sup>14</sup> Cockburn/Zarkov 2002.

## 2.2 Masculinity studies and the concept of “hegemonic masculinity”

The field of masculinity studies has emerged in the 1970s with scholars such as Klaus Theweleit and R.W. Connell researching the historical developments of masculinity in different local contexts, showing how male sociality has been constructed in opposition to its assumed counterpart, femininity.<sup>15</sup> In his two-part study *Männerphantasien* (I und II, 1978)<sup>16</sup>, historian Theweleit examined the masculinity created in the German Freikorps around notions of sexism, homophobia, racism and the feeling of despair after the loss of World War I. R. W. Connell, in *Masculinities* and *Gender & Power*<sup>17</sup> developed tools to theorize masculinity as a social construct. Connell by herself in 2002 and in cooperation with James W. Messerschmidt in 2005 reformulated certain elements of her concept of masculinities, which I will now elaborate on.

Connell has created the notion of “hegemonic masculinity” as critical reference to Antonio Gramsci’s concept of hegemony, with cultural hegemony as a means of the state and the capitalist system to be maintained. Connell contested that in Gramsci’s terms, hegemony is “... *reduced to a simple model of cultural control*” (Connell 2005: 831) and uncovered a lack in the theoretical framework regarding the potential of historical change not being focused. In contrast, Connell emphasizes the relationality of gender – and hence masculinity – and rejects the idea of gender being fully structurally determined. She argues that

*“masculinity is defined as a configuration of practice organized in relation to the structure of gender relations ... The concept of hegemonic masculinity embeds a historically dynamic view of gender in which it is impossible to erase the subject.”*  
(ibid: 843)

Connell continues to refer to Gramsci’s definition of hegemony to the extent that hegemony is not simply understood as domination by force, but as a combination of coercion and consent. More specifically, as the idea of plurality of masculinities and the hierarchy between those is presumed, this hierarchy is understood as a pattern of hegemony in terms of being formed by cultural consent, discourse, institutionalization as well as the marginalizing and delegitimising of alternatives. The important point here is that hegemonic masculinity is not necessarily the most common masculinity. Instead, it works through the production of specific models of masculinity that have a certain amount of authority. Furthermore, it is important to note that

---

<sup>15</sup> For a more recent publication, see Kimmel/Hearn (eds.) 2005.

<sup>16</sup> Theweleit 1987.

<sup>17</sup> Connell 1987 and 1995.

hegemonic masculinities – as masculinities in general – are historically constructed and can thus also be reconstructed; for example they can change by incorporating elements from subordinated masculinities. Hence, they are never stable. (ibid: 846-847)<sup>18</sup>

Considering the notion of relationality of gender, Connell and Messerschmidt further emphasize that patterns of masculinity are constantly defined in contrast to each other and to femininity – followingly, Michael Kimmel and Cynthia Enloe stress that the idea of masculinity also being socially constructed has been highly contested, and instead, as the latter has argued, attempts have been reiterated to make us

“... believe that men 'naturally' feel what they feel, do what they do, and become what they become”. (Enloe 1993: 19)

Despite this still prevalent social construction, Connell and Messerschmidt contend that the relationality of gender has changed to a certain extent. They argue that gender relations cannot anymore be understood in a simple framework of “global dominance” of men over women, but still contrast the notion of hegemonic masculinity with the term of “emphasized femininity”<sup>19</sup> – instead of “hegemonic femininity” – to stress the imbalance in the relationship between masculinity and femininity. At this point I will turn to the most significant elements constituting hegemonic masculinities.

### *Masculinity and (hetero)sexuality*

An important element of hegemonic masculinities according to Connell and Messerschmidt – at least in what is considered to be the “West”<sup>20</sup> – is heterosexuality. The idea of heterosexual activity and heterosexism as a way of life is in the West imposed already on young boys. The proof of one’s own heterosexuality is linked with the idea of masculinity as activity (in opposition to feminine passivity), insofar that boys who have girlfriends are regarded to have conquered and thus succeeded in the struggle for becoming “real men”. (ibid: 851) The authors note that in recent years a hybridization of heterosexual masculinity has taken place, implicating an increase in cultural visibility of gay masculinities (at least in the West) and an appropriation of certain aspects of gay masculinities into the everyday gender practices of

---

<sup>18</sup> Critical masculinities researcher Michael S. Kimmel points to the fact that framing manhood as historically shifting entails the possibility that it “... gives us something extraordinarily valuable – agency, the capacity to act. [...] Men... can change.” (Kimmel 1994: 120)

<sup>19</sup> As the authors argue that femininity can never be hegemonic, they introduce the term “emphasized femininity” for predominant images on “ideal” women, such as white, blond, slender, cute and big-breasted.

<sup>20</sup> Throughout this chapter I will be referring to masculinities in the West, as I will primarily discuss misconduct of peacekeepers from the so-called developed countries.

straight men.<sup>21</sup> Despite this increase, the hybridization of heterosexual masculinity is far from becoming hegemonic anywhere. Connell and Messerschmidt note that there is only one hegemonic masculinity in a certain place at a certain time; as even though there can be several non-hegemonic masculinities simultaneously,

*“whatever the empirical diversity of masculinities, the contestation for hegemony implies that gender hierarchy does not have multiple niches at the top.”* (ibid: 845)

However fixed heterosexual hegemonic masculinity still might be, the researchers give credit to the diversity of masculinities, and contend that even in institutions such as the military – which I will turn to in the following paragraphs – a diversity of masculinities can be found. (ibid: 835)<sup>22</sup>

### *Masculinity and violence*

After having presented the main elements of “hegemonic masculinities” I would now like to discuss Connell’s concept with regard to the military, which presupposes an analysis of the presumed linkage of masculinity and violence. Connell in her 2002 article “*Masculinities, the reduction of violence and the pursuit of peace*”<sup>23</sup> challenges the “... *widespread belief that it is natural for men to be violent.*” (Connell 2002: 34) She points to the importance to acknowledge that many – most – men are non-violent, and that implications both for theory and practice are relevant to see that even though most soldiers are men, the vast majority of men never kill or hurt anyone. With regard to soldiers, Connell makes a step further in differentiating between men as individuals and men as part of “masculinized institutions”. Even though, as mentioned above, diverse masculinities can be found in the military, there is nevertheless “... *an energetic effort to produce a narrowly-defined hegemonic masculinity.*” (ibid) Connell thus concludes that the reasons for gendered violence – e.g. forms of sexualized violence committed by men against women – are not to be found in biological differences, but rather in “*social masculinities*”, (ibid) as the army “... *does not reflect, but actively produce[s], particular versions of masculinity.*” (ibid.)<sup>24</sup>

---

<sup>21</sup> See for example the concept of metrosexuality that was particularly popular in the UK in the 1990s.

<sup>22</sup> This point is also supported by David H. J. Morgan, who argues for thinking about the military “... *as a site for the development of a plurality of masculinities rather than a single, dominant, and highly embodied masculinity.*” (Morgan 1994: 180)

<sup>23</sup> Connell 2002.

<sup>24</sup> Other forms of “social masculinity” are sports institutions, fraternities, etc. In certain professional sports, such as soccer, the regular visits of prostitutes by the players also seem to be common; and the recent allegations against French national player Franck Ribéry of having had sex with an under-age prostitute have been met by his superiors with similar reactions as the UN peacekeepers. Uli Hoeneß, manager of Ribéry’s

Regarding the topic of my thesis, namely the specific masculinity of the UN peacekeeper, I would like to discuss another concept that has been used to analyse violence performed by this particular kind of soldier, namely the one of “militarized masculinity” applied by Sandra Whitworth. She is using this concept in trying to frame acts of sexual exploitation committed by UN peacekeeping soldiers while deployed on mission.

### 2.3 The concept of “militarized masculinities”

Whitworth also refers to gender as a social relation, and argues that comprehending gender as a social relation can only be accomplished in a complex way; meaning that it refers to their content and to the manner of how relationships are constructed. Among others, Whitworth considers the state and its various institutions, as well as the numerous international institutions – both governmental and non-governmental – shaping gender. She gives special credit to the material conditions producing certain activities and practices, and is arguing for understanding these relations in an intersectional way –

*“Race, class, culture and sexual orientation – and prevailing assumptions around each of these – will fundamentally affect the ways in which gender is understood and the practices associated with reproducing or challenging those understandings in all of these places.”* (Whitworth: 66)

In defining gender both as *being* a relation as well as being constructed *through* relations, Whitworth is making a strategic move in the hope to hereby emphasize the tensions between structure and agency,<sup>25</sup> arguing that human agency is “... *neither wholly determined nor completely free.*” (ibid: 67) Whitworth is thus arguing from her academic-political position of critical/feminist international relations theory that the tension between structure and agency should be addressed “... *because it is concerned with the structured inequalities within which agents operate.*” (ibid) In accordance with Connell, Whitworth emphasizes that the activities creating and being created by gender relations are constantly situated within specific historical and material circumstances, and thus entail options to change.

Giving credit to the severity of the impacts of institutions in general and the military in

---

club Bayern München, was quoted to have said “Wir finden die gesamte Angelegenheit dermaßen lächerlich...”/ “We find this cause extremely ridiculous...”

<http://www.bild.de/BILD/sport/fussball/bundesliga/vereine/bayern/2010/07/23/uli-hoeness/erkennt-eine-hetzkampagne-gegen-franck-ribery.html>

<sup>25</sup> A not so recent but still very useful overview on the debate of structure vs. agency is Wharton 1991.

particular, Whitworth develops the concept of “militarized masculinities”. It makes clear how strong and repressive the military institutions are for the individual, and implies that masculinity is in such a context more homogeneous than in the “civil” world. It does make sense to apply “militarized masculinities” as a framework to analyse certain irregular activities by soldiers, however, critique has been uttered against its use in the particular context of framing (male) UN peacekeepers, and more specifically sexual exploitation performed by them.<sup>26</sup> The critique concerns the above-mentioned tension between an argued-for equality of structure and agency and contends that the concept of “militarized masculinities” too much remains in the sphere of structuralism. This implies that the soldier is rather regarded as a victim-like toy in the military institution, and thus being denied any form of agency. Along with that, the concept is criticized for regarding the army as too homogeneous and thus neglecting diversity and axes of difference that exist even within such a rigid institution as the military.

While this critique might become weaker regarding “regular” military institutions such as national armies – in which the aim is indeed to reduce diversity as much as possible and instead to create uniformity among soldiers – I do agree that it applies to the context of UN peacekeeping missions. In these missions, soldiers are “denied” to combat – they are given the permission to use weapons only in case of self-defence – and are thus addressed as having a lesser militaristic status than “regular” soldiers. Instead they are often perceived by the local population in the area where the mission is deployed as humanitarian workers, distributing food and water, building infrastructure etc. Their masculinities thus differ from those of “regular” soldiers in their degree of militarization. Concerning their off-duty activities in general, and practices of sexual exploitation against women and children of the local population in particular, these can only insufficiently be grasped by the framework of “militarized masculinities”, as this would deny the peacekeepers’ agency and thus be in danger of justifying activities of sexual exploitation as part of a sexist/racist/homophobic entity.

#### 2.4 The concept of “social masculinities”

Paul Higate – formerly having served in the British Armed Forces and now critical military

---

<sup>26</sup> For example in Higate 2007.

scientist at the University of Bristol – rejects the concept of militarized masculinities partly, for the above-discussed reasons. He claims that analysing the sexual exploitation performed by UN peacekeepers on missions is better framed by Connell’s notion of “social masculinities”, in the sense that social institutions such as the army *produce* certain forms of masculinities. Higate argues that Connell's concept, instead of focusing on the military as institution, rather incorporates intersectionality and thus gives more space to diversity and agency within the military.<sup>27</sup>

Higate acknowledges that all peacekeepers have been trained by and in national armies and have thus been subject to practices characterized by sexist, homophobic and racist elements. Accordingly, they have internalized certain modes of behaviour, which is how these acts of gendered, homophobic and racist violence might be explained. Still, peacekeepers are “lesser” soldiers and thus not so militarized in comparison to those serving in national armies, so their masculinities are not only defined by militarization. In accordance, Higate stresses the fact that most peacekeepers do *not* engage in such acts of violence but are instead taking their agency to resist certain forms of militarized practices, even though many of their colleagues might engage in them. (Higate 2007: 101) I consider Higate’s argument against the use of the term “militarized masculinity” due to its denial of agency with regard to the UN peacekeeper highly valuable. I am thus regarding Higate’s reframed version of the Connellian concept of “social masculinities” within the UN context more highly. However, I consider the term “social” too weak to grasp the whole dimension of the semi-pacified soldier.

### 2.5 Introducing: “de-individualized masculinity”

I am thus suggesting that referring to the UN peacekeeper’s masculinity in terms of “*de-individualized masculinity*” would better emphasize the condition that he is indeed in. This term incorporates elements of both “militarized” and “social masculinities” – the former is valuable in my point of view in emphasizing the specific formation of an individual through the army, while the latter is giving more space to agency that seems to be relevant in the analysis of the peacekeeper, but the term itself is not strong enough. By stressing the process

---

<sup>27</sup> He acknowledges that researchers such as Cynthia Enloe and Cockburn/Hubic have been incorporating this intersectionality in their work, showing how gender is interwoven with politics and power, and also shaped by a vastly unequal economic condition. “*By reflecting on the interplay of these dimensions, [of gender, politics, power and economy; E.Z.]*” Higate argues, “*at no time does analysis [the analysis by Enloe and Cockburn/Hubic; E.Z.] become overreliant on the concept of military masculinities, although this concept is referred to throughout.*” (Higate 2007: 101)

of removing one's individuality in the army training I hope to connect elements from both concepts. I will now briefly outline the significance of militaries in general, and in particular UN peacekeeping contribution to the building of a national identity and will show how this interwovenness is structured in terms of gender, before continuing with the analysis of the UN peacekeeper's masculinity.

### *Excursus: UN peacekeeping in the light of nationalism and gender*

With the formation of the UN following the end of the Second World War, the foundation of peacekeeping missions was established in the organizations' Charter, and was for a long time considered as a positive alternative to the traditional forms of nation-state military force. The first UN troops were deployed in Suez in 1956, and until 1978 there were only thirteen such missions. However, with the end of the Cold War and the beginning of a "new world order", peacekeeping missions became central within the UN's framework of diplomatic as well as military confines. The number of missions increased dramatically – 29 missions were installed between 1988 and 1996<sup>28</sup> – and the range of scope was broadened as well. (Whitworth 2007: 11-12) For a long time, peacekeeping was not only by the UN but also by feminist and critical IR scholars perceived with optimism due to its un-militaristic connotation, letting Cynthia Enloe conclude – as I already mentioned – that peacekeeping had a good reputation for this reason. (Enloe 1993: 33)

At this point, before coming back to the specificities of UN peacekeeping, it seems necessary to briefly outline the function of the military for the formulation of national identity. This will serve as a foundation to understand the relevance of UN peacekeeping and the impact of gender issues on it for the national project and can thus help to comprehend the reactions of national authorities on their soldiers' misbehaviour.

As Nira Yuval-Davis has argued, most critical theoretical approaches to nation and nationalism have neglected gender as part of their analysis, and have further emphasized "Western" to the disadvantage of "Eastern" nationalisms. Yuval-Davis claims that nationalisms are constantly gendered, to a different extent depending on where and when. (Yuval-Davis 1997: 3) Women have traditionally been attributed a special role in the nation, their function as mothers of children "upgraded" symbolically to mothers and keepers of the nation-state. The imagined defence of nations has been connected to masculinity, insofar that men have been given the roles of soldiers to protect the nation from outside's influences. Masculinity in connection with militarism is thus highly significant in the formation of the nation and its ideology.

The degree of militarism has varied among different nations – for example in the USA the soldier is worshipped as a hero and as the one bringing his nation's glorious freedom to other

---

<sup>28</sup> International relations theorists claim that the end of the Cold War has led to an enormous increase in local wars which have been met by the UN with deploying blue helmets. See for example Coulon 1998.

countries; whereas peacekeeping is in the USA regarded rather ambiguously or even with hostility. In Canada<sup>29</sup>, not so much the “regular” soldier but instead peacekeeping has become what Sandra Whitworth calls one of the nation's “core myths”. (Whitworth 2007: 85) According to the Standing Committee on National Defence and Veterans Affairs in 1993,

*“Canadians have always seen peacekeeping as an important element of their identity and of their country's position on the international stage, even when peacekeeping meant little to much of the international community.”* (cited in Whitworth 2007: 87)

Different from the images connected to regular soldiers, the Canadian peacekeeper, in popular photographs, is depicted rather as protector than warrior, represented as “*benevolent, altruistic, and above all, peaceful.*” (ibid: 89) The vulnerability of this “core myth” of the Canadian national identity will be subject of discussion in the analytical chapter.

Regarding the issue of gender and the military, the role of women in national armies as well as in the UN peacekeeping contingents can be considered a pressing topic. In recent years, the UN have attempted to optimize the gender balance within the several personnel categories deployed on peacekeeping missions. However, women are still vastly underrepresented, for example in 2002 they comprised only ¼ of the staff in missions. Out of these, the number of women among the military forces and among the high-ranking officials (such as the Special Representatives of the Secretary-General) were the lowest.<sup>30</sup> (Whitworth 2007: 123) Regarding the idea of Gender Mainstreaming within the UN, Whitworth wonders whether the concept itself is more progressive than it might appear at first glance. She argues that, instead of being regarded as a simple strategy to incorporate women,

*“it subjects all policies to an analysis that takes into account the specific interests and values of both women and men. Conceptually, the idea of gender mainstreaming is also relatively sophisticated. It accepts the idea that gender is a social construct, not a biological fact, and that the prevailing norms and assumptions concerning both women and men will differ across time and place.”* (ibid: 124)

The idea underlying the concept nevertheless does imply some essentializing background, namely the notion that due to women’s “inherent peacefulness” they can contribute to the peacebuilding and – keeping process more fruitfully than male soldiers. This assumption is

---

<sup>29</sup> Even though I am writing from a mainly European perspective, it makes sense to discuss the issue of the Canadian peacekeeping situation as the focus of the thesis is to analyse acts of violence by UN soldiers from the global North in countries of the global South.

<sup>30</sup> In May 2010, the UN had 19 peacekeeping missions deployed worldwide. Out of the 86.123 military personnel, not even 2000 were female. The percentage of female military experts consisted of little more than 4 %. <http://www.un.org/en/peacekeeping/contributors/gender/2010gender/may10.pdf>.

one of the driving forces behind models such as “Gender Mainstreaming”. Gender Mainstreaming can be regarded as the attempt to encourage the participation and employment of women in certain fields of work, with the idea being – apart from trying to blur the gendered division between productive and reproductive labour – that women contribute positively in certain ways. While the ideas behind militarism are certainly not to increase the peacefulness of soldiers, this characteristic seems to be encouraged by the UN for peacekeepers due to the oftentimes tricky situations they face when deployed in a “post-conflict” area. The organization has been trying to increase the number of female peacekeeping soldiers, claiming that it is, among other issues, “*easier for female peacekeepers to establish a dialogue with local citizens.*” (Whitworth 2007: 138)

The pressing question that has to be raised here is what impact the presence of women has – not in a particular mission, but regarding the institution of UN peacekeeping altogether. Following the question “*whose work does gender do*” in Peace Support Operations (PSO), Whitworth critically observes that

“... *it does the work of the status quo, the traditional focal points of the UN understandings of war, security, states, and territory....*” (ibid: 140)

in the sense that militarized masculinities in these missions are not challenged. Whitworth thus concludes that noting the potentially “positive” impacts women might have in such missions, the higher amount of women in UN missions

“... *does not alter (and certainly does not transform) militarized peacekeeping practices. Rather, it simply provides advice on the ways in which understanding gender allows those practices to be conducted more effectively.*” (ibid: 138)

The practice of Gender Mainstreaming in UN peacekeeping can thus be criticized for perpetuating the status quo. Peacekeeping itself should be scrutinized regarding not only the maintenance of militarized-masculinized practices, but also in terms of broader historico-political practices. Whitworth follows Edward Said's definition of imperialist practices constituting the construction of the racialized 'other', who has to be rescued and civilized. Simultaneously, it implies the production of what is considered to be the 'Orient' in claiming that UN peacekeeping can be considered as “one of the contemporary sites through which these knowledge claims are produced.” (Whitworth 2007: 28)

In this part I have shown the connections between peacekeeping and Orientalist practices, gender mainstreaming as serving militarization, as well as the gendered structures of

nationalism. The significance of UN peacekeeping in national discourses will be picked up on in the analytical chapter, revealing how “misbehaviour” by UN soldiers can effect a “core myth” of national identity, in this case of the Canadian society. Before that, I would like to show how UN peacekeeping masculinity is constituted.

### ***3. Theoretical framework: the masculinity of the UN soldier***

#### ***3.1 Introduction***

In the following chapter, I will provide the theoretical background for the discussion of the masculinity of the UN peacekeeping soldier. The chapter is organized as follows: I will firstly provide a short sketch on the philosophical concept of essentialism; Subsequently I will present important elements of masculinity that are based on essentialist ideas, namely heterosexuality – which I will focus on –, homophobia and misogyny as well as racism.

#### ***3.2 On essentialism***

The term essentialism derives from the philosophical understanding of ‘essence’, meaning the idea that something or someone is constituted by a certain substance. In referring to human beings, this substance is thought to be reason for specific forms of behaviour and activities. In history, the ‘essences’ of human beings have been highly gendered, in the form that various characteristics have been inscribed to men or women respectively. These characteristics have traditionally been constituted in binary opposition to each other, implying the idea that men and women are ‘by essence’ completely diametrical. Men and women are thus contrasted in relation to culture – nature, rationality – emotionality, (sexual) activity – (sexual) passivity, aggression – peacefulness, productive labour – reproductive labour, war – peace, etc.<sup>31</sup> Masculinity is hence connected to rationality, but at the same time to aggression and violence, and an almost uncontrollable sex drive – one could argue that those characteristics would rather recall notions of irrationality. The assumed strong masculine sex drive<sup>32</sup> has been used to explain various forms of “behaviour”, not only the male “need” to visit prostitutes, but also sexual intercourse with minors, sexual exploitation and coercion, and even rape.<sup>33</sup> The assumed connection between masculinity and sex drive seems to be still prevalent in most societies. (Higate 2007: 106)

In reference to militarism, scholars have detected certain “progressive” developments in terms of gender and sexuality. Cynthia Enloe for example has stated already in the early 1990s that

<sup>31</sup> There have been strands in feminist theory, such as cultural feminism – which had its peak in the 1980s – that have used these essentialist ideas in trying to upgrade supposedly feminine characteristics.

<sup>32</sup> I am using the attribution “assumed” when referring to the strong male sex drive in order to emphasize its historical constructedness. Regarding the female sex drive for example, ideas have historically been strongly connected with ethnicity, with images of islamic women having developed from “*perfection of eroticism and sensuality*” (in the 19<sup>th</sup> century) to nowadays being seen as a “*symbol of sexual backwardness.*” (Wekker/Lutz: 23)

<sup>33</sup> See Murnen/Wright/Kaluzny 2002 for a detailed analysis of such attempts to justify gendered violence.

certain reformative shifts within armies seem to be connected to developments in society more generally.

*“The creation and reorganization of so many military institutions are occurring at a time when gay men and lesbians are more vocal and better organized politically in a wider array of countries than ever before.”* (Enloe 1993: 32)

Many countries have over the past 20 years lifted the ban on homosexuality in their military institutions.<sup>34</sup> Despite these developments, homophobic tendencies still exist within the military, and women are continuously excluded from certain military services. The British Armed Forces for example prohibit women from entering elite commando and airborne units as well as service on submarines. (Higate 2005: 433)

Nevertheless, the general increase of women in military institutions has by some scholars been evaluated as a sign of recent sociopolitical developments to stop linking militarism with manliness. Despite these shifts, Higate raises the question – in accordance with Sandra Whitworth –

*“... whether the essence of militarism has been transformed by the sexual politics of the last 30 years, or whether an increased presence of women in the armed services has just modified its superficial appearance.”* (ibid: 437)

Along with this critical account on progressive developments in military institutions, I would argue that opening the army to sexual and gendered 'others' has significance in the symbolic realm, but does not imply a shift in the institution's practices. I will elaborate my position on this issue in the conclusion. After having discussed the advantages and disadvantages of female peacekeepers, I would now like to shift the focus back to masculinity.

### 3.3 The constitution of the soldier

Let us therefore turn to the question of how militarized – in the broader sense of social – masculinities are constituted, and what elements can be detected to form the soldier's identity. In most Western armies it has been observed that integral parts of the basic as well as advanced combat training constitute in the pronounced misogyny, sexism, homophobia and racism. (Whitworth 2007: 159-163) These elements become apparent in the construction of an assumed enemy as well as in the practice of insulting the recruits as if they were these

---

<sup>34</sup> The first country to condemn discrimination based on sexuality within the military were the Netherlands in 1974.

assumed enemies. I will give several examples in order to clarify the construction of the masculine soldier: Firstly, some of the frequently used terms to degrade a soldier who has not accomplished something that he is supposed to, considering that he is masculine, are words such as “sissy”, “pussy” or simply “woman”. The intention behind these insults is that the soldier is encouraged to prove his masculinity – no man wants to be considered a girl, especially not the male soldier – and will thus show more effort. (ibid)

The masculinity of a soldier is furthermore constituted as strictly heterosexual, with homosexuals being considered both the enemies that need to be fought against as well as potential threats for the stability of the soldiering community. Homosexuality thus was and has been officially prohibited in most national armies for a long time, with some countries still persecuting soldiers for “homosexual conduct”.<sup>35</sup> Despite the formal acceptance of homosexual soldiers in several Western armies, words such as “gay”, “queer” and “faggot” are still used as denunciations and openly homosexual soldiers are objects of verbal and physical assaults, as part of a wider practice of homophobia. (ibid)

At this point, I would like to make a short excursus on the construction of masculinity in general – not the specific militarized masculinity – around the issues of homosexuality or homophobia respectively, as well as on racism and, as a manifestation of misogyny, rape. As Kimmel shows, *“homophobia is a central organizing principle of our cultural definition of manhood.”* (Kimmel 1994: 131) According to Kimmel, homophobia derives from the childhood experience of the young boy identifying with his mother and hence conceiving his father as a sexual object. After realizing that he does not know what to do with this desire, he suppresses it. Homophobia is thus defined as the fear of being mistaken as homosexual, and the

*“homophobic flight from intimacy with other men is the repudiation of the homosexual within – never completely successful and hence constantly reenacted in every homosocial relationship.”* (ibid: 130)

The fear to be unmasked, emasculated, is mainly present and reproduced in interaction with other men, in the hope that they acknowledge one’s masculinity. At the same time, women’s

---

<sup>35</sup> The Congress of the USA for example voted only in May 2010 to the “don’t ask, don’t tell”-policy (DADT) restricting soldiers’ sexuality. <http://www.washingtonpost.com/wp-dyn/content/article/2010/05/27/AR2010052704540.html>. DADT - implying that non-heterosexuality is “okay” as long as it is closeted – had been introduced by then-president Bill Clinton in 1993 as an “improvement” for LGBTQ soldiers in the US military, who had been officially oppressed by his predecessor Ronald Reagan’s Directive claiming homosexuality as incompatible with military service.

approval of one's manhood is not sought after – as only another man can grant one's masculinity – but women are sought to be conquered in order to get one's manhood approved by other men. Here, man's presumed activeness becomes apparent once more, while women are seen as a conquest and hence as passive. It is in this aspect of attempting to conquer women in order to be approved by other men for one's heterosexual masculinity that homophobia goes along with sexism – men are constantly trying to prove that they are heterosexual by showing sexual interest in almost every woman they see. (Kimmel 1994: 133) At the same time, women are constantly put in a lower position, they are the 'others'.

Apart from women and gay men, non-white men are also constructed as 'others' that white straight men have to differentiate from. For example, in the historical and local situation of white "real" American manhood in the end of the 20<sup>th</sup> century, this attempt of dissociation entailed that all men who had a non-white immigration background were considered as threats to this masculinity. As Kimmel argues,

*“these groups have historically been cast as less [...] were also, often simultaneously, cast as hypermasculine, as sexually aggressive, violent rapacious beasts, against whom ‘civilized’ men must take decisive stand thereby rescue civilization.”* (ibid: 135)

The dissociation from and exclusion of 'others' is in Kimmel's terms a significant element of hegemonic masculinity and its constitution and reconstitution. At the same time, it creates the norm that all other men are striving to reach for, rather than considering alternatives.

*“Within a dominant culture, the masculinity that defines white, middle class, early-middle aged, heterosexual men is the masculinity that sets the standards for other men, against which other men are measured and, more often than not, found wanting.”* (Kimmel 1994: 124)

It is hence the masculinity scrutinised in this thesis that is directly connected to whiteness. As mentioned above, the necessity to prove one's heterosexuality can lead to sexist and misogynist behaviour towards women in the form of treating them demeaningly. It can also lead to acts of utter violence such as rape. Rape has for a long time been analysed as an “aggressive expression of sexuality” (Seifert 1992: 1) with attempts to explain and justify rapes with the supposedly strong and irrepressible male sex drive. Susan Brownmiller was the first one to challenge this notion in her book “Against Our Will” (1975), so that nowadays it is more or less common ground that rape “*is used as an instrument in exerting violence*” rather than a means to express sexuality. (ibid.) However, in the hyper-masculinity of the soldier

who is strongly connected to violence in the first place, rape in times of war and postwar is still dominant and unquestioned.<sup>36</sup> I will now apply these practices of constituting masculinity to the specific situation of the soldier.

### 3.4 The sexuality of the soldier

The above described practices of ‘othering’ and at the same time dissociating from and even opposing to women as well as homosexual and ethnically different men are inherent elements of military training in the attempt to create a rather homogeneous soldier community. David H. J. Morgan argues that the construction of heterosexuality is central in the shaping of the soldier’s body and acts; at the same time the idea of the military is one of a male-only institution, with the aim to separate men from women and bind men to men – in a supposedly strictly heterosexual manner. The soldier’s heterosexuality is aspired to be reproduced as often as possible, in accordance with the idea of a constantly strong male sex drive. “*Military authorities, with varying degrees of covertness,*” Morgan states,

*“will seek to provide outlets for the sexual needs of their men, again highlighting other well-established gendered contrasts between masculine animality and female passivity.”* (Morgan)

These outlets can be in form of providing space and time for the soldiers to be able to masturbate, however, as the “conquest” of women is regarded as a more convincing proof of heterosexuality, the visit of prostitutes is tolerated, if not encouraged by higher-ranking military personnel. This applies particularly to times of mission. The linkage of prostitution to military bases<sup>37</sup> as a means to reproduce soldiers’ heterosexuality and thus belonging to the “lucky” group of hegemonic militarized-social masculinity holds not only true for actual combat scenes, but also for the situations of UN peacekeeping missions deployed in zones of “post-conflict”. In Cambodia, Bosnia, Kosovo and several PSO sites in African countries, prostitution has increased enormously with the deployment of UN soldiers, with brothels and nightclubs having been established next to military bases. (Whitworth 2007: 67; Rehn and Sirleaf: 12)<sup>38</sup>

<sup>36</sup> This is even more significant since women and children who have been raped during wars are more likely to be sexually exploited – e.g. raped or trafficked – in post-conflict. (Bedont 2001: 5)

<sup>37</sup> Enloe 1990.

<sup>38</sup> Prostitution as distraction and/or relaxation for soldiers on missions – not limited to UN-led missions – has been argued for by military institutions and politics. In the Netherlands, for example, there were considerations about sending Dutch prostitutes along with the troops deployed in Afghanistan (under NATO

The idea that underlies the connection between militarism and prostitution is the already mentioned prevalent assumption of a strong male sex drive and the discrepancy between men's activity (men are actively searching for a sexual partner in order to satisfy their needs) and female passivity (women wait to be approached, they do not have a strong sex drive but exist in order to give men pleasure). In the following, I would like to discuss several elements of what can be defined as "essentialist" statements regarding men and women in general, and their respective sexuality in particular. I am arguing that these essentializing ideas are partly responsible for and also reproduce not only activities of sexual exploitation by men generally and UN peacekeepers specifically, but also provide grounds for justifying and excusing these forms of gendered, homophobic and racist violence –as has been done both by UN officials as well as national authorities.

Of course, it is problematic to refer to either gendered, homophobic or racist violence, as the different axes of differentiation are always intersected. When analysing violence that at first sight appears to be gender-based, we also have to ask the question how sexuality, race, class, age, ability etc. are interwoven.<sup>39</sup> For example, white women in the army might at times be vulnerable because of their gender, they can at other times be protected by their whiteness. Non-white women, whether in the army as well or confronted with army personnel in other circumstances, are vulnerable due to both their gender and race. Race becomes even more important when violence is acted on men. When Canadian peacekeepers tortured a Somalian teenager, they did so because he was Black. When they beat Somalian men, insulting them as "gay", heterosexuality (in the form of homophobia) was intersecting with race. The whiteness of the North-American male was constituting the sexual and racial 'other'.<sup>40</sup> The issue of whiteness is particularly important in many of the examples presented, coming to the fore most explicitly when the violence is performed on Asian or African bodies, and less obvious when the 'others' are of Eastern European whiteness.<sup>41</sup> The intersections of masculinity,

---

leadership), motivated by the knowledge that in the host country itself – where prostitution is illegal – it would be extremely difficult for soldiers to "let off steam". This proposition was rejected by the Dutch Ministry of Defence itself. <http://www.trouw.nl/nieuws/nederland/article1391568.ece>

<sup>39</sup> Lawyer Mari Matsuda has introduced a tool that she has called "asking the other question" which she explains in the following way: "When I see something that looks racist, I ask, 'Where is the patriarchy in this?' When I see something that looks sexist, I ask 'Where is the heterosexism in this?'" (cited in Wekker/Lutz 2001: 25)

<sup>40</sup> I would like to give credit at this point to those who have introduced "critical whiteness studies", arguing for whiteness to become the object of research and to analyse the position of white people in the racial power relation. Toni Morrison and bell hooks have introduced the change in who should be the object of research on racism in the 1990s, however in several countries such as Germany, "critical whiteness studies" has only become more influential in the early 21<sup>st</sup> century. See Eggers/Piesche/Kilomba/Arndt 2005.

<sup>41</sup> For a detailed analysis on the construction of Eastern European whiteness in contrast to Central European

(hetero)sexuality and whiteness will come to the fore in the course of the following paragraphs.

*Unauthorized violence and the soldier*

As the focus of this thesis suggests, soldiers generally but also UN peacekeepers perform acts of various forms of unauthorized violence while in mission. By unauthorized violence I am referring to violence that is not within the timely constraints of the mission, e.g. after-work sexual exploitation. Violence is integral in soldier's training, but it appears to be not only restricted to times of combat. What is interesting in analysing the military from a gender perspective regarding unauthorized violence is that soldiers do not only commit crimes while on mission, but also in their private lives. I will support this claim referring to the already mentioned Canadian Armed Forces and the infamous Airborne Regiment in particular. Barbara Bedont describes that a 1985 study on offences within the Canadian Army has proven that soldiers committed more acts of sexual violence than did non-soldiers. (Bedont 2001: 9) The inquiry showed that the percentage of sexual assaults committed against women built up 54 percent of all crimes committed in the military, indicating that sexualized violence was far from being insignificant. (ibid)

Following R.W. Connell, we can then conclude that the efforts by military forces to produce and reproduce a “narrowly-defined hegemonic masculinity” are one reason for the high amount of gendered violence within these institutions. (Connell 2002: 33 f) Whitworth thus claims that the atrocities of personnel of the Airborne Regiment reveal the

*“complex and often contradictory configurations of racism, homophobia, and misogyny that sustain militarized masculinities.”* (Whitworth 2007: 86)

I am arguing that this claim can also be applied to various other peacekeeping situations, and will unravel the above discussed elements of the construction of the peacekeeper's masculinity – along different axes of differentiation - in selected official statements in the following chapter. At the same time, I will show that the concept of “de-individualized masculinity” is more adequate to comprehend the complexities of the peacekeeper's masculinity, particularly when analysing peacekeeper sexual exploitation and other forms of violence.

---

whiteness, see Andrijasevic 2004: 207.

#### ***4. The discourse on sexist, racist and homophobic violence committed by male UN peacekeepers: an analysis of selected statements***

##### ***4.1 Introduction***

In the following chapter, I will analyse the discourse produced on peacekeeper sexual exploitation as well as racist and homophobic violence of various UN missions of the past years. These missions include UNTAC (in Cambodia), UNMIBH (in Bosnia), UNOSOM (in Somalia) and MONUC (in the Democratic Republic of Congo). Although I am rooted in historically informed research, due to the limited space of this thesis I will not be able to provide detailed background information on these missions. In short: the UN mission in Cambodia was deployed from 1992 to 1993 to implement peace after years of war between Vietnamese troops and the Khmer Rouge; in Somalia, UN troops were installed between 1992 and 1995 to end the civil war; UNMIBH was established between 1995 and 2002 to implement peace and stabilize the country that was shattered after several years of civil war; MONUC, created in order to end the battle between Congolese and troops of neighbouring countries, continues in the Democratic Republic of Congo. These are only selected UN missions in which various forms of sexual exploitation and violence, as well as racist and homophobic cruelties performed by UN peacekeepers against members of the population of the host country<sup>42</sup> have occurred. Peacekeeper violence has also been reported in other missions such as Kosovo, Haiti and several African countries. I selected those documents and statements that were strongest in content and would thus support my argument in the best way. Some of the quotes are connected to specific mission countries, while the UN-bound comments refer to PSO altogether.<sup>43</sup>

---

<sup>42</sup> The term “host country” referring to the area where a UN mission is deployed is used in official UN language.

<sup>43</sup> For several years, until the beginning of the 21<sup>st</sup> century, the UN did not maintain correct records with information about the allegations against peacekeeper's exploitation, neither information about the actions taken by their national governments. (Bedont 2001: 7) The 2008 report by the UNSG “Special measures for protection from sexual exploitation and sexual abuse” claimed that in comparison to the previous year, an enormous decrease in the allegations of sexual exploitation by peacekeepers had been noticed. The Office of Internal Oversight Services (OIOS) reported 127 allegations against Department of Peacekeeping Operations (DPKO) personnel in 2007. (Annex IV of A/62/890) I would like to point to two issues: firstly, and this might sound obsolete, allegations do not equal acts; meaning that the number of cases filed is usually much lower than the cases occurred. Theoretically, this could mean that even though the number of allegations has decreased in 2007, the number of acts of exploitation has increased. This was probably not the case, since the number of allegations did most likely increase in the course of the improvement of the UN's complaint mechanism in 2004. Secondly, almost half of these allegations (59) reported in 2007 were made against MONUC personnel only, deployed in the Democratic Republic of Congo, where the worst and most frequent events have been recognized.

#### 4.2 The discourse: peacekeeper murder on a teenager justified?

*“There were too few ways for single soldiers to blow off steam; there was too much drinking; there were too few available women.”*  
(David Bercuson, cited in Whitworth 2007: 105)

The above-cited statement was expressed by David Bercuson, influential military historian, in an attempt to explain why Canadian peacekeepers of the prestigious Airborne Regiment had tortured a teenage boy to death and performed various other acts of racist, sexist and homophobic violence while on UN mission in Somalia. This statement entails various aspects which I have discussed in the theoretical chapter. I am thus going to analyse Bercuson’s remark on its content in terms of essentializing, the assumed linkage between masculinity and violence, the male sex drive, the idea of women as a conquest/proof of man’s heterosexuality and the general framework of peacekeeping as a Canadian national constitutive.

First of all, the notion that underlies this statement is the causality between masculinity and violence, suggesting that if men do not get the opportunity to have sexual intercourse regularly, they *automatically* misbehave. It is thus essentializing in the way that the substance ascribed to these men consists of their violent potential, and that it draws a connection between sexuality and violence. The idea of the male sex drive is also prevalent, particularly linked to the notion that the only “proper” way to satisfy this drive would be by conquering women. Interestingly, the statement refers only to “single” men – it thus forgets that also soldiers who are in relationships in Canada will not be able to meet their sex drive in any other way than their “single” comrades in times of missions. Apart from that, the language used is highly problematic. In applying the term “*to blow off steam*” – which is a colloquial synonym for “to masturbate” – Bercuson suggests violence as inherent in male sexuality, comparing the soldier to a cooking pot that might explode without a valve. Moreover, referring to “*too few available women*” suggests that local women would – and perhaps even should – be “accessible” as long as they are not married, constructing the female subject as passive and not entitled to decline a sexual approach by a peacekeeper. Suggesting that young men turn violent if they are “denied access” to women can lead to the conclusion that this would be “*simply the price we pay ... for having a military*” (Whitworth 2007: 106).

Peacekeeping, as I have stressed earlier, is an essential constituent in the Canadian military, the image of the peacekeeping soldier being the benevolent hero. However, this image was deeply shattered. Apart from the already mentioned torturing-to-death of a teenager, Canadian

peacekeepers in Somalia also held a dinner in honour of the man who during the Montreal Massacre (1989) had slaughtered 14 women. However, at the same time, Canadian soldiers complained about the way that Somali men treated “their” (Somalian) women. Their “attempts” to “*save brown women from brown men*” used as justification for violence on Somalian males clearly recall Spivak. (Whitworth 2007: 107) The cruelties performed by the Canadian blue helmets mainly against the male Somalian population – who was looked down upon as gay – can be interpreted as a manifestation of the soldiers' homophobia, and closely interrelated with expressions of misogyny. Violence was directed against human beings perceived as less masculine – women in general, and Somalian men whom they regarded as gay or less worthy due to their ethnicity. Coming back to the issue of intersectionality, the peacekeeper masculinity is in this context deeply structured not only by heterosexuality but also by whiteness – as I have already pointed out in the previous chapter. The vast majority of Airborne soldiers was white and demonstrated their relational power to the non-white population by performing violence constituted by racist, homophobic and misogynist elements.<sup>44</sup> There were also videos revealed of racist and homophobic activities among the soldiers themselves: Among other images, one showed the sole black soldier of the regiment crawling on all fours, having “I love KKK” written on his back. Apart from that, male soldiers were documented in eroticized interaction. (Whitworth 2007: 93) Whitworth was not sure what to make of these images. I argue that these were not serious homoerotic encounters, but rather homophobic expressions attempting to ridicule homosexual practices and to humiliate lower-rank soldiers. Canada, having had an outstanding reputation as reliable peacekeeping country saw itself constrained to investigate thoroughly and take criminal measures. However, only two soldiers were convicted, and several others involved in the incidents were either acquitted or only reprimanded. It has to be acknowledged though that the entire Airborne Regiment was dismissed. (Bedont 2001: 8)

Despite the comparatively fast and thorough reaction by Canadian national authorities, the discourse on these atrocities was rather dominated by apologetic remarks. The revealed

---

<sup>44</sup> The torturing-to-death of the Somalian boy was only one of several cruelties committed by Canadian peacekeepers against members of the local population, all in line with the Airborne's nickname for the mission as “Operation Snatch Niggers”. The crimes committed showed clear characteristics of racism and homophobia. Somali people were marked as ‘others’ and thus inferior to the soldiers, and they were subjected to various forms of racist appellations, such as “nigger”, “nig nog” or “moolie”. Soldiers of the Airborne Regiment considered especially the male Somali population as enemies, who were seen as not to be grateful to the soldiers' efforts to “rescue” them and who were furthermore thought of as homosexual. Sandra Whitworth thus concludes that, “*marked in this way, the violence perpetrated on them [the Somalian men, E.Z.] seems almost inevitable.*” (Whitworth 2007: 101)

incidents of Canadian soldiers torturing in Somalia were in the media repeatedly called single incidents, as a few “bad apples.” (cited in Whitworth 2007: 93) When it was finally acknowledged that the problem was more widespread than admitted earlier, several voices blamed the lack and loss of traditional militarism, the “*failure of traditional military values*” for the violence of the peacekeepers. Whitworth contested that in the discourse produced,

“*Somalia was a crisis for Canada not because of what happened to the Somali men brutalized by Canadian soldiers but because of what it said to Canadians about their beloved military.*” (Whitworth 2007: 98)

Following these attempts to justify the peacekeeper's crimes by using sexist and nationalist arguments, the conclusion that derives from this would be that atrocities as the above-mentioned are “... *a necessary if unfortunate feature of an organization whose existence is premised on the instrumental value of aggression and violence*”. (Whitworth 2007: 106; 99)

Instead, I would like to argue that – without trying to justify the violence committed by the Canadian peacekeepers – understanding their practices as part of a “de-individualized masculinity” clarifies them as constituting their masculinity on the grounds of violent distinction from supposedly racialized and sexual 'others' / inferiors while at the same time acknowledging their active decision to participate in these practices. I will argue for the use of this concept regarding the subsequent statements as well, however reactions by UN have been rather the opposite.

#### 4.3 The linkage of militarization and prostitution

For example, Representative to the UNSG in Cambodia, Yasushi Akashi, reacted to allegations against UNTAC personnel in a similar way as Bercuson mentioned above. According to various national and international NGOs and observers, the percentage of prostitutes increased by more than 100 percent with the arrival of the UN in Cambodia. While prostitution had existed in Cambodia before the deployment of UN troops, it had been a rather benign and invisible phenomenon. However, with the arrival of international soldiers, the number of prostitutes not only grew enormously (the rise estimated from 6000 to 25 000), but soliciting and advertising also became open activities.<sup>45</sup> Due to an increase in HIV as a

---

<sup>45</sup> Early claims that the vast majority of these prostitute consisted of Vietnamese women who had immigrated to Cambodia to profit from the growing business could not be verified but are believed to have resulted from general anti-Vietnamese resentments. (Whitworth 2007: 67)

consequence thereof, child prostitution grew immensely as well, with internationals paying up to 500 £ - compared to a regular price of 10 £ - for a virgin considered to be STD-free. Apart from that, vast sexual harassment performed in the public by UN personnel towards the local population was brought to Akashi's attention. Subsequently – after a reaction characterized by long silence – the latter was quoted by various influential South-Asian newspapers to have said that he was

*“not a `puritan,' [and] that `18-year-old, hot-blooded soldiers' had a right to drink a few beers and chase after `young beautiful beings of the opposite sex.'”* (cited after Ruecker 2000: 25)

This quote was directed at allegations of UNTAC being responsible both for increasing prostitution in Cambodia as well as for harassing women and children in the streets. Akashi's reaction to the problem of sexual exploitation by UN personnel generally as well as to the confrontation by the Cambodian population can be analysed on various accounts against the background of the construction of the UN soldier's masculinity. Firstly, the strategy of silence is itself an indicator of implicit indifference, if not “tacit endorsement” (Ruecker 2000) of this behaviour. Barbara Bedont claims that the unavailability of information regarding most of these cases “... *itself is a reflection of the failure of officials to deal with the problem.*” (Bedont 2001: 10)

Apart from that, the statement uttered at the meeting is highly problematic in its essentialist and homophobic content. Firstly, it suggests misogynist behaviour as “natural” for men: women are considered as sexual objects open to demeaning male activities, it naturalizes the idea of a strong male sex drive that has to be met, especially for young men – even if that entails threatening behaviour – and it denies female agency; rather, women are, in line with traditional essentialist thinking, put in a passive position. The choice of the term “hot-blooded” implies that the men are led by their “nature” only and unable to control themselves. The quote also hints at homophobia inherent in the military apparatus: Prostitution or sexual harassment as a means to prevent homosexual activities among the presumably male-only personnel is highly encouraged, instead of being scrutinized.<sup>46</sup> By defining himself as “not puritan” in the context of discussing sexual harassment/violence, Akashi moreover creates the idea that “pro sex” can imply “pro sexism”, suggesting an “either-or”-situation – one is either

---

<sup>46</sup> Sexual services in exchange for money, food or other good were prohibited for UN peacekeepers officially only in 2003 by the UNSG bulletin “*Special measures for protection from sexual exploitation and sexual abuse.*” (UN Doc: ST/SGB/2003/13: 1)

“pro sex” or “anti sex”. Adopting to this, people opposing sexist behaviour and violence can then be discredited as opposing sexuality in general. Furthermore, what is striking to both this quote and the one uttered by Bercuson in reference to the Canadian soldiers' violence is that alcohol is used as a justification/explanation for the activities. Interestingly, however, the first quote *blamed* too much alcohol as responsible for bad behaviour, while Akashi's statement rather suggested that alcohol and sexual harassment go hand in hand and are somehow *okay*. The power/knowledge produced in Akashi's reaction thus suggests that sexual violence performed by men can be explained and to a certain extent justified on the grounds of men's (aggressive) nature and the consumption of alcohol. Furthermore, it is assumed almost necessary in order to prevent homosexual interaction and thus to reinforce the sought for hegemonic peacekeeping masculinity. Apart from that, it consolidates the binary of the white – active – male and the Asian – passive – female. The regime of truth prevalent here – in a just recently pacified country with colonial history – could be characterised as essentializing violence by the white male soldier in a situation characterised by various power relations against non-white female subjects.

The local and international reaction to this statement was very strong, but was met with yet another problematic argument. Sexual exploitation by peacekeepers was subsequently defended by Akashi's spokesman Eric Falt, stating that

“... *'there might be abuses here and there and action is taken when there is outrageous behaviour.'*” (cited in Ruecker 2000: 26)

As Ruecker points out, it is not clarified *who* defines whether behaviour should be considered outrageous or just benign. The perception of the threatened person should be the one given audience to. Apart from that, the statement once more supports the idea of militarized prostitution. (ibid) Adding to prostitution and sexual harassment, many cases of rapes committed by UN peacekeeping soldiers were reported, but were mostly discarded by UN officials on grounds such as that evidence was not convincing for them.<sup>47</sup> The attitude of indifference towards these various forms of gender-based violence as presented by UNTAC officials thus could give mission members the impression of their superiors' acceptance of such behaviour. (Ruecker: 27) The power/knowledge produced then not only supports sexual harassment and prostitution in unequal, by militarization characterized human relations, but also rape. Both arguments also reproduce racist ideas of white people being entitled to

---

<sup>47</sup> For example, in cases when rape survivors made complaints several weeks after the felonies, the UN claimed that the evidence was already vanished. (Whitworth 2007: 70)

determine the life of non-white subjects.

*Do women in Western countries like sexual harassment?*

Within the UNTAC mission, there were however also endeavours to take the allegations of peacekeeper sexual exploitation seriously. For example, in 1992 an investigation was conducted and published by UNTAC's Educational and Information Division. It assessed that

*“UNTAC personnel are not showing proper respect for Cambodian women. Perhaps because many UNTAC personnel only have contact with Khmer (and Vietnamese) women through prostitution, there is a tendency on the part of some personnel to treat all women as though they were prostitutes. This includes grabbing at women on the street, making inappropriate gestures and remarks and physically following or chasing women travelling in public. UNTAC personnel should be briefed on the fact that gender conceptions in Khmer culture are different from their own. Physical contact between the sexes in public is NEVER acceptable. If a woman laughs when she is touched, this laughter is probably a sign of embarrassment or fear and not encouragement. The problem is not exclusively one between Khmer women and male UNTAC staff, but is a generalized problem. Female UNTAC staff have similarly expressed problems with sexual harassment. The problem is not a small problem.”* (cit. in Ruecker 2000: 26-27)

I find it noteworthy to stress the acknowledgement of sexual harassment by male UN soldiers faced not only by Cambodian women, but also by female UN personnel. It supports the claim that masculinity (not only) in the military context is being reproduced by heterosexual – and in this case sexist – behaviour. However, I find two parts of this quote highly problematic: The statement that *“the fact that gender conceptions in Khmer culture are different from their own”*, in following a description of various forms of sexual harassment, implies that in the UN soldiers' home countries these forms of behaviour could be accepted and even be approved of by women. I do not know of any woman who would like to be grabbed at or followed after or yelled at in the streets. Inherent in this note is the oftentimes still prevalent idea that women in a public space are looking and waiting for – however demeaning – attention by men. Women in a public space are considered fair game. They are marked, while men in the public space are the supposedly neutral observers who do the marking. A similar practice takes place in terms of race, with whiteness doing the marking – the white human beings as supposedly

neutral – of the racialized 'others'. It shows that, as Wekker and Lutz have argued, gender “is not an autonomous system to be studied independently from other systems”, but is rather “simultaneously constructed with ethnicity and class [and sexuality, etc. E.Z.] and is related to them.” (Wekker/Lutz: 2) An intersectional analysis of the text thus shows that the authors of the document imply to be allegedly unmarked by their gender, race and also sexuality but can instead make claims about the – variously marked – objects of investigation.

Secondly and connected to this, the remark that peacekeepers tend “*to treat all women as though they were prostitutes*” with referring to demeaning public behaviour suggests that treating prostitutes without respect – for example by grabbing at them in public – is given and justified; but most of all, it denies the notion of sex worker's agency to determine when, where and how a physical contact with a customer is established. It is thus a statement devaluing women who work in prostitution and reproducing the double standards inherent in many national discourses and legislations to criminalize prostitutes on the one hand while simultaneously protecting customers.

Local and international NGO members claimed that the issue of sexual exploitation by peacekeepers was aggravated by the fact that there were only few women among the soldiers and even less among the UNTAC's high-rank officials. Even though more female personnel might not necessarily prevent sexual exploitation by military personnel, Whitworth claims that it might have at least reduced the threatening image of an international male-dominated military abusing the local Cambodian population (Whitworth 2007: 71), as

*“in deploying a highly militarized, and highly masculinized, peacekeeping mission to Cambodia, increasing, rather than alleviating, the insecurities of many local people was almost ensured.”* (ibid: 73)

Despite being critical on the positive effects of increasing the number of women in institutions such as the military, I would agree with Whitworth that in a UN mission such as in Cambodia more female military UN personnel would have at least had effects on the symbolic level. Let us now examine whether the UN presence in Bosnia and Herzegovina had similar effects on the living conditions of the local population.

#### 4.4 Militarization and human trafficking: the UN mission in Bosnia and Herzegovina

The UN mission in Bosnia became very infamous after the uncovering of peacekeeper's

involvement in prostitution as well as human trafficking by Kathryn Bolkovac. There are no signs of investigations and reports conducted by the UN themselves, but many non-governmental organizations examined the allegations closely.<sup>48</sup> Barbara Bedont claimed that this was not only symptomatic for UNMIBH, but for all UN peacekeeping missions at least until 2001, with UN withholding information and NGOs filling the gaps. As there is only little amount of information made public, Bedont argues

*“to conclude that a general problem exists of crimes committed by peacekeepers and that there is insufficient attention to such crimes.”* (Bedont 2001: 7)

The official UN position can thus be derived from various other forms of communication: first of all, as already thematized elsewhere, the silence is a symbol for the UN's trouble to deal with the issue of trafficking in human beings (THB) within its ranks, and can at the same time be regarded as approval (“Wer schweigt, stimmt zu”/“Silence means consent”). Silence in this context thus meant that – although the UN pursued an anti-human trafficking policy and attempted to implement a strict border regime in Bosnia to prevent THB – the UN granted exceptional behaviour to its own personnel and thus made a distinction between the local and the international population, and by that between the masculinity of Balkan inhabitants and the masculinity of the UN soldiers. As the UN soldiers were tolerated to reproduce their masculinity by committing crimes in visiting forced prostitutes, their immunity became a symbol of distinction from local men who would have been and were persecuted for similar illegal activities.

Apart from that, statements by UN officials could be derived from interviews, for example uttered in Karin Jurschick's documentary “The Peacekeepers and the Women”. Among those interviewed were Jacques Paul Klein – then-Special Representative to the UNSG –, Celhia de Lavarène – appointed by Klein to found and lead an anti-THB programme<sup>49</sup> –, as well as Madeleine Rees – then-Head of UNHCR in Bosnia. Klein's reaction, in contrast to Akashi's misogyny, was characterized by uttermost denial. I will present several of his quotes at this point in order to underline my argument: *“I can find no officer of the thousands here who has ever been involved in trafficking.”* (Jurschick: 19:43) - *“I am not saying there was no problem. We had a problem, and we cleaned it up.”* (ibid: 25:45) - *“This is an internal matter handled by DynCorp. I was told to stay out of this.”* (ibid: 24:07) Klein contradicts himself in

---

<sup>48</sup> See among others Human Rights Watch 2002; International Alert February 2004; Amnesty International May 2004; Refugees International 2005; Save the Children (UK) 2008.

<sup>49</sup> STOP (Stop Trafficking of People), <http://www.stopinternational.org>.

all of these statements. The last one is simply not true as allegations were made against all UN personnel, not only DynCorp.<sup>50</sup> The first two are in diametrical opposition to each other as Klein admits incidents once, after having claimed that UN soldiers had not been engaged in THB. de Lavarène is also documented to have said that “I never found anyone (of the international community, E.Z.)” (ibid: 30:15) This claim is highly scrutinized by their colleague Madeleine Rees, who states that

*“this is just another historical incident where militarization has led to the use and abuse of women”* (ibid: 15:02)

and denounces that the UN, by not having intervened in THB altogether and within its personnel early enough has in fact *“facilitated organized crime.”* (ibid: 13:40) Elsewhere, Rees claims that in the initial phase of the UN deployment in Bosnia, the clients of the trafficked prostitutes *“were almost exclusively from the international community.”* (Rees 20027: 61) Moreover, she recognizes Klein's giving a lecture on multinational crime in the form of smuggling of gasoline etc. when being confronted with trading in human beings as a strategy of denial and a method *“to blame everything on that instead of actually dealing with our own failures.”* (ibid: 14:52)<sup>51</sup>

The whiteness of the male UN soldiers in Bosnia thus comes to the fore in the more than symbolic form that they are protected by their immunity and their superiors' denial of

<sup>50</sup> DynCorp is a private security company that was a contractor of UNMIBH. The involvement of such mercenary companies in conflict and post-conflict situations has increased dramatically in the past years and has led to a lot of debates.

<sup>51</sup> One of the most enlightening scenes in the documentary is when de Lavarène describes her feeling when doing a brothel raid in the middle of the night. de Lavarène – middle-aged, bleached hair and constantly wearing a very costly shearling coat – says *“This is fun – I just love it... My God, I'm in the middle of a movie....”* While saying this, she smiles very excitedly. I am aware that the discourse produced in these statements might be regarded as less influential, as documentaries do not reach extremely broad audiences. However, the last remarks by de Lavarène were also videotaped by the STOP team and published in their promotion video, so that everyone who wants to get information about the UN's state of the art in Bosnia could contemplate about the organization's real intentions. Several other sequences in the documentary support the impression one gets, namely that de Lavarène and her UN colleagues do not take the issue of human trafficking in general nor the involvement of peacekeepers seriously. Due to the limited space in this thesis, I will only sketch these scenes: firstly, the brothel raids – with the official motive of detecting and liberating forced prostitutes from Eastern European countries – are conducted in the middle of the night with extremely intimidating methods. The potentially involuntary prostitutes' sleep is not only broken, but they are also rather treated as criminals. Secondly, when de Lavarène conducts an interview with a 21 -year old Moldavian woman who claims to have been trafficked, de Lavarène appears naive and ignorant about the economic situation in the home country of the woman. A close reading of the scene almost suggests a reversion of the power relations between the two women: the young prostitute appears more knowledgeable and experienced than Mme de Lavarène. However the material condition and national belonging of the two are more significant in their relationship. In the direct confrontation of de Lavarène and the young Moldavian woman, class – represented by the posh fur coat – and national belonging are the strongest signifiers, but the power relation seems to be challenged by Lavarene's naivete.

misbehaviour; they were figuratively “white-washed”. The masculinity produced entails almost rampant behaviour, especially directed at Eastern European females, suggesting that masculinity can only be expressed by acts of violence and/or exercise of power against gendered 'others'.

#### 4.5 Rape, “prostitution as survival” and sex with minors: early 21<sup>st</sup> century missions in West and Central Africa

The issue of sexual exploitation by peacekeepers in Africa first got attention by a research conducted in 2001 in the Mano river countries (Liberia, Guinea and Sierra Leone) and published in 2002, by UNHCR and Save the Children (UK). The information presented in the report entitled “*Sexual violence and exploitation: the experience of refugee children in Liberia, Guinea and Sierra Leone*” about UN peacekeepers and aid workers having sexually exploited refugees in the above-mentioned countries reached the Investigations Division of the UN Office of Internal Oversight Services (OIOS) already in November 2001 and led to the “*Report of the Office of Internal Oversight Services on the investigation into sexual exploitation of refugees by aid workers in West Africa*” (2002). This report found that the allegations of sexual exploitation *might* be true, but could not be substantially verified. It concluded that the allegations were

*“misleading and untrue. None of the specific stories cited against aid workers named in the consultants' report could be confirmed.”* (OIOS 2002: 14)

Despite these “negative” findings, the UN apparatus continued to be concerned with the issue – as even though the allegations could not be verified, they were still allegations that had probably not appeared out of the blue. On May 22 of 2003, the UN General Assembly adopted resolution 57/306 on “*Investigation into sexual exploitation of refugees by aid workers in West Africa*” appealing to the Secretary-General to take measures to prevent future potential sexual exploitation by DPKO members. Then-UNSG Kofi Annan adopted a bulletin on “*Special measures for protection from sexual exploitation and sexual abuse*” several months later in October 2003. Annan defines sexual exploitation as

*“any actual or attempted abuse of a position of vulnerability, differential power, or trust, for sexual purposes, including, but not limited to, profiting monetarily, socially or politically from the sexual exploitation of another.”* (ST/SGB/2003/13: 1)

It explicitly prohibits and condemns sexual encounters between

*“United Nations staff and beneficiaries of assistance, since they are based on inherently unequal power dynamics, undermine the credibility and integrity of the United Nations...”* (ibid)

Sexual services that are exchanged not only by money, but also by food and other goods or various forms of employment are prohibited according to the bulletin. Moreover, sexual encounters with people under the age of 18 – independent of the age of consent in the mission's host country – are prohibited. (ibid: 2)

Annan announces disciplinary measures such as dismissal from mission in case of violation of these rules. He further calls upon criminal prosecution by the offender's national authorities in case allegations against are supported by evidence. (ibid: 3) These rules were formulated eleven years after the first time allegations of UN peacekeepers' sexually exploitative activities were revealed.

As Murphy states in referring to so-called 'survival sex', meaning prostitution as a means of survival,

*“relations of this nature are inherently exploitative and relatively easy to establish in post-conflict environments where women and girls often find themselves in vulnerable positions.”* (Murphy 2007: 234)

The very same sexually exploitative activities were performed by UN peacekeepers in the mission in the Democratic Republic of Congo, despite the fact that the UNSG had just firmly prohibited these.<sup>52</sup> By that time, it was clear to Annan that he would have to take further measures in order to severely reduce peacekeeper exploitation and violence.

#### 4.6 The Zeid report: a turning point in UN policies?

A further step was thus taken by UNSG in his instruction to Prince Zeid of Jordan to compile *“A comprehensive strategy to eliminate future sexual exploitation and abuse in United Nations peacekeeping operations”*. The so-called Zeid-report was published in 2005 and contained an investigation of the various legal lacks of both preventing and prohibiting misconduct. Among other issues, Zeid complained about the different legacies applying to the

---

<sup>52</sup> As Murphy estimates, *“the UN personnel in the DRC abused the vulnerability of the local population and exploited the most vulnerable for sexual purposes. The conduct was “... a clear violation of the duty to protect the most vulnerable members of Congolese society.”* (Murphy 2007: 235)

various members of DPKO missions (military, police, civilian, volunteers, contractors) as well as the staff members' awareness that the risk of being held accountable for misconduct was extremely low.<sup>53</sup>

However, despite Zeid's investigation into the issue of peacekeeper sexual exploitation in DRC and his undeniable “good will” to improve the situation of the local population, some of his statements in the report are rather problematic. For example, in observing the issue of prostitution as survival, he claims that

*“In many cases of the interviews conducted by the investigation team during its four months of field work, particularly of the younger girls, aged 11 to 14 years, it became clear that for most of them, having sex with the peacekeepers was a means of getting food and sometimes small sums of money. The boys and young men who facilitated sexual encounters between peacekeepers and the girls sometimes received food as payment for their services as well. In addition to the corroborated cases reported... interviews with other girls and women indicated the widespread nature of the sexual activity occurring in Bunia.”* [Zeid 2005: paragraph 11]

Keeping Murphy's assessment in mind, Zeid's description seems rather euphemistic and blind towards the power relations inherent in a sexual “relationship” between peacekeepers and locals. Moreover, he implicitly approves of sexual relations between minors – specifically, children – and adults and thus contradicts the official UNSG policy and every country's age of consent. The use of the term “sexual activity” emphasizes this approval, as it suggests equal conditions for minors and adults to engage in sexual encounters. How can we analyse this in Foucauldian terms? On the one hand, the UN had just taken a major step performed by UNSG Kofi Annan in condemning sexual exploitation of all kinds during peacekeeping missions. Zeid himself had taken up the issue and investigated giving the appearance of being seriously. However, he and by the UNSG's approval of the report the entire organization, lowered the offences and thus made the allegations and the activities themselves seem less relevant. The official UN policy and the interpretation and implementation of the latter thus contradicted each other. The power/knowledge produced is then twofold: firstly, the issue of sexual

<sup>53</sup> For example, Murphy stated that the possibly worst UN sex scandal took place in the mission in the Democratic Republic of the Congo (MONUC), with charges of various forms of sexual exploitation, including rape, paedophilia and soliciting prostitution. Between January 2004 and December 2005, 278 peacekeeping personnel were investigated against, but not even half of these faced consequences: 122 military personnel and 16 police personnel were repatriated, 16 civilians were dismissed. As Murphy emphasizes, there is still the “... *widespread perception that peacekeeping personnel are not accountable for their conduct and that there is a de facto tolerance for and immunity from prosecution for such behaviour.*” (ibid: 231; original emphasis)

exploitation in PSO is not taken seriously by the UN and is not condemned. Secondly, the UN is attempting to keep up appearances that they do condemn sexual exploitation, but instead they comply with traditional practices of protecting the (mostly male) perpetrators and neglecting the (mainly female) exploited. In intersectional terms, power relations in this case are structured around gender, race, age and sexuality. The UN has acted in favour of white adult “de-individualized” masculinity, while it has denied the sexuality and agency of Black children.

*Critical UN self-assessment on the organization's progress*

So, I am wondering if it is possible to already assess a progress in the UN apparatus in dealing with peacekeeper sexual exploitation. According to Jean-Marie Guéhenno – then UN-Under Secretary General for Peacekeeping Operations – in 2005

*“investigations have been completed into allegations of sexual exploitation and abuse involving 296 peacekeeping personnel, the breakdown by category being 84 civilians, 21 police and 191 military. So far, 17 civilians, 16 police and 137 military personnel have been dismissed or repatriated. Those numbers include six commanders. For the past year, we had been making managers and commanders aware that they will be held accountable for those under their chain of command, and we mean it. We are in the process of making this accountability part of their performance evaluation.”* (UN Doc. S/PV.5379: 4)

To support the enforcement of personnel’s accountability, the DPKO has followed the recommendations uttered in the Zeid report and has installed a conduct and discipline team at its headquarters, in addition to eight regional conduct and discipline teams. They are instructed to observe and report sexual exploitation such as human trafficking and are thus closely cooperating with the OIOS, which is the central investigating authority regarding these crimes. (ibid) But even though Guéhenno points to the progress made regarding the adherence to standards, he concedes that

*“...not all troop contingents or staff on the ground fully support — even after all the negative publicity and attention — aspects of the zero-tolerance policy, particularly as it pertains to prostitution. We will need to work together to address that point.”* (UN Doc. S/PV.5379:3)

In the last statement, Guéhenno implicitly makes clear his awareness of prostitution as a

means to reproduce the UN soldier's masculinity or heterosexuality respectively. Apart from that, Guéhenno claimed that by 2006, gender sensitivity training including education on sexual exploitation and abuse, had been made mandatory for “*between 79 and 90 per cent of civilian police and military personnel...*” – although the actual aim had been 100 percent. As human trafficking is included in the UN definition of sexual exploitation, it should be assumed that training regarding prostitution and forced prostitution was included in these trainings. Moreover, Guéhenno stated that other methods had been developed and were being used, including

*“an online e-learning standards of conduct module, pocket cards, mission-readiness booklets distributed to staff prior to deployment, security briefings and posters and brochures on sexual exploitation and abuse and human trafficking.”* (UN Doc. S/PV.5379: 3)

However, even though it has to be acknowledged that these information materials were published in six languages – which is important since many peacekeeping personnel do not speak English – he did not clarify to what extent these tools were applied. Furthermore, he admitted that two years earlier,

*“... neither we in DPKO nor Member States openly discussed or fully appreciated the magnitude of the problem of sexual exploitation and abuse in peacekeeping.”* (S/PV.5379: 3)

The development in terminology in UN guidelines and resolutions is important to note. In earlier statements, the problem of sexual exploitation in various missions was investigated and assessed, but conclusions and implications for the future were not drawn. Training regarding the situation of gender-based exploitation in (post)-conflict countries was only recommended; the most recent documents show a clear understanding of the severity of the issue of sexual violence through UN peacekeeping personnel for both the victims and the reputation of the organization and argue towards a “zero tolerance” policy. However, the issue of peacekeeper’s involvement in human trafficking is still oftentimes downplayed among UN officials. For example, UN’s *Special Rapporteur on contemporary forms of slavery, including its causes and consequences*, Gulnara Shahinian, in her 2009 report did not mention THB by UN personnel at all. (UN July 2009) Apart from the rather dubious dealing with male peacekeeper violence and construction of his “de-individualized masculinity” by the UN, I argue that femininity represented in the documents and statements should also be scrutinized, in order to

see whether female UN soldiers have also been subject to essentialist notions.

#### *4.7 Excursus on (discourse on) female UN soldiers*

The majority of documents and statements refer to male peacekeeping soldiers, implying the idea that only those commit acts of violence and misconduct. The silence about female peacekeepers reveals three aspects: firstly, as they are not even mentioned, the idea is suggested that either there are no female UN soldiers or secondly that they are “peaceful”. Other than that it shows that the irregular violence committed by female peacekeepers is unintelligible, and then rather not to be talked about. A female peacekeeper performing sexual violence on a young local boy is mentioned in only one report. (Save the Children 2008: 9) Female UN peacekeepers as perpetrators were thus absent in the discourse.

Another incident of sexual violence involving a female peacekeeper – in the position of a victim – reveals yet again the gender bias of national authorities: The woman was raped by two male fellow peacekeepers, one of whom she had had a sexual affair beforehand. The two men were not charged for rape with their national government giving this former sexual encounter as a reason. (Bedont 2001: 9) The power/knowledge produced in such discursive practice weakens a woman's position to say “no” after having said “yes” at a different time. Choice, and especially the choice to deliberately change the desire for a partner is thus denied to women.

To conclude, I am arguing that regarding the issue of silence about female peacekeepers involved in sexual exploitation, they are made once again invisible. Furthermore, silencing potential female violence denies on the one hand women's agency and on the other hand produces knowledge about society's inability to grasp violence performed by women and thus to let go of the essentialist assumption of women being peaceful in opposition to men being aggressive and violent. Making an intersectional analysis on the discourse on female peacekeeper's violence – for example against under-age, Black boys – is therefore forestalled by the absent discourse itself. In the light of new developments to analyse violence acted out by women it would be interesting to pay attention to the practice of silencing such violence, not only committed by female peacekeepers, in another study. Summing up, it seems that, while unauthorized violence by female peacekeepers is silenced, violence by male UN soldiers is often discussed in a relativising and sometimes even justifying manner.

### ***5. Conclusion: from denial to awareness, from essentialism to progressiveness?***

In the present thesis, I showed the kinds of masculinity that have been constructed by the UN, national authorities and opinion leaders in the discourse on misogynist, racist and homophobic violence committed by blue helmet soldiers during missions. I have presented the development of the relevant literature in the field of masculinity studies and have shown how “hegemonic masculinity” in the West is constituted in dissociation of gendered, sexual and racialized 'others'. Furthermore, I have discussed the concepts of “social masculinity” and “militarized masculinity” as attempts to analyse the specific UN peacekeeper's masculinity, and have in a dialectical way evolved them to the concept of “de-individualized masculinity.” On this basis, I have analysed selected documents and statements dealing with the issue of peacekeeper violence, in relation to the question which power/knowledge has been produced.

In the beginning of the thesis, I have proclaimed the proposition – on the basis of UNSG's “*Special Measures for protection from sexual exploitation and sexual abuse*” (2003) and the Zeid-report (2005) – that there had been a shift in the UN's theoretical framework regarding issues of gender and violence in PSOs. I have estimated that the beginning of the 21<sup>st</sup> century was marked by a rethinking in how to deal with allegations of peacekeeper sexual exploitation and racist violence. Unfortunately, I have to revise this proposition quite a bit. There has been a clear change in UN policies<sup>54</sup> – at least when it comes to peacekeeper sexual exploitation – but the gendered and racialized images still appear similarly essentialist as previously. I am arguing that the policy shift – in the form of the adoption of various important documents prohibiting diverse forms of violence and initiating consequences for those who offend those prohibitions – derived from the pressure that was put on the UN by media and NGOs in the course of various years of allegations, and not from a serious change of thinking within the organization. I am thus further arguing that the UN documents were an ad hoc-reaction to the continuing allegations rather than an expression of the notion that peacekeeper masculinity should not be reproduced by violence against gendered, sexualized and racialised others.

Concerning homophobic and racist violence performed by peacekeepers – for example by members of the Canadian Airborne Regiment in Somalia – there have, to my knowledge, not been measures taken and documents produced by the UN. This realization could imply that the UN's interest in gender equality goes to the disadvantage of potential victims of

---

<sup>54</sup> Marked inter alia by the UN Secretary-General's Bulletin “*Special Measures for protection from sexual exploitation and sexual abuse*” (9 October 2003) and the Zeid report (2005).

homophobic and racist violence, as UN documents explicitly prohibit sexual exploitation and sexual violence, but not explicitly violence on the basis of homophobic and racist beliefs.

However, I am arguing that a change in the mindset has occurred only insignificantly, rather are essentialist ideas still prevalent in UN and national frameworks, as can be seen regarding the discussions on Gender Mainstreaming in order to increase the “peacefulness” and good conduct of UN soldiers. Regarding this policy, I would like to issue my previously uttered caveat on the political impact of Gender Mainstreaming. Even though including women, openly non-heterosexual and non-white people in military institutions is without doubt important on a symbolic level, the system of the military itself is not affected or modified in any way.

Things get even more complicated when analysing the reactions of national authorities on allegations against their blue helmets deployed. They can of course not be homogenized, and so it is difficult to detect continuities and/or discontinuities respectively. I would claim that, even though Canada has been criticized on its dealing with the soldiers of the Airborne Regiment, its national authorities have made clear that they do not tolerate such acts. That the felonies have been justified or relativized by Canadian newspapers and opinion-forming people is another issue. National authorities of other countries such as Belgium, Italy and Germany have not at all admitted to their peacekeeper's misconduct by investigating and punishing those under allegations.

As I have shown, depending on time and location, the peacekeeper's masculinity has been constructed in distinction of gendered, sexualized and racialised 'others'. While in missions in African countries, both sexuality and race have played a bigger role – showing for example in the violence against supposedly homosexual Somalian men – the reproduction of heterosexuality through acts of sexual exploitation has proven significant in most UN missions, such as Bosnia and Cambodia. Although race might have occurred to be less important in some of the situations discussed, the peacekeeper's masculinity has generally – not always explicitly – been connected to whiteness. Going back to the question which theoretical concept is most useful to discuss the UN peacekeeper's masculinity – particularly against the background of his engagement in misogynist, racist and homophobic violence – I would like to argue that my suggestion to apply the framework “de-individualized masculinity” – as an example of non-hegemonic militarist masculinity – is highly valuable. It incorporates the notion of structural constraint and partly repressed individuality of the

peacekeeping soldier, as introduced by Sandra Whitworth concept of “militarized masculinity” as well as the emphasis on his agency – despite being formed by “social institutions” according to Connell et al. – due to the specific situation of being entitled to lesser use of force than regular soldiers and more engaged in humanitarian activities. I hope that this understanding of the peacekeeper's masculinity will enable to regard forms of misogynist, racist and homophobic violence committed by him as an expression of his partly structural determination by simultaneously recognizing his agency to object to and refuse this behaviour as well as to change the idea of violence being necessarily connected to his masculinity in the course of historical development. This production of peacekeeper's masculinity thus contributes to the idea of varieties among (non)-hegemonic militarist masculinities and strongly supports peacekeeper's active decision to not reproduce conventional notions of masculinity by engaging in acts of misogynist, homophobic and racist violence.

### 5.1 Recommendations

Bearing in mind my initially stated critical estimation of militarist institutions generally, I would like to recommend -

1. For the UN and national armies to improve their gender awareness training in the form that soldiers have to reflect on their masculinity both in relation to each other's as well as to female soldiers and other women;
  - 1.1 to include in these trainings a critical debate on masculinity and violence;
  - 1.2 to discuss power relations inherent in missions along the axes of gender, race, sexuality and last but not least, nationality; and to discuss how the concept of “de-individualized masculinity” can help the soldiers to understand the practices they are constituted of and that they themselves are at the same time actively producing.
2. For the UN to repeal personnel's immunity and to enforce national authorities to persecute soldiers who have committed offences;
  - 2.1 to be aware that the above made recommendations contribute to the “status quo” (Whitworth 2007: 140) and thus to reflect on the contradictions of the idea of “peaceful military operations” and to question UN missions altogether.

## **6. Abbreviations**

BiH	Bosnia and Herzegovina
DPKO	Department of Peacekeeping Operations (of the UN)
EU	European Union
GA	General Assembly
NATO	North Atlantic Treaty Organization
OIOS	Office of Internal Oversight Services (of the UN)
OSCE	Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe
PSO	Peace Support Operations
SC	Security Council
SG	Secretary-General
SRSG	Special Representative of the Secretary-General
STOP	Special Trafficking Operations Program
THB	Trafficking in Human Beings
UN	United Nations
UNIFEM	United Nations Development Fund for Women
UNMIBH	United Nations Mission in BiH
UNTAC	United Nations Transitional Authority in Cambodia

## **7. Bibliography**

Amnesty International, 'So does it mean that we have rights? Protecting the human rights of women and girls trafficked for forced prostitution in Kosovo', 5 May 2004

Rutvica Andrijasevic, 'Trafficking in Women and the Politics of Mobility in Europe', PhD Thesis Utrecht 2004

Cecilia Åsberg, 'Writing a Master's Thesis in Comparative Women's Studies in Culture & Politics at Utrecht University', Utrecht (no year)

Barbara Bedont, 'International Criminal Justice: Implications for Peacekeeping', December 2001

Harry Brod and Michael Kaufman (eds.), 'Theorizing Masculinities', California 1994

Cynthia Cockburn and Dubravka Zarkov (eds.), 'The Postwar Moment. Militaries, Masculinities and International Peacekeeping', London 2002

R.W. Connell, 'Hegemonic Masculinity. Rethinking the Concept', in *Gender & Society*, Vol. 19/2005; pp. 829-859

R. W. Connell, 'Masculinities, the reduction of violence and the pursuit of peace', in Cynthia Cockburn and Dubravka Zarkov (eds.) 'The Postwar moment. Militaries, Masculinities and International Peacekeeping', London 2002; pp. 33-40

R. W. Connell, 'Masculinities', Sydney 1995

R. W. Connell, 'Gender and Power: Society, the Person and Sexual Politics', Cambridge 1987

Jocelyn Coulon, 'Soldiers of Diplomacy. The United Nations, Peacekeeping and the new world order', Toronto 1998

Maureen Maisha Eggers et al. (eds.), 'Mythen, Masken und Subjekte. Kritische Weißseinsforschung in Deutschland', Münster 2005

Cynthia Enloe, 'The Morning After. Sexual Politics at the end of the Cold War', Berkeley – London 1993

Cynthia Enloe, 'Bananas, Beaches and Bases. Making feminist sense of international politics', Berkeley 1990

Michel Foucault, 'Power/knowledge. Selected interviews and other writings', Brighton 1980

Michel Foucault, 'Discipline and punish', London 1977

Stuart Hall (ed.), 'Representation. Cultural Representations and Signifying Practices',

London – Thousand Oaks – New Delhi 1997

Donna Haraway, 'Situated Knowledges: The Science Question in Feminism and the Privilege of Partial Perspectives', in *Feminist Studies*, 1988; pp. 575–599

Christina Herkommer, 'Der Diskurs zur Rolle von Frauen im Nationalsozialismus im Spiegel feministischer Theoriebildung,' in: Christine Künzel und Gaby Temme (eds.): Täterinnen und/oder Opfer? Frauen in Gewaltstrukturen, Hamburg 2007; pp. 25-45

Paul Higate and Marsha Henry, 'Insecure spaces. Peacekeeping, power and performance in Haiti, Kosovo and Liberia', London – New York 2009

Paul Higate, 'Peacekeepers, Masculinities, and Sexual Exploitation', in: *Men and Masculinities*, Volume 10 July 2007; pp. 99-119

Paul Higate and John Hopton, 'War, Militarism and Masculinities', in Michael S. Kimmel and Jeff Hearn (eds.), 'Handbook of studies on men and masculinities', London – Thousand Oaks – New Delhi 2005; pp. 432-446

Human Rights Watch, 'Hopes betrayed. Trafficking of Women and Girls to Post-Conflict Bosnia and Herzegovina for Forced Prostitution', 2002

International Alert, 'Gender justice and accountability in peace support operations. Closing the gaps', February 2004

Michael S. Kimmel and Jeff Hearn (eds.), 'Handbook of studies on men and masculinities', London – Thousand Oaks – New Delhi 2005

Michael S. Kimmel, 'Masculinity as Homophobia: Fear, shame and silence in the construction of gender identity,' in Brod and Kaufman (eds.), 'Theorizing Masculinities' 1994; pp. 119-141

Anne McClintock, 'Paranoid Empire: Specters from Guantanamo and Abu Ghraib', *Small Axe*, Volume 13, Number 1 March 2009; pp. 50-74

Myriam Miedzian, 'Boys will be boys: Breaking the Link between Masculinity and Violence', New York 1991

David H.J. Morgan, 'Theater of War. Combat, the Military, and Masculinities', in Brod and Kaufman (eds.), *Theorizing Masculinities*, California 1994; pp. 165-182

Sarah K. Murnen, Carrie Wright and Gretchen Kaluzny, 'If boys will be boys, then girls will be victims?' in *Sex Roles* Vol. 46 June 2002; pp. 359-375

Ray Murphy, 'UN peacekeeping in Lebanon, Somalia and Kosovo: operational and legal issues in practice', Cambridge 2007

Madeleine Rees: 'International Intervention in Bosnia-Herzegovina: The Cost of Ignoring Gender,' in Cockburn and Zarkov (eds.): *The Postwar moment. Militaries*,

Masculinities and International Peacekeeping, London 2002; pp. 51-67

Elisabeth Rehn and Ellen Johnson Sirleaf, 'Women, War and Peace: The Independent Expert's Assessment on the Impact of Armed Conflict on Women and Women's Role in Peace-building', UNIFEM 2002

Refugees International, 'Must boys be boys? Ending Sexual Exploitation and Abuse in UN peacekeeping Missions', 2005

Kirsten Ruecker, '(En)Gendering Peacebuilding: The Cases of Cambodia, Rwanda and Guatemala', January 2000

Save the Children (UK), 'No One to Turn to. The under-reporting of child sexual exploitation and abuse by aid workers and peacekeepers', London 2008

Ruth Seifert, 'War and Rape. Analytical Approaches', Women's International League for Peace and Freedom 1992

Gayathri Spivak, 'Can the Subaltern Speak?', in: Cary Nelson and Lawrence Grossberg (eds.): *Marxism and the Interpretation of Culture*, Urbana 1988; pp. 271-313

Donald Steinberg, 'Peace Missions and Gender Equality: Ten Lessons from the Ground', International Crisis Group March 2009

Klaus Theweleit, 'Male Fantasies I and II', Minneapolis 1987

Marguerite Waller, 'Vertigo in the Balkans: Karin Jurschick's *The Peacekeepers and the Women*', received from the author (no year); pp. 1-31

Gloria Wekker and Helma Lutz, 'A wind-swept plain: the history of gender and ethnicity-thought in the Netherlands' in: Botman, Jouwe and Wekker (eds.), 'Caleidoscopische Visies', Amsterdam 2001; pp. 1-54

Amy S. Wharton, 'Structure and Agency in Socialist-Feminist Theory', in *Gender and Society*, Vol. 5 No. 3 1991; pp. 373-389

Sandra Whitworth, 'Men, Militarism and UN Peacekeepers. A Gendered Analysis', London 2007

Sandra Whitworth, 'Feminism and International Relations. Towards a Political Economy of Gender in Interstate and Non-Governmental Institutions', Basingstoke 1994

Nira Yuval-Davis, 'Gender and Nation', London 1997

<http://www.independent.co.uk/opinion/profile-bureaucrat-at-large-in-the-balkansyasushi-akashi-almost-painfully-diplomatic-un-envoy-1373287.html>

Karin Jurschick, 'The Peacekeepers and the Women', 2003 (Film)

*UN Documents and statements*

UNSCR 1888 “On Mandating peacekeeping missions to protect women and girls from sexual violence in armed conflict” 2009

UNSCR 1820 “Women, Peace and Security – Violence against women” (2008)

UNSG Report „Special measures for protection from sexual exploitation and sexual abuse“ 2008, (UN Doc. A/62/890)

UNSC Meeting 23. February 2006, (UN Doc. S/PV.5379)

UN Prince Zeid Ra’ad Zeid Al-Hussein, “A comprehensive strategy to eliminate future sexual exploitation and abuse in United Nations peacekeeping operations” (2005)

UN Secretary-General’s Bulletin, “Special Measures for protection from sexual exploitation and sexual abuse” (9 October 2003)

UN General Assembly, “Resolution 57/306 Investigation into sexual exploitation of refugees by aid workers in West Africa” (22 May 2003)

UN High Commissioner for Human Rights in Bosnia Condemns UN Complicity in Sex Trade, February 2003

[http://www.historycommons.org/context.jsp?item=human\\_trafficking\\_tmln\\_7&scale=0#human\\_trafficking\\_tmln\\_7](http://www.historycommons.org/context.jsp?item=human_trafficking_tmln_7&scale=0#human_trafficking_tmln_7)

8

UN “Report of the Office of Internal Oversight Services on the investigation into sexual exploitation of refugees by aid workers in West Africa” (2002)

UNSCR 1325 “Women, peace and security” (2000)