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Gender, Peace and Security

Examining the assumed benefits of involving men and work on transforming masculinities in the implementation of United Nations Security Council resolutions 1325 and 1820

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This thesis is submitted for obtaining the Master's Degree in International Humanitarian Action. By submitting the thesis, the author certifies that the text is from his/her hand, does not include the work of someone else unless clearly indicated, and that the thesis has been produced in accordance with proper academic practices.

1. ABSTRACT

My aim of this this thesis is to examine the assumed benefits of involving men and work on transforming masculinities when implementing the WPS (Women Peace and Security) agenda focusing on UNSCR (United Nations Security Council Resolutions) 1325 and 1820, in peacebuilding efforts and peacekeeping missions. The empirical findings derives from four semi- structured interviews with informants involved in implementing a masculinity perspective in UNSCR 1325, or informants that had conducted research of this area. A document analysis was also conducted to complement with the interviews and to dig deeper into how a focus on masculinities could be implemented. The document analysis consisted of training material from the Swedish Police force training on UNSCR 1325 for Swedish and international personnel going to UN Peacekeeping missions.

The data was analysed with the theories radical feminism and R.W Connell's masculinity theory.

The thesis result indicate that the assumed benefits are multiple. The key reason to include men and to work on transforming masculinities could be that it would mean to take a holistic gender perspective, and to focus on the gendered drivers of conflict as well as the impacts of conflict.

Key words: 1325 masculinities, WPS masculinities, peacekeeping gender based violence, men 1325, gender training UNSCR 1325, gender 1820, gender training peacekeeping

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4. LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

CAR: Central African Republic

CEDAW: Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination against Women

DRC: Democratic Republic of Congo

IPOC: International Police officer Course)

NAP: National Action Plan

NGO: Non- governmental organisation

OCHA: Office for the Coordination of Humanitarian Affairs

UN: United Nations

UNSC: United Nations Security Council

UNSCR: United Nations Security Council Resolution

WILPF: Women's International League for Peace and Freedom

WPS: Women Peace and Security

5. INTRODUCTION

5.1 RESEARCH PROBLEM

In year 2000 the UNSC (United Nations Security Council) unanimously adopted UNSCR 1325. The resolution calls on the UN and member countries to protect women from gender based violence in war zones and to include women and a gender perspective in peace negotiations. The resolution stresses that member countries should support women's peace-making initiative and provide gender sensitive training to peacekeepers. The resolution also denotes the need for gender mainstreaming through UN monitoring and reporting on the gender dimension of conflict and conflict resolution and the impact of armed conflict on women and girls roles of women in peace-making¹. Eight years later in 2008 another resolution that reaffirms the principles of 1325 was created. The new resolution UNSCR 1820 stressed the need for a policy of zero tolerance for sexual violence by UN peacekeepers and in UNHCR's (United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees) refugee camps².

With the adoption of Resolution 2122 in 2013, the UNSC restated its intention to organise a High-level Review in 2015 to assess progress focusing on implementation of UNSCR 1325. In the study it was clear that implementation of the resolution had been a problem and there's been a huge focus on taking care of victims of SGBV (Sexual and Gender Based Violence) and little has been done to work on prevention³. I myself attended a lot of the plenary sessions and workshops in Geneva in 2015 where the review was discussed. My experience was that a reoccurring question was "where are the men" with the indication that half of the world population were left out of the discussion.

In the Global study, work on masculinities and transforming masculinities were also mentioned in relation to prevention of conflict, the global study stressed the need to start working on addressing root causes of conflict, the structural drivers of conflict and violent

¹ Peterson & Sisson Runyan (2010) Global Gender Issues: in the New Millennium. Third edition West view Press , P. 172

² Global Study on Resolution 1325". Wps.unwomen.org. N.p., 2017. Web. 6 May 2017

³ Ibid.

masculinities it also mentioned how some military is rewarding and indoctrinate aggressive masculine behaviours⁴.

5.2 AIM AND RESEARCH OBJECTIVE

My aim is to start looking at some of the points that the global study did. I will focus on what the assumed benefits would be if incorporating a focus on masculinities in the implementation of UNSCR 1325 and 1820 and how that could look like.

When considering gender as an aspect of conflict Sweetman, Cockburn, Enloe and other feminist scholars is stressing the role that gender relations play in shaping pre-conflict, conflict and post-conflict situations⁵. It is not as easy as men being the perpetrators and women the victim, but war's mortality burden is disproportionately created by males, and women and children represent a majority of the ones affected⁶. With the implementation of UNSCR 1325, it has been described as that the UN has shifted and now only focuses on the role of women as utopian peacemakers and not on the role of men and masculinities⁷. The problem according to Enloe is "that too frequently these days, gender is used as if it were just a bureaucratically comfortable synonym for women" because of this the UN's focus on gender takes focus away from the politics of men and masculinities⁸.

That is why I am looking at what it is that can be done to work towards a more holistic approach to gender, peace and conflict at the UNSC with the aim of advancing the discussion on integrating a masculinities perspective into peacebuilding within the WPS agenda.

⁴ Global Study on Resolution 1325". Wps.unwomen.org. N.p., 2017. Web. 6 May 2017

⁵ SWEETMAN, Caroline.(2013) *Introduction: Working with men on gender equality," in Gender and Development*, Oxfam GB, Vol. 21, N o 1, p. 1-13, 2013

⁶ Buvini et al (2012). Households in Conflict Network, Violent Conflict and Gender Equality, The Institute of Development Studies (IDS), Oct 2012, Pg 3

⁷ Sheri Lynn Gibbins (2011) *No Angry Women at the United Nations: Political Dreams and the Cultural Politics of United Nations Security Council Resolution 1325*, International Feminist Journal of Politics, 13:4, 522-538, P 533

⁸ENLOE, C. (2001) *Closing Remarks, in Women and International Peacekeeping*, L. Olsson and T.L. Tryggestad (eds.), London: Frank Cass Publishers. P111

One of the countries that are working on the implementation of the WPS agenda is Sweden. Sweden has the first self-defined feminist government in the world. The country has adopted a feminist foreign policy with the aim of becoming the strongest voice for gender equality and full employment for women and girls in the world. This to broaden the feminist agenda in the world and to promote gender equality in the international arena. The foreign policy agenda of Sweden is mainly informed by the WPS agenda as a normative framework for foreign policy and security policies. The minister of foreign affairs in Sweden Margot Wallström earlier held the position of UN's Special Representative on Sexual Violence in Conflict. The aim of the feminist foreign policy is to “promote women’s representation and participation in politics in general and in peace processes in particular” this e.g. includes working on prevention and protection of SGBV.⁹ Because of the country's unique focus I will put an emphasis on how Sweden works on implementing UNSCR 1325 and 1820 in relation to UN Peacekeeping missions and their gender training to preventing SGBV and promoting gender equality within their peacekeeping forces.

5.3 RESEARCH QUESTIONS

I am writing this thesis to explore and analyse what is assumed to be the benefits of involving men and work on transforming masculinities when implementing the WPS agenda focusing on UNSCR 1325 and 1820, in peace building efforts and peacekeeping missions.

- What would the assumed benefits be of including men and work on transforming masculinities in the WPS agenda?
- How does Sweden work on the implementation of UNSCR 1325 and 1820 when preparing peacekeepers for peacekeeping mission’s with a focus on transforming masculinities?

⁹ Aggestam & Bergman- Rosamond (2016) *Swedish Feminist Foreign Policy in the Making: Ethics, Politics, and Gender Ethics & International Affairs*, Volym 30, Nummer 3 P 325-327

5.4 PREVIOUS ACADEMIC RESEARCH

5.4.1. GENDER AND WAR

Feminist scholars believe that examining war and peace through a gender lens enables us to see stereotypes that perpetuate conflict and inequalities¹⁰.

Scholars have recognized that gender based expectations are central to understanding of wars. An example of this is how we present wars in gender based terms such as “men defending, saving, innocent women”. There’s also feminist scholars that identified gender based narratives in the justification of war. In essence it’s about gender stereotypes that depict adult men going to war to protect women and children.¹¹

Unlike children and elderly women aren't in naturally need of protection. Women could be seen as in need of protection from the *unnatural* order – patriarchal laws, customs, practices and indulgences.’ They have the aptitude, but does not always have the right or possibility to construct their own protections.¹²

Despite the implementation of UNSCR 1325 the male monopoly of power is understood as left unchallenged by presenting gender mainstreaming as a non-political activity according to Puechguirbal¹³. Gender relations and conflict in global politics has changed the past century were civilians are exposed more often. But war making is still seen as relying on gendered constructions. Through the understanding of the state, state military and their role in the international system.¹⁴ Enloe e.g. stress how gender is constructed and perpetuated within the UN¹⁵. Enloe understands it as that patriarchy construct a masculinity that rely on exclusion

¹⁰ SWEETMAN, Caroline. *Introduction: Working with men on gender equality, in Gender and Development*, Oxfam GB, Vol. 21, N o 1, p. 1-13, 2013

¹¹ Paula Donovan (2006) ‘Gender Equality Now or Never: A New UN Agency for Women’, Office of the Special Envoy for AIDS in Africa, New York, July 2006, p.4.

¹² Paula Donovan (2006) ‘Gender Equality Now or Never: A New UN Agency for Women’, Office of the Special Envoy for AIDS in Africa, New York, July 2006, p.4.

¹³ Puechguirbal, Nadine (2010) *Discourses on Gender, Patriarchy and Resolution 1325: A Textual Analysis of UN Documents*, International Peacekeeping Vol. 17 , Iss. 2, 2010

¹⁴ Sjöberg & Via (2010) *Gender, War and Militarism, feminist perspective*. Praeger.P 2-7

¹⁵ Cohn & Enloe (2003) *A Conversation with Cynthia Enloe: Feminists Look at Masculinity and the Men Who Wage War*, *SIGNS*, Vol.28, 2003, pp.1190–2.

and hierarchy. Similarly to Connell who denotes that there is a hegemonic masculinity. This will be discussed further in the background. A form of masculinity of a class elite could e.g. be seen in the military hierarchy according to Connell. Connell believes that many powerful groups of men have few personal incentives for gender change because it would mean that they lose power¹⁶

Gender roles has changed at the same time as warfare has changed and even though women still remain a minority of state militaries, guerrilla groups and terrorist organisations it has increased in recent years and women have been more active in the wars of the 21st century than before. Also with the UNSCR 1325 women has been mandated to participate in the making of and keeping of peace in the international arena. These changes haven't changed that fact that women are disproportionately affected by war. Even though women are integrated into the war system and the proliferation of policies there to protect them. Feminist scholars believes that there's a disconnection between women friendly policies and results in women's lives. This because gendered needs as women and women's specific protection issues stay unaddressed. Women are being integrated into a world that is defined and shaped by men's interests and needs and there's no attention given to the gendered nature of structures of government and economics.¹⁷ Hooper describes how in international relations feminist discussions have started from the premise that international relations reflects men and masculinity and excludes women and femininity. Because of this it is understood as not enough to just "add women and stir" in the present system¹⁸. To "Add women and stir" meaning to add women into the present system without changing it, it is not enough to be included, the system and its norms and values needs to change.¹⁹.

¹⁶ Cockburn and Zarkov (2002), *The Postwar Moment, Militaries, Masculinities and International Peacekeeping*, London: Lawrence & Wishart, 2002, p.35–36

¹⁷ Sjöberg & Via (2010) *Gender, War and Militarism, feminist perspective*. Praeger.P 2-7

¹⁸ Hooper, Charlotte, *Masculinities, IR and the 'gender variable': a cost-benefit analysis for (sympathetic) gender sceptics*, Volume 25, Issue 3 July 1999, pp. 475-491 P476

¹⁹ENLOE, C. (2001) „Closing Remarks,“ in *Women and International Peacekeeping*, L. Olsson and T.L. Tryggestad

There hasn't been research conducted in the field of including a masculinity perspective in the implementation of UNSCR 1325 and 1820. But there has been a lot of research suggesting that the system needs to change and the focus needs to be on both women and femininities and men and masculinities. Cora Weiss, co-drafter of what became UN Security Council Resolution 1325, said in a speech in 2011 that the purpose of eliminating conflict-related sexualised violence is not to "make war safe for women" UNSCR 1325 and the following resolutions is not there to legitimise and normalise war it is supposed to support the demilitarisation of society and facilitate an development politics of peace that promotes antimilitarism to prevent war from happening at all. What's needed to be changed is the system; it is not to add women to it or to highlight how women are affected by the current system.²⁰

UNSCR 1325 has also been criticised because women are still underrepresented in decision making in regard to conflict and that a focus needs to be on prevention as well as taking care of the problems that arise in conflict. Another critique is that UNSCR needs to be owned by the society that's going to implement the resolution, otherwise it could be understood as an imposed condition from the UN or the west²¹. UNSCRs are formal expressions of the UN organs. The UNSC's mandate is to "maintain international peace and security." The organization's mandate of implementing above is partly challenged by the second article in the UN charter that says that "the Organization is based on the principle of the sovereign equality of all its Members."²² Which means that the resolutions passed by the UNSC cannot be forced upon the states but is supposed to be accepted and formally adopted by member states for the implementation.

To integrate a gender perspective into peace building could be seen as an essential step towards democratic decision-making at all levels of society. To be able to achieve sustainable peace, but with the background of state sovereignty it is not something that can be forced

(eds.), London: Frank Cass Publishers. P111

²⁰ Shepherd, J Laura (2016) Making war safe for women? National Action Plans and the militarisation of the women, peace and security agenda, *International Political Science Review* 2016, Vol. 37(3) 324–335 P 232

²¹ Sjöberg & Via (2010) *Gender, War and Militarism, feminist perspective*. Praeger.P 13

²² Un.org. (2017). *Chapter I*. [online] Available at: <http://www.un.org/en/sections/un-charter/chapter-i/> [Accessed 25 Jun. 2017].

upon states.²³

5.4.2. GENDER TRAINING IN PEACEKEEPING

Carson's and Laplonge's research suggest that gender is understood in a very limited way in the gender training for UN Peacekeepers that does not problematize gender relations and power structures and that it is only there to understand the peacekeeping context and not in relation to the attitudes and behaviours of the peacekeepers themselves.²⁴ Laplonge believes that this partly is because the UN does not want to investigate masculinity or cultural practises of masculinity. Instead the focus is on how they can protect women.²⁵ The training is described as explaining that sexual violence is forbidden but without guidance on how the facilitator could encourage the participants to reflect upon their cultural understanding of masculinity and how it may affect the peacekeepers as a group or how they come to define sexual violence.²⁶

5.5. RESEARCH JUSTIFICATION AND RELEVANCE TO THE HUMANITARIAN FIELD

After conducting a literature review I realized that there hasn't been any previous research deployed in this specific area of including men and a masculinity perspective in the WPS agenda. As mentioned in the previous academic research chapter and in the chapter research aim, there's been a lot of critique towards neglecting men and masculinities when working on gender but little focus had been on how one could work on it in relation to UNSCR 1325 and 1820. From the policy briefs and reports from several NGO's such as Saferworld, Women Peacemakers Program and Men Engage I realised that the implementation of a work in this area had started but no research had been made.

The relevance to the humanitarian field is multiple. I would like to stress the importance of

²³ Sjöberg & Via (2010) *Gender, War and Militarism, feminist perspective*. Praeger. P 15

²⁴ Carson, Lisa (2016) Pre-deployment 'gender' training and the lack thereof for Australian peacekeepers, *Australian Journal of International Affairs*, 70:3, 275-292

²⁵ Laplonge, Dean (2015) The Absence of Masculinity in Gender Training for UN Peacekeepers, *Peace Review*, 27:1, 91-99. P 97

²⁶ *Ibid* P. 94

working with a holistic gender approach including all genders, prevention against SGBV and the linkage between peace building and the humanitarian field.

This research will mainly focus on peace building efforts and how it can be implemented in peacekeeping missions.

In the global study reviewing the implementation of UNSCR 1325 humanitarian assistance had its own chapter focusing on the need to work on prevention from SGBV (sexual and gender based violence) especially around internally displaced people camps and refugee camps²⁷. This is something that this thesis could explore further on how to work on prevention. There is also a strong link between the humanitarian field and peace building that this thesis will focus on. The UN organ OCHA (Office for the Coordination of Humanitarian Affairs) describes the relationship between peace building and humanitarian aid as both trying to build resilience at the community level, build capacity to be able to cope with future humanitarian emergencies and both tries to prevent people from being exposed to violence.²⁸. This thesis is because of this relevant for both fields since it is focusing on peacebuilding and prevention.

5.6 RESEARCH SET-UP

This is a qualitative research, I am using a constructivist perspective with an inductive approach.

5.6.1 CONSTRUCTIVISM

In this qualitative research I am using a constructivist perspective because it encourages us to look closely at the potential role of power, ideas and authority which I find suitable for this topic. I do not see it as common sense or the “natural way” that women or men are a certain

²⁷ Global Study on Resolution 1325". Wps.unwomen.org. N.p., 2017. Web. 6 May 2017 P . 5

²⁸ OCHA. Occasional Policy Briefing Series Brief No. 7: Peacebuilding And Linkages With Humanitarian Action: Key Emerging Trends And Challenges. Policy Development and Studies Branch (PDSB), 2011 P.3-5

way as I will go into more deeply later when discussing gender. The focus is rather to question it and see what power structures that can be found²⁹. To look at this area with the “glasses” of a social constructivist goes in line with the theory I’ve chosen, the radical feminism and Connell’s masculinity theory which I will be describing later, the theories are as well seeing the gender as a social construction.

In a constructivist research it is important to rely as much as possible on the participants, in this case the interviewees, to make sense of or interpret the meanings the interviewees have about the world. In contrast to positivist research constructivism this does not start with a theory, the data collected will lead to or generate a theory or pattern of meaning. This makes it natural for me to choose an inductive approach³⁰. I will use three different kinds of data collection, a literature review, a document analysis and four semi-structured interviews.

5.6.2. LITERATURE REVIEW

When deciding upon a topic of a study a literature review is handy, it accomplishes several purposes, it shares the results of other studies in the area of study as well as provides a framework of the importance of the study it can also act as a benchmark comparing the results with other findings during the study. In the beginning of the thesis a shorter literature review will be provided to frame the problem and reason for studying, in the chapter earlier research. Further into the thesis in the section named background, I will dig deeper into the area and to portray the complexity of the issue and to provide the reader with an overview of the area.³¹ I started with a broad synthesis of the literature trying to organize different areas of this field so to narrow it down to a level suitable for the area of masculinities and peace building. I focused on collecting data that is peer reviewed and from educational institutions for the sake of validity, but I also used data from international organisations such as the UN and the NGO

²⁹ Moses & Knutsen (2007) *Ways of Knowing- Competing Methodologies in Social and Political Research*, Palgrave Macmillan p. 12

³⁰ Creswell (2010) *Research Design, qualitative, quantitative, and mixed methods approaches*. Third edition, SAGE. P 8

³¹ Creswell (2010) *Research Design, qualitative, quantitative, and mixed methods approaches*. Third edition, SAGE. P 26-28

Saferworld.

5.6.3. DOCUMENT ANALYSIS

To complement the interviews and to dig deeper into how a focus on masculinities could be implemented I did a document analysis to review the Swedish Police force training material for Swedish and international personnel going to UN Peacekeeping missions. Document analysis is used for examining and evaluating documents, it is a systematic procedure. In line with qualitative research, the aim is to revise, question and interpret data. In this research it is used to gain empirical knowledge³². I analysed the material that are used during the “IPOC” International Police Officer Course. I focused on gender in relation to masculinities to see what their understanding is of it and what the aim of their training is. The training material was provided to me after I had conducted all the interviews.

The training material could be provided upon request in consultation with the Swedish police, it isn't official documents and therefore I will not attach it as an appendix. This because of ethical considerations.

5.6.4 INTERVIEWS

5.6.4.1. SAMPLING PROCEDURES

I conducted 4 semi- structured interviews with two persons that represent NGOs (non-governmental organisations), one researcher from Linköping's University and one staff member representing the Police force in Sweden. The interviews with the NGO Saferworld and the Researcher from Linköping's University were conducted through Skype. The interview with the NGO “Men for Gender Equality” was conducted face to face in a cafeteria in Stockholm and the interview with the Swedish police force was conducted face to face at the interviewee's office in Stockholm. The interview with Hannah Wright was conducted in English and the other three interviews were conducted in Swedish.

All of the interviews have a connection to or has conducted research on implementing a

³² Bowen (2009). *Document analysis as a qualitative research method*. *Qualitative research journal*, 9(2), 27

masculinity perspective in UNSCR 1325 and that is the reason for choosing these as informants.

The identified groups with relevant information about the subject matter were:

- NGO, Men for Gender Equality. I interviewed Klas Hyllander from the organisation men for gender equality it is part of the global NGO "Men Engage": Men for gender equality are specialized in transforming masculinity and engaging men in the work for gender equality in in Sweden. The NGO had also been a part of developing an international training for policemen participation in the UN peacekeeping force with the focus on implementing UNSCR 1325. Klas Hyllander is one of the founder of the NGO Men for Gender Equality.
- NGO, Saferworld. I interviewed Hanna Wright: Hannah Wright is a Gender, Peace and Security Adviser from Saferworld. She has written a report that aims to describe how and why socially constructed gender norms that associate masculinity with power, violence and control can play a role in driving conflict and insecurity. Focusing on peacebuilding policy and practise Wright looks at how to promote nonviolent and gender equitable masculinities.
- Researcher, Linköping University. I interviewed Alma Persson. Alma has a background in gender studies, gender and violence, gender, organization and working life and critical masculinity studies. She is currently doing a study on women's violence against men and have previously explored gender relations and military practise in a Swedish military, her research explores gender relations and military practice in a swedish military unit that is going to a peacekeeping mission her focus on the effects of UNSCR 1325³³.
- Swedish Police force: I interviewed Linnéa Wallström Desk Officer from the Swedish

³³ Persson, Alma (2010) *Forward men, gender and military practise in a peacekeeping unit*. Tidskrift för genusvetenskap.

Police force working at the section for Peace Support Operations and International Development in the Division of International Affairs. Wallström is involved in the preparation for police officers going to UN Peacekeeping missions specialized in the implementation of UNSCR 1325 and has herself conducted the training on UNSCR 1325 for future peacekeeping staff.

I chose these four organisations to get an overview of the area that is still quite unexplored. By choosing these four I got an overview of how NGO's see this matter on a macro level and micro level. The organisation men for gender equality mostly focused on the gender relation between individuals and groups during the interview while the NGO Saferworld mostly focused on the role of the UN and the Security Council.

The researcher Alma Persson provided an insight into the Swedish military forces that in the analysis will be compared to what I found out about the Swedish Police force during the interview with Linnea Wallström. This way I got insight both from actual implementation of the resolution from Men for Gender Equality and the Swedish Police force and from a policy view from Saferworld and the view from Alma Persson a researcher on masculinities and peace and security. Three of my four interviewees have worked or examined the implementation of UNSCR 1325 and 1820 in Sweden, the reason for choosing a majority from Sweden is because the Swedish implementation is the focus of my second research question.

I choose to do 4 interviews covering a larger area within the implementation of UNSCR 1325 since transforming masculinities within UNSCR 1325 is a new area and I needed an overview to grasp the subject.

In qualitative studies it could be hard from the beginning to know how many interviews that is needed since qualitative research is explorative in nature in contrast to quantitative where a researcher normally knows about how many interviews that are needed. A qualitative approach is more interested in identifying commonalities and to draw out these implications

of the commonalities to understand the larger picture.³⁴

The inductive paradigm framing qualitative research is working in a context of discovery and are more open ended and “often follow emergent empirical and conceptual findings in unexpected ways”. What should be the case is that one is collecting the data until empirical saturation is reached this is however not always possible or practical. ³⁵. However a total of 4 interviewees are not enough to draw generalization or to give recommendations in this field.

In appendix A and B the reader can find the interview guide as well as where and when the interviews were conducted.

5.6.4.2 SEMI STRUCTURED INTERVIEWS

The reason for choosing semi -structured interviews is because this goes in line with a constructivist and inductive approach since I am putting a lot of emphasis on the interviewee’s thoughts and ideas to explore what is going on in the field. I am using this interview technique because the area of research is not very explored. Since I did semi-structured interviews I had a list of questions that I asked, nonetheless, I was flexible in what order the questions were asked and let the interviewee develop his/her own ideas and reasoning during the interview. Since I did semi-structured interviews I had the freedom of changing some of my questions from one interview to the next one if e.g. something interesting was brought up in the earlier interview that I wanted to dig deeper into. I used open ended questions in line with my constructivist methodology so that the interviewees can share their view. Semi- structured interviews go also in line with qualitative research and an inductive method, since it is an explorative method. The interviews were made with one person at a time, I conducted personal interviews which made it easy to detect the source of the ideas that

³⁴ Baker & Edwards, How Many Qualitative Interviews are Enough, expert voices and early career reflections on sampling cases in qualitative research. National centre for Research Method Review Paper P.4-5

³⁵ Baker & Edwards, How Many Qualitative Interviews are Enough, expert voices and early career reflections on sampling cases in qualitative research. National centre for Research Method Review Paper P.8

was brought up during the interviews³⁶.

Martyn Denscombe sees both pros and cons using interview method. The benefit is the depth of the interviews and that the interviewees during the interview can change their opinions or develop their thoughts. Validity is also seen as an important component when using this method, the researcher can easily validate, control the data during the interviews. The interviews that are conducted face to face could help the researcher to make observations that otherwise could have been missed out if one e.g. did a survey. This did not apply to the interviews that I did over Skype since it was hard to see e.g. facial expression, but I could analyse their tone of the voice. Another benefit is the possibility to ask follow up questions if something is unclear. The cons for the validity could be seen as being that the collected data are unique because of the specific context and the individuals that are participating. During the interviews I was using a recorder this could be frightening for the interviewees and could also be problematic when analysing the data if the researcher only listens to what it was that was said and not what it was that happened in the room during the interview. Because of this I was taking notes during the interviews to remember what happened during the interview when I am analysing, since what is said and done is not always coherent. Another problem could be that the interviewee gives the answers that they think that the researcher wants to hear. That is why it is important that the researcher is not asking any leading questions because then the material could be misleading coloured by the researcher's own values³⁷. The interviews analysed in the discussion in this research is based both on what the interviewees said and through their reactions.

I recorded my interviews and transcribed the parts that I found interesting for the research. I then colour coded the parts that I had transcribed to find themes that I could start analysing together with the result from my document analysis. I translated the quotes in the empirical part and the

³⁶ Denscombe Martyn (2016) *Forskningshandboken - för småskaliga forskningsprojekt inom samhällsvetenskaperna*. Lund, Studentlitteratur AB. P 266-267

³⁷ *Ibid* P. 265-269

discussion literally from Swedish to English. The length of the interviews varied from 45 minutes to 60 minutes. When presenting the interviews in the chapter of “Empirical findings” I will refer to the interviewees with their surname. I followed the ethical guidelines that are described under the chapter of “ethical considerations”.

5.7 LIMITATIONS

I encountered some limitations. First of all, I did not explore deeper the issue of intersectionality I described the theory but I did not use it extensively in the discussion. This is because of the word limit, if I would have used an intersectional perspective throughout the analysis, it would have made it too complicated and would have led to making the subject of matter too broad. I also needed to be able to make generalizations about women and men as groups to be able to provide the reader with a conclusion. It was also because I was researching what the assumed benefits would be on a global level, I did not mention any specific context and therefore it was not necessary to go further into that.

Similarly I could have gone deeper into the issue of LGBTI (Lesbian, gay, bi-, trans- and intersex), I have mostly talked about men and women in a heteronormative way. When describing the hegemonic masculinity, which will be described in the theoretical framework, it would have been interesting to examine the role of LGBTI persons as well. In doing so I could have examined the role of heteronormativity in the WPS agenda as well. Because of the word limit and that I needed to keep it short and concise I decided to not add this perspective.

I did not address and go further into masculinities and femininities in relation to each other I limited myself here since my focus primarily was on the role of men and masculinities but it was of course not possible to do so without mentioning the women.

5.8 ETHICAL CONSIDERATIONS

This thesis follows the ethical consideration and research ethical principles within the humanist and social science research. This means that I am taking four guidelines into consideration when I am conducting research. The demand for information, consent, utility

and confidentiality. The information demand means that the research should inform the informants and participants of the research about their role in the project and on what conditions they are participating on. The demand for consent means that the participants are deciding themselves if they want to participate or not, it is voluntarily and they can interrupt whenever they want during the process of the interview. The demand for confidentiality means that the information about everyone participating is confidential and should be stored in such a way that unauthorized persons can't take part of it. The demand for utility means that the collected information about individuals is only allowed to be used for the purpose of the research³⁸.

³⁸ Forskningsetiska Principer Inom Humanistisk-Samhällsvetenskaplig Forskning. 1st ed. Vetenskapsrådet. Web. 17 May 2017.

6. THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK, BACKGROUND, EMPIRICAL FINDINGS, CONCLUSIONS

6.1 THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK AND CONCEPTS

6.1.1 INTRODUCTION

Recognizing that reader of this text will come from different disciplines I here offer some clarification to easier understand the concept of transforming masculinities and radical feminism. To be able to understand the theories it is important to understand what stereotypes, dichotomies and ideologies are and therefore I will start by explain that and I will after this present the concepts of peace building, peacekeeping, intersectionality and gender.

Peace building and peacekeeping is important to be able to understand what kind of context it is that I am focusing on in my thesis. Gender is interlinked with my feminism approach I am explaining this concept to show how this could be used and in what way I am referring to gender. Intersectionality is interlinked with the R.W Connell's masculinity theory, I am explaining it here to broaden the reader's understanding of the complexity of the issue.

After explaining concepts I will present my two theories, radical feminism and R.W Connell's masculinity theory.

CONCEPTS 6.1.1.1

Stereotypes

Stereotypes works through generalizations, we use stereotypes to make sense of complex and often changing phenomena. In this thesis I will mainly focus on stereotypes that constitute different valorisations. It could be characteristics of groups of people. The people in the group that are perceived to fit group stereotypes are seen as others want to perceive them, not as they actually are necessarily. This simplifying effect encourages us to ignore complicity and contradictory signals. This often leads to a reproduced stereotypical thinking that operates to sustain status quo. This leads to stereotypes becoming "common sense" and some characteristics of the group can become essentialized, as something natural, not seen as a result of social construction. This way stereotypes play a role in legitimating discrimination and reproducing hierarchies of power. Members of these groups can unconsciously internalize

these oppressive stereotypes³⁹.

Dichotomies

Dichotomies can be used to reproduce essentialized and stereotypical thinking this is important when looking at the power of gender. Dichotomies use a “either or thinking” perpetrator/ victim, It reduces complex phenomena into discrete categories. Dichotomies can be seen as a political tool because the valorisation of them can be hierarchical and is often connected to gendered and racialized meaning⁴⁰. We will go more into this subject later.

Ideologies

Ideologies are political and can operate to legitimize particular relations of power or used to create a belief about the nature of a certain system. Our internalization of the beliefs system affects our thoughts and actions. It could lead us to doing and thinking that we should conform to cultural expectations and rules that we and other believe are common sense. We could do it because it's easier to conform or because if we don't we will be punished. Our behaviour is then shaped by unconscious conformity of internalized rules. In our daily life we are in different ways reproducing these practises by e.g. laughing at a sexist joke or assuming that someone is in a heterosexual relationship. By going along we keep the system intact, it is only by disrupting that we can create a change. By disrupting stereotypes, privileges, beliefs, marginalization and de- valorisation that naturalize inequalities and oppressions⁴¹.

Peacebuilding and peacekeeping

I will use the UN's definition of peacebuilding and peacekeeping since I am investigating their UNSCR's. Peacebuilding is described as structures to “promote sustainable peace by addressing the root causes of violent conflict” it is there to support indigenous capacities for peace management and conflict resolution. It is multidimensional and includes disarming of warring factions to the rebuilding of political, economic, judicial and civil society institutions⁴²

³⁹ Peterson & Sisson Runyan (2010) Global Gender Issues: in the New Millenium. West view Press , third ed. P. 49-50

⁴⁰ Peterson & Sisson Runyan (2010) Global Gender Issues: in the New Millenium. West view Press , third ed. P. 51-52

⁴¹ Ibid. P. 52-56

⁴² Peacebuilding And The United Nations - United Nations Peacebuilding Support Office". Un.org. N.p., 2017.

Peacekeeping is described as operation that consists of military, police and civilian personnel. In peacekeeping missions they are supposed to deliver security, political and early peacebuilding support.⁴³

Gender

There are multiple genders but in this thesis I will foremost talk about men and masculinities and women and femininities. Gender is about the socially constructed categories of men and masculinities and women and femininities. Even though I will talk a lot about men and women and use notions like “both genders” I understand as mentioned above that there are multiple sexes and genders and that they are not homogeneous⁴⁴. But to be able to make arguments in my analysis I will look at men as a group and women as a group. Gender here is used both as a substantive topic and as a dimension of how we study and how we think about world politics⁴⁵. When doing a gender analysis of the military we can e.g. see how women are important actors by enabling men’s activities by e.g. providing men with reasons to fight. Through a gender sensitive lens we can see constructions of masculinity. Similar to a feminist perspective gender analyses share the concern with gender inequality as the problem and motivation for research⁴⁶. They both provide inputs on how individuals and institutions and practises associated with masculinity e.g. “men, state’s, war making, wealth production” are highly valued in political and world political thought, and the practices associated with femininities e.g. “women, local or international political formations, peace-making and power reduction” are often devalued. Using a Gender analysis helps us to understand how we value masculine and feminine characteristics and how this shapes our societies, how we understand and analyse the world⁴⁷.

Web. 18 May 2017.

⁴³ What Is Peacekeeping? United Nations Peacekeeping". Un.org. N.p., 2017. Web. 18 May 2017.

⁴⁴ Peterson & Sisson Runyan (2010) Global Gender Issues: in the New Millenium. West view Press , third ed. P. 32

⁴⁵ Ibid. P. 32

⁴⁶ Peterson & Sisson Runyan (2010) Global Gender Issues: in the New Millenium. West view Press , third ed. P. 13

⁴⁷ Ibid P. 14

Intersectionality

As mentioned there is several different kind of femininities and masculinities what intersectionality does it that it raises the importance of looking at the meaning of race, class sexuality and nationality. The kind of femininity or masculinity that is expected for you to have rests on these different group belongings⁴⁸.

6.2 FEMINIST THEORY AND MASCULINITY THEORY

6.2.1 INTRODUCTION

I will be using a feminist approach in this thesis, the approach's central concern is the power relationships between women and men.⁴⁹ Within social sciences it is basically to put an emphasis on the women's identity and experience⁵⁰.

The two theories that I will be using in in with a feminism approach is Connell's masculinity theory and radical- libertarian feminism.

Connell's masculinity theory could be understood to be providing a critical feminist analysis of masculinities and radical libertarian feminism explores the role of existing social norms, ideologies and institutions to reach gender equality⁵¹.

I have chosen to use both theories to examine what the assumed benefits of involving men and a perspective of transforming masculinities in the WPS agenda and how this could be done. It is my belief that these two theories will be helpful when analysing and cover the complexities of different masculinities as well as helping me to analysing the underlying power order.

⁴⁸ Ibid P. 26

⁴⁹ Marsh & Stoker (2010) Theory and Methods in Political Science, third ed. Palgrave Macmillan. P 117

⁵⁰ Hesse- Biber & Yaiser (2004) Feminist perspectives on Social Research. Oxford University Press, new York. P 2

⁵¹ Venkatalakshmi , Uma Samundeeswari, Patriarchy and Feminist views in Jaishree Misra's Ancient Promises, INTERNATIONAL JOURNAL OF INNOVATIVE RESEARCH & DEVELOPMENT, 2016, P 519-521, P 519

The critique towards radical feminism is the lack of intersectionality and that it is ensuring essentialist assumptions about men and women. By e.g. making all men the perpetrators of the oppression of women and making all women victims. The reality could be understood as being much more complex by e.g. having women exploit and dominate other women and men.⁵² But it could also be beneficial to speak about men and women in an essentialist way to make it easier to explain and detect the gendered drivers and impacts of conflict and peacebuilding efforts, to be able to highlight global structures. I am using a libertarian radical feminist view of radical feminism where women and men are internalising their social gender. This means that men and women do not naturally comply with their gender or have to behave in a way that's socially expected of them. It also means that men as well as women can change.

I use this together with R.W Connell's masculinity theory to be able to show how women as well as men can oppress each other similarly using their social gender as a tool and by using R-W Connell's. By using two theories I am giving attention to the importance of intersectionality and therefore how men can benefit from gender equality by choosing another type of masculinity or from a radical feminist perspective, by refusing to be men. The reason for choosing these theories is to be able to generalize on a global level to both have a focus on the patriarchy and the different types of masculinities and femininities that describes how both men and women are affected by the hierarchy and how it is possible to transform the gender roles.

6.2.2 Radical feminism

Radical feminists argue that new political, economic and social categories need to be reconstructed to end patriarchy, patriarchy meaning that men exploit women, men are in power and women are subordinated. This is similar to the socialist feminist belief⁵³. Radical

⁵² Hesse- Biber & Yasier (2004) *Feminist perspectives on Social Research*. Oxford University Press, new York. P 186-187

⁵³ McHugh, Nancy Arden. *Feminist Philosophies A-Z*, edited by Nancy Arden McHugh, Edinburgh University

feminist has a broader conception of politics than other feminist perspectives. “The personal is political” is a slogan taken from the radical feminist’s movement. This is suitable since I will both look at institutions such as the UN in this thesis as well as what is happening on an individual level. The slogan means that there is a connection between what is going on in your personal life and at larger political and social structures. Radical feminism aim is to reach gender equality by challenge existing social norms and ideologies institutions, instead of doing it through a purely political process. This e.g. includes challenging the traditional gender roles and opposing sexism as a tactic⁵⁴.

Radical feminism is not only that women are oppressed by men. It could also be about the assigned gender roles of femininity and masculinity. This can be understood in relation to the terms explained in the beginning of this chapter. The traits of femininity are seen as undervalued and the traits of masculinity are overvalued. The categorisation of gender values is benefiting male supremacy. It is to distinguish men’s gender from femininity.

6.2.3 RADICAL LIBERTARIAN FEMINISM

The researcher Rosemary Tong divided radical feminism into two sub areas. Radical-libertarian feminism and radical cultural feminism. In this thesis I will use radical libertarian feminism, since I am looking at the idea of masculinities and at the possibility to decrease gender in-equalities.⁵⁵. This also goes in line with my method of constructivism where I see the society as a result of socially constructed practises. In support for that this is a social construction one can see that young children do not initially see it as contrastive that masculine and feminine traits as opposites, it is first when they get older, are socialized into

Press, 2007. ProQuest Ebook Central, <http://ebookcentral.proquest.com-lib/uu/detail.action?docID=292362>.P. 111

⁵⁴ Venkatalakshmi , Uma Samundeeswari, Patriarchy and Feminist views in Jaishree Misra’s Ancient Promises, INTERNATIONAL JOURNAL OF INNOVATIVE RESEARCH & DEVELOPMENT, 2016, P 519-521, P 519

⁵⁵ Tong, Rosemarie (2009) Feminist Thought: a more comprehensive introduction, Westview Press 3rd edition. P 51

the society that their views of the genders become increasingly bipolar⁵⁶.

Radical-libertarian feminism points to “the sex/ gender system– the process of making social constructions of gender so that it appear to be biological, a fixed and purely sexed based issued by patriarchy to keep women passive disempowered and subservient to men”⁵⁷. The only way to end the oppression according to radical – libertarian feminism is to break the sex/ gender system⁵⁸.

Patriarchal definitions of femininity such as e.g. dependent, weak are understood as creating a cultural disarmament through internalization of these beliefs⁵⁹.

6.2.4 RADICAL FEMINISM AND MASCULINITIES

Radical libertarian feminists believe that the gender roles can change, since it is a social construct. The exploitation of women is central and radical feminist see e.g. sexual and gender based violence against women as methods used by men to maintain their power over women⁶⁰.

Radical feminism does not believe that men can understand women’s experience of patriarchy because men can never experience the patriarchy and because of that don’t understand feminism. Men as feminist philosophers are seen as a contradiction. Our global system and standards of objectivity, rationality, and justice standards that shape the law, public policy and sciences as deeply linked to ideals of manliness and because of that far from objectively⁶¹.

Radical feminism sees men’s involvement as a way for men to take advantage of feminism

⁵⁶ Connell, R.W (2008) Masculiniteter, Policy press Ltd, Cambridge P 12

⁵⁷ McHugh, Nancy Arden. Feminist Philosophies A-Z, edited by Nancy Arden McHugh, Edinburgh University Press, 2007. ProQuest Ebook Central, <http://ebookcentral.proquest.com/lib/uu/detail.action?docID=292362>.P. 112

⁵⁸ Ibid. P.112

⁵⁹ R.W Connell (2008) Masculiniteter, Policy press Ltd, Cambridge P 120

⁶⁰ Hesse- Biber & Yasier (2004) Feminist perspectives on Social Research. Oxford University Press, new York. P 184

⁶¹ R.W Conell (2008) Masculiniteter, Policy press Ltd, Cambridge P 120

without giving up the foundation of their privileges. It has been seen as a modernization of patriarchy instead of an attack against it. There's been scepticism against the "new sensitive man" and other pictures of changed masculinities⁶². It is understood as that a gender order where men dominate women can't avoid framing men as a group with an interest to keep their power and women as a group that is interested in a change. It is not dependent on if or how much men as individuals love or hate women or believe in social change. Men through this perspective are seen as always being rewarded by the patriarchy⁶³.

The reason for men not to be able to understand women's oppression could be seen as an contradiction since radical feminism argues that women always can understand women's oppression even though women's oppression looks different depending on class, ethnicity, group belonging and more and not all women has experienced rape or e.g. being battered ⁶⁴.

Radical feminism aim for men is for them to transform themselves, transform their identity to refuse to "be men", to neglect the masculine ideals such as social institutions policy practises and structures of culture⁶⁵. This is something that feminist scholar Cynthia Enloe argues as well, her theory for change is that women should refuse to live up to their expected roles and ideals as women and then public institutions won't be able to function in their androcentric way⁶⁶.

To "not be men" could be seen as a problematic statement since as we will go into later it is problematic to discuss men in this homogeneous way, what it means "to be a man" is different in different cultures, groups and varies over time. I will focus on the view of radical feminists that invites men to together with feminists create a transformation of masculinities. From a radical feminist viewpoint this could have widespread consequences for the social relations

⁶² Ibid. P 78

⁶³ Ibid. P 120

⁶⁴ Hesse- Biber & Yasier (2004) Feminist perspectives on Social Research. Oxford University Press, new York. P 184

⁶⁵ Ibid. P 184

Hesse- Biber & Yasier (2004) Feminist perspectives on Social Research. Oxford University Press, new York. P 185

⁶⁶ Enloe, Cynthia (1990) bananas, Beaches and Bases: making feminist sense of international Politics. Berkeley, University of California Press. (P.

and it assigns men and the area of masculinities to a feminist theoretical framework that is both for the men themselves and for the feminist movement⁶⁷.

It could be understood as that the ideals of masculinity is dependent on public discourse and changes of public discourse affects men's masculinity, so it is two ways. For men than to neglect the expectations could mean that public discourse in international relations, economic political economy, research priorities and national welfare systems will change as a result. Institutions such as the military could change as well⁶⁸.

No theory is perfect for every exploratory purpose but this theory in contrast to marxism feminism and liberal feminism examine how by refusing to be men, men can create new kind of post patriarchal objectives that can create a change, create powerful effects on every level in society⁶⁹.

6.3 CONNELL'S THEORY OF MASCULINITIES

"Though most of the people enacting violence are men, most men are not violent, in the sense that they do not rape, kill, or beat people up. The differentiation of masculinities is a basic issue here."⁷⁰ – R.W Connell

I will use R.W Connell to provide the reader with an overview of "masculinities". R.W Connell was one of the founders of the field of masculinities and is one of the most cited researchers in this field.

Masculinities are not the same as men. Masculinities concern the *position* of men in a gender order. It is a pattern of practise, it is not an attitude it is what people actually do. It has a relationship to your body but not a fixed relationship so women can behave in a masculine way but usually it is men who do. There is several different masculinities, probably as many as

⁶⁷ Hesse- Biber & Yasier (2004) Feminist perspectives on Social Research. Oxford University Press, new York. P 186

⁶⁸ Ibid. . P 184

⁶⁹ Ibid. P. 187

⁷⁰ Connell R (2011), 'Organized powers: Masculinities, managers and violence' in Cornwall A, Edstrom J and Greig A (eds), Men and development: Politicising masculinities (London: Zed Books), p 93.

there are people, they are contradictory and splintered. It also intersects with other structures and practises e.g. race, class, nationality or where in the world you are.⁷¹

It does not only depend on context it also depends on when in history. Since it is a part of gender relations women is also constructing masculinities in interaction with boys and men⁷².

Connell also talks about a patriarchy just as radical feminism and sees a relation between masculinities and the patriarchy. Connell denotes that the social power that men have created sustains the gender inequalities. From the institutional to the individual level masculinities and femininities are ordered through a core assumption of men's dominance over women. Connell uses the term gender regime to explain the performance of gender relations in specific environments e.g. an institution⁷³.

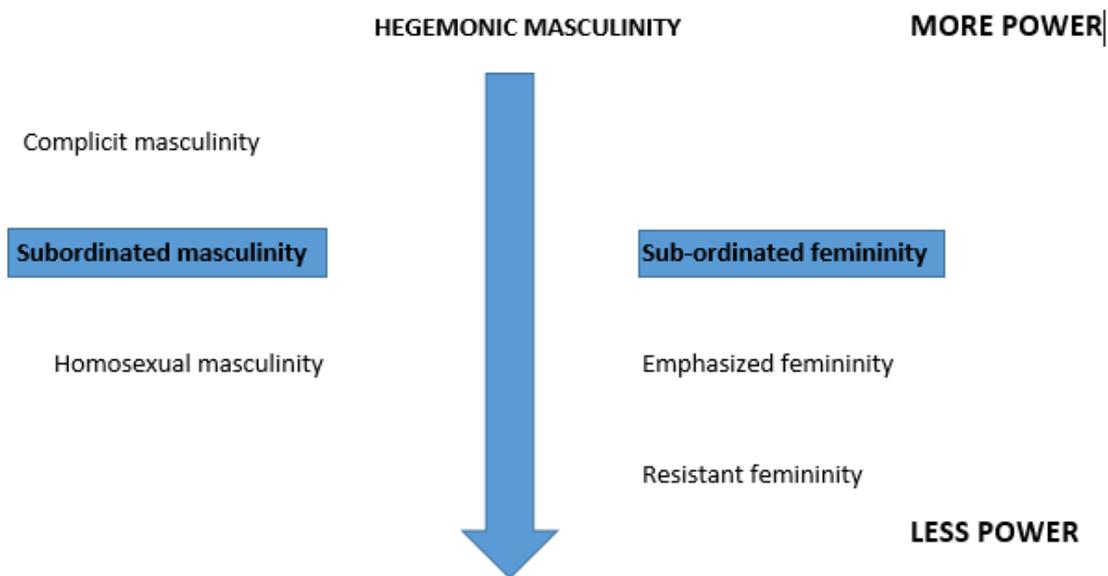
⁷¹ R.W Connell (2008) Masculinities, Polity press Ltd, Cambridge P 113

⁷² "Masculinities". Raewyn Connell.net. N.p., 2017. Web. 18 May 2017

⁷³ Giddens, Anthony (2007) Sociology, Studentlitteratur, fourth edition. P 374

6.3.1 CONNELL'S GENDER ORDER THEORY

Picture: Giddens⁷⁴



Connell means that there is several different expressions of masculinity and femininity. In Connell's gender hierarchy as can be seen above the hegemonic masculinity is dominating all femininities and masculinities in societies. Hegemonic masculinity refers to the cultural dynamic that gives a group power and leading positions in the society. It is "common sense" that that group is the dominant one and the one with the privileges and it is not likely to be

⁷⁴ Giddens, Anthony (2007) Sociologi, Studentlitteratur, fourth edition. P 374

questioned⁷⁵. It is described as a masculinity that is practising a gender that is the accepted answer to the patriarchy's legitimacy. Men aspire to a certain form of hegemonic masculinity and may benefit from the patriarchy as a result even if most generally would not be able to embody what it implies.⁷⁶ This sometimes affect men in a negative way _that they can't meet the demand of what it means to "be a man" I will get more into the issue of male vulnerabilities later.

Connell believes that all women are subordinated to men in relation to the hegemonic masculinity. The emphasized femininity plays an important role as a complement to the hegemonic masculinity. Its purpose is to satisfy the men's interests and lusts. The resistant femininity is described as rejecting the emphasized femininity, a resistant femininity could e.g. be a feminist that reject norms of femininity, of what it means to "be a woman". Usually in societies the conventional norm makes it hard for resistant femininities to have a saying because of the resistance. This gender order can be seen both on an individual level as well as on an institutional level. Institutions and practises associated with masculinity higher status than ones associated with femininity. The hegemonic masculinities might not correspond to the lives of actual men. What it does is expressing widespread ideals, fantasies, and desires and could be seen as providing models of relations with women and solutions to problems of gender relations according to Connell and Messerschmidt⁷⁷.

Just like libertarian radical feminism theory Connell argues that biological and social gender is socially constructed because of this people can change. Because people's gender identity is constantly changing⁷⁸.

6.4 BACKGROUND

⁷⁵ R.W Connell (2008) *Masculiniteter*, Policy press Ltd, Cambridge P 115

⁷⁶ Connell and Messerschmidt(2005) HEGEMONIC MASCULINITY Rethinking the Concept, *GENDER & SOCIETY*, Vol. 19 No. 6, December 2005 829-859 .P 838

⁷⁷ *Ibid.* P 837

⁷⁸ Giddens, Anthony (2007) *Sociologi*, Studentlitteratur, fourth edition. P 376

6.4.1 INTRODUCTION

In this chapter I will dig deeper into the area of gender, peace and security, to portray the complexity of the issue and to provide the reader with an overview of the area of gender peace and security and including a perspective on masculinities.

Recurring researchers are feminist scholars Cynthia Enloe, Sandra Whitworth and Cynthia Cockburn and researchers Peterson and Runyans. I will use data from NGOs such as Saferworld, Women Peacemakers program, WILPF (Women's International League for Peace and Freedom) and the UN organ UN Women.

The development possibilities of the WPS agenda will be discussed in this chapter to give the reader an understanding of what the benefits of including a masculinities perspective in the WPS agenda could be. After this I will examine the gender perspective before, during and post conflict, looking at men and boys from a gendered perspective and look at the role of the women. In the end of the chapter I will examine the relationship between UN peacekeeping missions and militarized masculinities.

6.5.1 GENDER PEACE AND SECURITY

Researchers have seen that there's an increased interest in the issue of masculinities in conflict situation, but so far much of the debate on gender and conflict remains focused on what Cynthia Enloe has termed "women and children,"⁷⁹ leaving men and masculinities outside the framework of the debate reason for it is not clear but will be examined later. It could be seen as problematic to exclude the group men given the central roles that men and their expression of masculinities tend to play in conflicts. On an international level the focus is normally on gendered Impacts of conflict instead of the gendered drivers of conflicts⁸⁰.

⁷⁹ Enloe, Cynthia (1990) *Kvinna, giv akt! Militariseringen av kvinnors liv*. Pax förlag.

⁸⁰ Hannah, Wright. *Masculinities, Conflict And Peacebuilding, Perspectives On Masculinities Through A Gender Lens*. Saferworld

6.5.2.1 WHAT IS THE WOMEN PEACE AND SECURITY AGENDA?

In year 2000 the UNC (UN Security Council) passed UNSCR 1325, this was the first thematic resolution on Women Peace and Security. The aim of the resolution was to address the lack of participation of women, both in peace processes and in peace operations. It also stressed the need to see the different protection needs of men and women during armed conflicts and during the armed conflicts resolution. UNSCR 1325 also recognized the different effects peace had for men and women⁸¹. The resolution serves as a reference point for UN Member States when constructing policies and programmes when integrate a gender-sensitive approaches to e.g. peace building efforts⁸².

Since year 2000, the UNSC has passed eight resolutions that make up the Women Peace and Security agenda, the resolutions are: UNSCR; 1325 (2000); 1820 (2009); 1888 (2009); 1889 (2010); 1960 (2011); 2106 (2013); 2122 (2013): and 2242 (2015). Together they guide work to promote gender equality and strengthen women's participation, protection, and rights in conflict prevention through post-conflict reconstruction contexts⁸³.

UNSCR 1325 was born out of the Beijing Platform for Action, adopted at the UN's Fourth World Conference on Women (Beijing, China, 1995). The Beijing Platform for Action called for demilitarization, disarmament, women's participation in decision making and fostering cultures of peace⁸⁴.

6.5.2.2 GLOBAL STUDY ON THE IMPLEMENTATION OF UNSCR 1325

With the adoption of Resolution 2122 in 2013, the UNSC restated its intention to organise a High-level Review in 2015 to assess progress focusing on implementation of UNSCR 1325 at

⁸¹ Ohlsson and Ismene Gizelis, An introduction to Resolution 1325 Measuring progress and, Folke Bernadotte academic.

⁸² Sheri Lynn Gibbins (2011) No Angry Women at the United Nations: Political Dreams and the Cultural Politics of United Nations Security Council Resolution 1325, *International Feminist Journal of Politics*, 13:4, 522-538, P 523

⁸³ "The Resolutions". PeaceWomen. N.p., 2017. Web. 18 May 2017.

⁸⁴ Wright, Hannah (2015) Ending Sexual Violence and the War System – Or Militarizing Feminism?, *International Feminist Journal of Politics*, 17:3, 503-507

the national, regional and global level. The study is highlighting good practice, gaps, challenges, emerging trends, and priorities for action managed it was coordinated by the UN organ UN Women⁸⁵. The review got the name “Global Study: Preventing Conflict, Transforming Justice, Securing the Peace”.

The global study is supposed to confront the status quo of peace and security, is sets out detailed recommendations under every chapter and under each theme. It also concludes with a set of general recommendations for policy guidance and advocacy. Discussions and consultations with regard to the Global Study pointed to a set of principles around which the world should unite according to UN Women.

In the Global study work on masculinities and transforming masculinities is mentioned in relation to:

Prevention of conflict and the need to address root causes of conflict. It also highlights the importance of looking at structural drivers of conflict and violent masculinities.

- Raising awareness on women’s rights and masculinity and “its relationship to violence” in a given context.
- Early warning systems and the importance of noticing early warning signals such as glorified militarized masculinities in propaganda, news stories and programmes.
- The role of the military, how some military reward and in doctrine aggressive hyper masculine behaviours.
- Militarism and cultures of militarized masculinities create and sustain political decision-making. Militarism and militarized masculinities becomes normalized mode for dispute resolution⁸⁶.

⁸⁵ Global Study: Preventing Conflict, Transforming Justice, Securing the Peace, 14 October 2015,

⁸⁶ Ibid.

Above is what UN women recommend the UN, member states and civil society.

Connell argues similarly that knowledge about masculinities is important to be able to prevent violence as mentioned at the first point, he also stresses the importance to understand the spectrum of violence, e.g. SGBV in the home and sexual violence on an institutional violence and war it is all connected⁸⁷.

6.5.2.3 THE SECURITY COUNCIL

Peterson and Runyan argue that the UN Security council are the most male dominated and masculine body in the world, that it is steeped in a hegemonic masculinity. Even though, the council has managed to give attention to gender they argue through the WPS framework⁸⁸.

That it actually has given space to gender can be discussed and we will get more into later. The authors further on stresses the importance of realising that the UN is one of the world's largest arm declares in the world that sells primarily to countries that are human right violators⁸⁹. The weapons sold increases conflict and also undermine the peacebuilding efforts of local women and men⁹⁰. Whitworth argues that it in the UN is no extensive discussion on militarism or militarized masculinities.⁹¹ Enloe further on acknowledge that there isn't likely that the council will start investigating men's propensity for SGBV against women. The reason for not wanting to discuss production of hegemonic masculinities and militarism is according to Enloe because the Security Council is ran by militarist states and military institutions for their military purposes⁹².

⁸⁷ R.W Connell (2008) *Maskuliniteter*, Policy press Ltd, Cambridge P 16

⁸⁸ Peterson & Sisson Runyan (2010) *Global Gender Issues: in the New Millenium*. West view Press , third ed. P 171

⁸⁹ Peterson & Sisson Runyan (2010) *Global Gender Issues: in the New Millenium*. West view Press , third ed.P 171

⁹⁰ *Ibid*. P 175

⁹¹ Sandra Whitworth, *Men, Militarism, and UN Peacekeeping: A Gendered Analysis*, (London: Lynne Rienner Publishers, 2004), P. 137)

⁹²Enloe, Cynthia (1990) *Kvinna, giv akt! Militariseringen av kvinnors liv*. Pax förlag

6.5.2.4 EXAMINING THE WOMEN PEACE AND SECURITY FRAMEWORK

Researcher Gibbings did an ethnographic study at the UN that showed that the UNSCR 1325 and the discourses in support of it have omitted some significant feminist aims but also that;

“prior to the passage of UNSCR 1325, WILPF-UN often portrayed women as agents of peace, but also provided an explicit critique of militarism and masculinity”⁹³ - Gibbings

Gibbings further on explains how the UN has managed to take away the feminist critiques of militarization and militarized masculinities in conflict and now instead focuses on women as utopian peacebuilders. The result has been that anti-militarist feminism are marginalized in advocating for international peace and security and that the utopian view of women as peacebuilders also makes it impossible for transformative agency because they cannot work on the gender norms that fuel, drive, and sustain violent conflict are neglected⁹⁴.

WILPF is one of the largest international NGOs working on the Women, Peace and Security agenda. The NGO describes in a policy brief that concerns have been growing within the WPS community. The concern is, similar to Gibbings, that the UNSCR 1325 is not able to deliver because it has become interpreted as “fitting women into the current peace and security paradigm”; rather than “assessing and redefining peace and security through a gender lens”⁹⁵. The NGO Women Peacemakers Program also stress the need to create broader gender perspective were masculinities is included both in the WPS policies and in the countries NAPs (National Action Plans). The Women Peacemakers Program describes the problem of the current WPS agenda as” just scratching the surface and failing to address the deeply patriarchal armed conflict roots and practices”⁹⁶. This relation between patriarchy and

⁹³ Sheri Lynn Gibbings (2011) No Angry Women at the United Nations: Political Dreams and the Cultural Politics of United Nations Security Council Resolution 1325, *International Feminist Journal of Politics*, 13:4, 522-538, P. 533

⁹⁴ *Ibid*, P 533

⁹⁵ Incorporating A Masculinities Perspective In UNSCR 1325 Implementation. 1st ed. Women Peacemakers Program. Web. 18 May 2017.

⁹⁶ *Ibid*.

militarism is also something that the organisation Saferworld denotes⁹⁷.

UNs interest in adding women and stir could be understood as an essentialists gender analysis which assumes that women will just ease and assist the already predetermined business of peacekeeping and peace negotiations by bringing in women and “women's issues” into these activities. This predetermined business disregard any considerations of militarized masculinity as a major source of prolonged conflict or such sources of structural violence.⁹⁸

UNSCR 1325 exist today because the NGO Working group on Women Peace and Security and other civil society actors did extensive lobbying to the Security Council. Cynthia Cockburn denotes that some of the women who were involved in the movement of Resolution 1325 felt that they had failed to express an explicit critique of men, masculinity and patriarchy in relation to militarism, militarization and war when they had obtained 1325. A lack of discussing the male-dominant gender order and the supremacy of men in political and military systems, and the continued support for military values with hegemonic masculine values. It could be seen as being a lot of strategic essentialism from the UN and from women peace organisations to focus on men as perpetrators and women as victims. Although it could be seen as a good idea to disconnect women from peace and men from war it could be something to win from continue the stereotyping that women are more peaceful, as the others.⁹⁹

6.5.2.5 CONCLUSIONS

This subchapter focused on explaining how the institutions such as the UNSC could be seen as gendered and I have also explained the gender agenda for the UN in the field of peace and security and the critique against it mainly focusing on setting the focus on women and girls as a strategic focus since taking away the light from men and roles of men and masculinities and

⁹⁷ Hannah, Wright. *Masculinities, Conflict and Peacebuilding, Perspectives On Masculinities Through A Gender Lens*. Saferworld P.6

⁹⁸ Sandra Whitworth, *Men, Militarism, and UN Peacekeeping: A Gendered Analysis*, (London: Lynne Rienner Publishers, 2004), P 133 and 137

⁹⁹ Peterson & Sisson Runyan (2010) *Global Gender Issues: in the New Millenium*. West view Press , third ed.P 176

militarized institutions.

6.6 INCLUDING A FOCUS ON MASCULINITIES IN THE IMPLEMENTATION OF UNSCR 1325 AND 1820

There are studies that argue that gender unequal states are more likely to experience intrastate conflict¹⁰⁰ and studies that show that a gender equal country has a pacifying effect on state behaviour on the international level¹⁰¹. This does not mean that gender is the only reason for war or needs to be the root cause of war or that this is the only symptom of gender inequality. This has been researched by International Relations Feminist, questions concern why wars have been fought predominantly by men, and how gendered structures of masculinity and femininity has acted as a way to legalize war and militarism for men and women¹⁰². In this chapter I will mainly focus on the different roles of masculinities and men as a group. I will go deeper into the different gendered impacts of conflict and discuss the connection between violence and masculinities, how one could work on transforming masculinities, a description of what male vulnerabilities could be and how men can be used as a mobilizing tool. I will end with giving attention to the role of women and their gendered impact.

6.6.1 MASCULINITIES WAR AND VIOLENCE

Enloe argues that the gender dichotomies play an important role. Women are often framed as victims, the women's vulnerabilities are seen as requiring "protection from the men. Women can also be used to be exploited depending on what side of the conflict their on¹⁰³. Enloe describes this as being a problem of the patriarchy, because of the patriarchy she understand that men, are taught that their masculinity is linked to an entitlement to have power; with the use of dominance, control and violence (structural, physical, sexual, domestic,

¹⁰⁰ Caprioli, M. 2005. 'Primed for Violence: The Role of Gender Inequality in Predicting Internal Conflict', *International Studies Quarterly* 49 (2): 161–78. P 161

¹⁰¹ *Ibid.* P. 51

¹⁰² Narain, Seema (2011) *Gender in International Relations: Feminist Perspectives of J. Ann Tickner*, *Indian Journal of Gender Studies*. 21(2) 179–197 P 188

¹⁰³ Enloe, Cynthia (1990) *Kvinna, giv akt! Militariseringen av kvinnors liv*. Pax förlag.

etc.). Cynthia Enloe's research shows that the military needs the patriarchy as much as it needs arms, it is drawing upon the normalization of violence and dominance, as a means to gain "power over, combat, and destroy the enemy". These gender divisions of violence can be related to hierarchical dichotomies that were presented in the theory chapter. Such as us/them, soldier/victim and protector/protected. This divides the world into masculinized offender and defenders and feminized populations over they fight and seek to conquer and defend¹⁰⁴.

Feminist argue that violence and insecurities must be seen both at different levels of society and as a continuum¹⁰⁵. J Ann Tickner explains it like:

"Feminist perspective on security would assume that violence, whether it be in the international, national or family realm, is interconnected. Family violence must be seen in the context of wider power relations; it occurs within a gendered society in which male power dominates at all levels. Any feminist definition of security must therefore include elimination of all types of violence, including violence produces by gender relations of domination and subordination - Tickner ¹⁰⁶

Connell argues similarly:

[...] men predominate across the spectrum of violence. A strategy for demilitarization and peace must concern itself with this fact, with the reasons for it, and with its implications for work to reduce violence" R.W Connell¹⁰⁷

During wartime women are affected by the war in difference ways than men as mentioned and they are exposed to gender based violence in the form of e.g. militarized domestic violence, prostitution and rape¹⁰⁸. Military girlfriends and partners experience violence from their male partner at a three to five times rate than women in civilian relationships do this

¹⁰⁴ Peterson & Sisson Runyan (2010) Global Gender Issues: in the New Millennium. West view Press , third ed. P 144

¹⁰⁵ Ibid .P 149

¹⁰⁶ Tickner, J Ann (1993) Gender in International Relations Feminist Perspectives on Achieving Global Security, Columbia University Press p. 58

¹⁰⁷ Connell, R.W (2008) Masculiniteter, Policy press Ltd, Cambridge P 34

¹⁰⁸ Peterson & Sisson Runyan (2010) Global Gender Issues: in the New Millenium. West view Press , third ed. P.146

could be related to the militarized masculinity discussed earlier it is also the case that men who have been in combat are four times more likely to be physically abusive¹⁰⁹. This could be related to what Tickner mentioned above in the subchapter “gender” that it is about a continuum of violence.

Amber denotes that when societies are moving into post conflict the questioning of violent masculinities increases and alternative masculinities will have a bigger present in the society at the same time as violent masculinities persist and mutate¹¹⁰. The violence that occur during conflict is not time bound, it does not end just because the war has ended. During there’s even a rise in domestic violence that women experience post conflict¹¹¹. The violence mutates and changes from the period of conflict to the peacebuilding context¹¹².

Byrne et al research shows that when a state is militarised the masculinities and femininities are often polarised. This means that traditional values connected to the gender roles are strengthen through creating an environment of structural oppression that restricts women’s rights, resulting in a militarised masculinity that values dominance and violence¹¹³.

I will go further into the issue of militarized masculinities and how this can affect peacekeeping operations in the next chapter.

6.6.2 MASCULINITIES AS MOBILISING TOOLS

Because of the unwillingness from the men, many men are forced into war because of the need of the militarized society it is not a free choice. It could also be a need that the society creates. As mentioned being a part of the military could be understood as being closely linked

¹⁰⁹ Ibid. P.167

¹¹⁰ Brandon Hamber 2015 There Is a Crack in Everything: Problematising Masculinities, Peacebuilding and Transitional Justice P 21

¹¹¹ Cahn, Naomi & Ni Aolain, Fionnuala (2010) Gender, Masculinities and Transition in Conflicted Societies New England Law Review, 2010; GWU Legal Studies Research Paper No. 481 P.118

¹¹² Brandon Hamber 2015 There Is a Crack in Everything: Problematising Masculinities, Peacebuilding and Transitional Justice P 16

¹¹³ Byrne, B.; Marcus, R. and Powers-Stevens, T. (1996) Gender, Conflict and Development, BRIDGE Report 35, Brighton: IDS, BRIDGE

to “be a real man”, this could make it easier for the military to recruit men. It could also be understood as what it means “to be a man” is harder to meet up to during wartime it could e.g. be harder to be the breadwinner of the family. To take up arms then and protect their family could be a new way to meet the demands of what it means to be a man¹¹⁴.

The NGO Saferworld argues that militarism needs the patriarchal notion of masculinity and femininity to be able to make armed conflict legitimate, or inevitable. Cynthia Enloe’s similarly argues that “the military needs the gender ideology as much as it needs arm”, the military is using the normalization of violence and the normalization of dominance as a way to recruit new people.

6.6.3 MASCULINITIES AND VULNERABILITIES DURING CONFLICT

Researcher Hamber stresses the importance of being careful when we focus on men and masculinities so that we don’t have a narrow focus that leads to a “gendered hierarchy of suffering” a hierarchy of suffering that focuses primarily on women as victims even though statistics show that men are more directly affected by conflict-related violence¹¹⁵. It could also be seen as important that we keep a gender perspective when looking at SGBV against men and boys¹¹⁶.

The assumption that men are naturally violent and prepared to use violence makes them vulnerable to forced recruitment and military and non-state armies. Men of fighting age are especially vulnerable, men are more likely to suffer death in conflict because of the assumption of men as combatants and women and children as civilians¹¹⁷.

¹¹⁴ Hannah, Wright. Masculinities, Conflict And Peacebuilding, Perspectives On Masculinities Through A Gender Lens. P 6

¹¹⁵ Brandon Hamber 2015 There Is a Crack in Everything: Problematising Masculinities, Peacebuilding and Transitional Justice P 16

¹¹⁶ Ibid. P 16

¹¹⁷ Hannah, Wright. Masculinities, Conflict And Peacebuilding, Perspectives On Masculinities Through A Gender Lens. Saferworld P 12

6.6.4 THE ROLE OF WOMEN

6.6.4.1 WOMEN AS COMBATANTS

Women has always fought in wars but normally not in as large numbers as men. Even though there had been a desire to reject that picture according to Peterson and Runyan this because of strong gendered divisions of violence¹¹⁸.

Historically women has as well supported wars by sending their daughters and sons to war and also by putting pressure on men to commit violence and join the army ¹¹⁹.

6.6.4.1 INVOKING UNSCR 1325

Research conducted by UNHCR has shown that female officials at a high level are more likely than men to advocate for invoking UNSCR 1325.¹²⁰ On the contrary Persson argues that It could though be hard for women to fight for gender equality if they are in too small numbers on a lower level, Alma Persson explained in her research on men in an international military unit preparing for a peacekeeping mission in Sweden how women are adjusting themselves to the context and the jargon of the group, none of the soldiers protested when sexist jokes were made. Persson explains the reason for women to not oppose this being that the woman wants to melt into the group and not be visible as a woman specifically. Because of group pressure and a feeling of wanting to belong to the group, women accepted the sexist jokes¹²¹.

6.6.5 CONCLUSIONS

This chapter has provided a brief snapshot of the argumentation exploring how patriarchal notions of masculinity and femininity can impact on conflict dynamics. Below is a summary of how peacekeeping missions is affected by militarized masculinities

¹¹⁸ Peterson & Sisson Runyan (2010) *Global Gender Issues: in the New Millenium*. West view Press , third ed. P.P 153

¹¹⁹ Ibid. . P. 146

¹²⁰ Puechguirbal (2010) *Discourses on Gender, Patriarchy and Resolution 1325: A Textual Analysis of UN Documents, International Peacekeeping*, 17:2, 172-187, P 181

¹²¹ Persson, Alma (2010) "Framåt gubbar" genus och militär i praktik i ett internationellt insatsband. *Tidskrift för genusvetenskap* nr 1-2 2010 P 156

6.7 PEACEKEEPING MISSIONS AND MILITARIZED MASCULINITIES

6.7.1 INTRODUCTION

In this chapter I will explore the research conducted on militarized masculinities in peacekeeping missions.

6.7.1 PEACEKEEPING MISSIONS SEX TRAFFICKING AND MILITARIZED MASCULINITIES

In reports mandated by 1325 on women peace and security it was noted that rape by peacekeeping forces were recurring in different contexts this partly led to the passage of UNSCR 1820 in 2008. It is as mentioned similar to UNSCR 1325 but it stresses e.g. a zero tolerance for sexual violence by UN peacekeepers but almost non incentives or mechanisms is there in UNSCR 1325 or 1820 to prevent it from happening compared to UNSCR 1612 on children and armed conflict¹²².

Anders Kompass a human rights worker for the UN in CAR (Central African Republic) reported rapes by French UN Peacekeepers in 2014. This case got a lot of media attention because a year after the allegations no one has been held accountable. The only one being punished being the whistle-blower Anders Kompass who disclosed the abuse. Researcher Carasik describes in her research how Zeid Ra'ad al-Hussein, now the U.N. human rights chief, "penned a scathing report on the U.N.'s management of sexual abuse allegations" twelve years ago. But there was too much resistance from the member states that contributed with troops.

Feminist scholars have studied the ways in which sexual violence and exploitation by peacekeepers is directly linked to the construction of manhood and masculinities¹²³. Sandra

¹²² Peterson & Sisson Runyan (2010) *Global Gender Issues: in the New Millennium*. West view Press , third ed 174

¹²³ (Sandra Whitworth, *Men, Militarism, and UN Peacekeeping: A Gendered Analysis*, London: Lynne Rienner Publishers, 2004 & Higate, Paul and Henry, Marsha (2004). "Engendering (In)security in Peace Support Operations," *Security Dialogue*, 35(2), 481-498 2007; Whitworth 2004; & Enloe, Cynthia (1990) *bananas*,

Whitworth has conducted research looking at how masculinity is constructed in the military and has linked this to men's sexual violence against women by soldiers. Whitworth argues that militarized masculinity is characterized by a hegemonic "hyper-masculine" and hyper-militarized identity that most soldiers develop during the training process to become soldiers¹²⁴.

There's a contradiction that's been highlighted by Sandra Whitworth of depending on soldiers for peacekeeping, it requires that a lot of the traits that the soldiers used to define themselves with as soldiers needs to be neglected. Whitworth describes it as needing to perform military duties without being militaristic¹²⁵.

"Peacekeeping is not a job for soldiers, but only soldiers can do it"- Dag Hammarskjöld

Just as Dag Hammarskjöld in the quote above have many feminist scholars expressed the belief that soldiers make ideal peacekeepers since peacekeeping usually involves intervening in violent conflict and because of that requires training in combat. This does not mean that it is good, but maybe good enough for peacekeeping missions. Along with the employed peacekeepers comes militarized attitudes and traits such as militarized masculinities. According to Whitworth we need to be aware of and try to uncover the attitudes and skills associated with soldiering and examine the effect that it could have on peacekeeping operations¹²⁶. According to Whitworth there is military personnel that have expressed that peacekeeping is considered less masculine than military soldiering, this because of the requirement of more compassion and because it is less violence¹²⁷.

Beaches and Bases: making feminist sense of international Politics. Berkeley, University of California Press

¹²⁴ Sandra Whitworth, *Men, Militarism, and UN Peacekeeping: A Gendered Analysis*, London: Lynne Rienner Publishers, 2004), P. 152

¹²⁵ Ibid. P. 3

¹²⁶ Ibid. P. 152

¹²⁷ Ibid. P. 16

Withworth, Enloe and Higate brings up the problem of UN peacekeepers feeling of entitlement to sexual relations with women. If there are no prostitutes available for them then the soldiers of the military feel like they have the right to resort to “recreational rape” and violence against women¹²⁸. Higate and Henry also addresses the issue and describe the sexual relations with local women central to the peacekeepers for their identity as men¹²⁹ this is described as normalised and central to their masculinity as peacekeepers, it is assumed that male peacekeepers need to have a sexual outlet when they are on missions¹³⁰. Raven- Roberts argue that the problem of sexual violence and exploitation of women and children by UN peacekeepers is a problem that not only prevent gender security and work against the implementation of 1325 it also prevents the success of the peace process itself¹³¹.

6.8 EMPIRICAL FINDINGS

6.8.1 INTRODUCTION

With the assumption that there is several different kinds of femininities and masculinities.

As mentioned in the methodology my interviewees are: Alma Person, researcher from Linköping’s University. Klas Hyllander from the organisation men for gender equality, Hannah Wright, Gender, Peace and Security Adviser from Saferworld and Linnea Wallström, desk officer at the section for Peace Support Operations and International Development in the Division of International Affairs at the Swedish police. Wallström is involved in the preparation for police officers going to UN Peacekeeping missions specialized in the implementation of UNSCR 1325.

I will also present the Swedish Police force training material for Swedish and international police personnel going to UN Peacekeeping missions I will be looking at material that they are

¹²⁸ Militarized Masculinity in Peacekeeping Operations: An Obstacle to Gender Mainstreaming, “Peacebuild, [online]. Available at: <http://www.peacebuild.ca/Lopes%20website%20ready.pdf> [Accessed April 20 2017] P 6

¹²⁹ Higate, Paul and Henry, Marsha (2004). “Engendering (In)security in Peace Support Operations,” *Security Dialogue*, 35(2), 481-498 P. 489

¹³⁰ Ibid P. 490

¹³¹ Raven-Roberts, Angela et al. (2005) *Gender, conflict, and peacekeeping*, Rowman & Littlefield. P. 59

using during their IPOC (international Police officer Course). IPOC course “is a two-week generic police training course for Peacekeeping Operations. The training is meant to prepare police officers for assignments in Integrated Peacekeeping Operations. The course is directed by the Swedish Police Authority and conducted in co-operation with the Swedish Armed Forces International Centre. The aim of the course is to prepare the participants for a Peacekeeping Operation so they can work effectively with the outlined objectives of the United Nations Security Council Resolutions mandate in a Peacekeeping Operation. It is both for UN and EU missions¹³²” I will look specifically on their training focused on UNSCR 1325 and how they are integrating a perspective on men and masculinities.

The interviewees will be mentioned more or less during this review depending on their expertise. As mentioned in the methodology I choose 4 interviewees with different entry points to get an overview of this new area.

The training material from the IPOC consisted of:

- An overview of what masculinities is, this is explained through something called the “man box”
- A tool called “the bystander approach”
- Two ted talks, one with Jackson Katz talking about men’s violence and the “bystander approach”? is it a mistake that it’s added twice? and one ted talk by Tony Porter describing the “man box”, a TED is a “nonprofit devoted to spreading ideas, usually in the form of short, powerful talks”¹³³
- The IPOC training material consisted of more than what’s mentioned above e.g. CEDAW and more examples of how women are affected by conflict. Because of the aim of my research I won’t go further into this because it is not the focus of my research and because I believe that I gave the reader an overview of that topic in the

¹³² International Police Officer Course - IPOC". Polisen.se. N.p., 2017. Web. 18 May 2017.

¹³³ Our Organization". Ted.com. N.p., 2017. Web. 18 May 2017.

background.

My aim is to present the result from the semi structured interviews and the document analysis of the IPOC training together. I will highlight the different themes that I could find when analysing the interviews and the training material below.

6.8.2 GENDER AND MALE VULNERABILITIES

“What usually happens is that you work with men as humans and women as women. You could work with men as men also, that would be something else” – Alma Persson

Both Persson and Hyllander described in the interviews how when speaking about gender people in general refer to women or “women’s issues” excluding other genders. Persson discussed this with the aim of seeing how we can “work with men as men” seeing their specific needs and experiences. We usually do a gender analysis on the women missing out the men’s gendered experience.

This was also something that was brought up in the material from the IPOC course, during the second ted talk Katz describes how and why he believes that the gender norm, the man, is being made invisible on the topic of men’s violence against women.

Wright as well highlights the problem of men not being mentioned and she also stresses that it is not something that is desirable to discuss at the UNSC since it would challenge a lot of powerful actors. When asked about why she thought that we hadn’t included men and a work on transforming masculinities in the WPS 1325 Wright explains:

“I think men are not mentioned partly because it's kind of threatening to people once you start to talk about men and masculinities as being part of the problem. Men are invisible right and you kind of have women as peacebuilders or women as victims. Once you start to open up that conversation and look at the relationships between masculinities and militarism, that’s starts to implicate a lot of the powerful actors, who are also merely having to have to pass these resolutions. So I don't think it’s surprising that the unsc members aren’t particularly, wanting to open up that conversation. But I also think that it has to do with the mandate of the Security Council

itself. They are quite resistant to deal with very deeply into kind of gender and to think about gender as a social construct. I think they see sort of gender equality more broadly, being more within the remit of the general assembly and the Economic and Social Council particularly. [...] I think there's been a lot of resistance especially from the Russians and maybe to a less extent the Chinese as well to try to looking more into gender equality into UNSCR. I think they're more comfortable if you only talk about women and how women are included or how women are victimized – Hannah Wright

To address women in the implementation of UNSCR 1325 is seen as the comfortable way of doing it, Wright also describes an active resistance towards working on gender. Persson argued on the topic of adding women for representation that it could be seen as a first smart step, to break the myth that gender equality doesn't have anything with war to do. She wasn't sure if she thought that this was a conscious strategy or if it was about choosing the easiest part to implement, that it might be the case that the UNSC chose to work on implementation instead of e.g. making all soldiers gender sensitive.

In contrast to the belief that gender equals women, "all interviewees described that there are multiple genders and they all believed that there were different kind of masculinities that are more or less desirable depending on what the society needs. Masculinities and femininities was seen as being made in relation to each other both between genders and within one's gender.

Hyllander explained that the idea that masculinities and femininities are made in relation to each other is important and can be used as a strategy to understand that one can change, masculinities and femininities can transform. A behavioural continuum was something that they used in his organisation "Men for Gender Equality" to see how masculinities are made in a gender unequal society e.g. to see what patterns it is that leads the men and boys to use violence or other ways of "getting" power. He also explained how prevention against violence against women is internationally seen as stopping the violence that's already occurring. Trying to prevent further violence from happening or for earlier violence to recur. Hyllander also believes that the focus is generally on individuals and that the perpetrator needs to break the patterns of violence and the victim needs help to rehabilitate. He thought that this was a problematic way of working on prevention and stressed that the last 10-15 years a lot of things

has changed which has led to a new kind of prevention where we focus on what we can do so that the violence won't happen in the first place.

We will go further into different gender norms and how one can work on prevention when describing the IPOC trainings techniques to prevent violence and SGBV from happening.

When I asked about how to involve men and masculinities into the work of UNSCR 1325 and 1820 both Wright and Hyllanders conversation led to speaking about how to involve without insulting men creating a reaction that "not all men" rape, beat their wives etc. Wright answered from the perspective of the women rights organization:

"I mean to be honest, mainstream messaging that you see coming from UN Women or any of the major organisations working on women's right or relation to peace and security I just don't think it comes across as to suggestion that all men are sexist or violent or yeah whatever I think, that just tends to be a tactic to end the conversation." – Hannah Wright

Hannah explained it as a technique to end the discussion and that it is not because the message from the organisations that all men are in a certain way.

Hyllander on the contrary thought that it was understandable that some men felt accused.

"I think that it is understandable, since no one is telling men that they as well can be exposed, men does seldom themselves know "what hit us" so to say. A lot of men can feel hit by something, but they usually do not understand what the source of that is, how the relation to other men looks like." – Hyllander

Hyllander describes how he think that it is problematic how we think about the group men generally. That we need to change our perspective, we need to realize that it is a group with certain privileges and power but that there is differences in this group. Not all men have the same position in the patriarchy and the men that resist or oppose the patriarchy will as well be punished. He explains that there are vulnerabilities among men as well. The same masculinities Hyllander explains that gives power and privilege is also creating a lot of problems to the men when they cannot live up to the expectations of what it means to be a man. The vulnerabilities of men can be seen in statistics and Hyllander gives the suicide rates

of men and accidents as examples. He stresses that men as a group have privileges in relation to women but within the group men there is men that is oppressing other men because they are not living up to the ideal of what a real man should be. This goes in line with concept of intersectionality the importance of looking at the meaning of race, class sexuality and nationality is included and the kind of femininity or masculinity that is expected for you to have rests on these different group belongings as well¹³⁴.

It is not as easy as one group oppressing the other men oppressing women, it is more complex than that. Hyllander believes that by implementing UNSCR 1325 strategies it changes everything, not only that women get more influence it is also changes for men. Men does not have to live up to the same ideal. Another kind of masculinity is welcomed since the female attributes are accepted. Hyllander believe that it is important that men understand that this is a benefit for them as well and that both men and women needs to practice gender equality.

The reason for the section for Peace Support Operations and International Development to start working on masculinities was derived from an initiative from the female caseworkers working at the police. The caseworkers wanted to show that everyone is benefiting from living in a gender equal society. This could be related to what Hyllander talked about on how to include the men. Because all genders benefit. It is something that concerns everyone.

Hyllander is also mentioning that we are living in a patriarchal society that is affecting both men and women and both men and women are reproducing the gender in equality. Hyllander sees a need for cooperation between the genders to create a gender equal society anything else he understands as contra productive.

As Hyllander Persson argued that there are examples of male vulnerabilities. Persson described a research that she was conducting at the moment. How men that are in abusive relationships with women were the woman is the perpetrator don't feel like they can report it to the police or apply for help. Persson explains that the reason for this is because men as

¹³⁴ Peterson & Sisson Runyan (2010) Global Gender Issues: in the New Millennium. West view Press , third ed. P. 26

victims of women's violence against men, does not agree with the society's notion of gender and violence. Because of this the men she explained that are exposed to violence does not see themselves as victim. It does not agree with their picture of what it means to be a real man. It is similar to men, who are raped by women, they are afraid that they won't be believed. The reason for this Persson explains is because of the norms we have about masculinity and sexuality. In this way the men that cannot live up to the standards of what it means to be a real man is exposed, or "hit by" the patriarchy.

6.8.3 PEACE TALKS

"It is not a coincidence that when it is about gender and peace negotiations and just when it has been an armed conflict it is that environment that is the most excluding for women of all environments. Which has to do with our understandings of gender and violence." – Klas Hyllander

Hyllander believed that peace talks were something that was an "extra masculine" area and therefore men experienced that this was something that they needed to take care of. It is seen as a context where you need to be tough and strong and not allowed to show any weaknesses. This excludes women according to Hyllander. Similarly patterns can be seen in larger institutions that have a lot of power and money, it is usually excluding women according to Hyllander. He believes that the reason to include women could be that it would lead to a better negotiation. Because as mentioned earlier, men's masculinities ~~are~~ changed as well when women are included. He also describes the men as "gatekeepers" and it is important that the men want's to let the women in for women to have a meaningful participation.

"We know that there's a lot of studies that show that if it's only men in a context that is about power then the conversation more closed, you have your guard up, you do not confess any problems, you accentuates your position, you do power stuff towards each other. When there is a mixture of gender, the men are affected by the women. It's not all women and it is not enough with one woman, because then she will be forced to be in the exact same culture to have permission to be there. "- Hyllander

Hyllander point to the problem of just adding women that have the same traits as men because that won't create a change or if women are added in too few numbers. Persson said

similarly that a group that looks very monolithic forces an adaptation to the norm, if the demand to fit in is clear. But if it's a mixed group then it is not as important to fit *in*.

Hyllander mentioned above that to actually work on the implementation does not only change the situation for the women, it also changes the ideals that men have to live up to, to be included. Men as well are excluded from peace talks if they can't live up to what it means to "be a real man". Hyllander argues that UNSCR 1325 is broadening the representation over all, new kind of femininities and masculinities re invited, there is more women present and alternative masculinities to the ones that are behaving the way that gives power in the patriarchy.

Hyllander believes that peace talks stand out compared to other contexts:

"Peace talks could be one of the absolute hardest places to increase women's representation because the context is so gendered. "- Hyllander

The reason being because the gender norms in peace talks are so strong which makes it even harder to increase the representation of women. Persson does not agree on this but think that it is similar to any other context that has a tradition of gender division, and to change that she argues similarly to Hyllander that we actively needs to work on that to create a change. It is difficult for women independent of if it is e.g. a political executive, a board of directors or during peace talks.

6.8.4 HOW TO WORK ON TRANSFORMING MASCULINITIES

During the interview with Wallström I asked her to tell me a bit about the IPOC course aim.

Wallström did the training three weeks before the interview. She explains that the IPOC course is obligatory for everyone that is going to a UN Peacekeeping Mission. The UN is deciding what needs to be included in the training but the Swedish Police has done more than what's expected of them from the UN.

Hyllander described the Swedish ambitions for the IPOC course as affected by a strong

demand from the political parties and the feminist government in Swedish to implement 1325.

The Swedish Police is also part of developing this training where the UN Mission is, Linnea describes this as a way for the Swedish police force to influence what the UN focus will be on in the training.

Wallström described that one of the main aims of the course, was the message that the police force is supposed to be role models during peacekeeping missions. That meant to oppose traditional gender norms on every level of society and in the UN Peacekeeping mission. Another way of working as a role model was for the Swedish police to send out 50% women and 50% men to the UN Peacekeeping missions. The aim is to be a role model in the sense that one is showing the civil society as well as other countries peacekeepers that women have what it takes to be a peacekeeper as well.

When I asked Persson about the gender norm within the military unit, Persson said that she thought that the current gender norm within the military is destructive, that it exist a romanticised picture of this male military jargon and that it is excluding. Persson experienced the jargon to be linked to a macho ideal, were showing any kind of weakness or feelings is seen as a weakness. She did not believe that this was something that was useful in the military and therefore it would be positive to welcome other types of masculinities to create a more welcoming organisation because most men she believed did not appreciate the current culture that she described as traditional and macho oriented. She believed that it would be better for the team building and brotherhood within the units to change the norm

In the discussion on how to work on implementing a work on transforming masculinities all interviewees mentioned how we could start moving away from the implementation as focused on adding women to the current system without doing actual changes of the norms and values in the system. Instead the focus could to integrate gender awareness on all levels. The interviewees were agreeing on that the focus on masculinities in peacebuilding should come in addition to efforts to pursue the full implementation of international commitments

on women, peace and security.

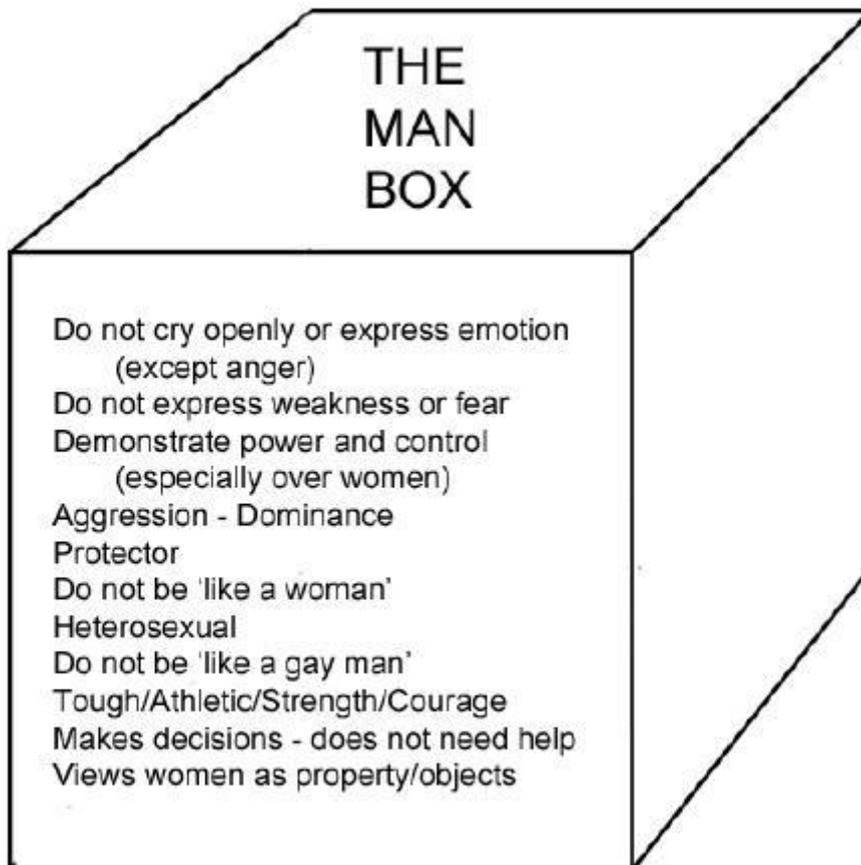
This was a reoccurring statement in the IPOC training that it was part of their job to challenge gender norms.

6.8.5

THE

MAN

BOX



(Picture from the IPOC training)

The IPOC training includes a session on something called the “man box” the training also includes a ted talk on this issue. They are describing what it means to be a man in “today’s society” and says that these traits that are written in the box is generally explaining what it means to “be a man”.

In the training to “be a man” is described as not being a woman. An example that they use is “if a female is weak and emotional then a man is in control of emotions”. This is what is seen as desirable. To be outside the man box is described as not being desirable in the society.

If you go outside the box you will be punished. Homosexuals e.g. would be punished for the “female attributes”. The punishment could e.g. be being mocked or made invisible that others are ignoring you. If you do decide to follow the norm of what it means to be a man you will be rewarded. The training also describes how these norms of what it means to “be a man” leads to violence and inequality.

Women will actively unconsciously support the man box, the construction of genders is described as being made in relation to each other.

Hyllander focused as well on how the genders are made in relation to each other, he explained how women sometimes can feel excluded and that this is something that women “do not like”. But he also stressed that there are a lot of time when we, men and women, help each other to create an unequal society.

The norm of what it means to be a man, to be inside the man box, is something that the IPOC training describes as important to focus on and transform if we want a more peaceable society.

During the training it is described that there are several different kinds of masculinities and that it e.g. depends on cultural differences. Even though it is depending on the culture the training describes it as that the violence in a society is done by men. The training talks about “men’s violence against women” instead of “violence against women” and refers to a continuum of violence. Women could as well be perpetrators but it is described as being less common. Women can as well experience violence from other women and from children, however this is described as happening because these women and children follow-the “man box” and because of that, they need to punish women that do not follow what is expected of them according to the man box.

The training describes it as that the more women and men believes in gender equality, the

more willing they are to leave the man box which leads to less violence and sustainable peace.

This is similarly to how Hyllander described the relationship between gender equality and peace.

“To reform men is a kind of peacebuilding culture generally speaking. I am usually comparing gender equality with planting trees to make sure that the soil won’t erode, when it suddenly starts to downpour and it is dry outside. I am thinking about gender equality in the same way. The more gender equality you can get into a society, the less are masculinity and femininity polarized and the less inclined to violence is masculinities, and because of this you can say that it is peacebuilding. [...]It is harder to get men and boys that are grown up in a gender equal society to start using violence. Because you have changed the definitions of how we understand ourselves as men and boys” - Hyllander

Hyllander explains how work on gender equality in peacebuilding leads to prevention of violence.

In the IPOC training, men are described as being strong and having power because of the qualities in the man box. Men use power and violence on men and women to be able to dominate as leaders and correct the hierarchy. Men are not allowed to express feelings either such as vulnerability, sorrow, or to cry since these are female ones. If they do they will be punished and could e.g. be called pussy’s or gay.

Hyllander and the IPOC training describe similarly how the gender norms get narrower before a conflict erupts. The IPOC describes how the man box getting stronger before a conflict erupts and gender in- equality increases. Men are threatening and using violence against women and other men, especially sexual violence is increasing. Women’s space are narrowed and females are described as being even more controlled. The women’s freedom is taken away. The men is supposed to be protective and with this women's freedom is decreased. These are the mechanisms that are described as leading to more violence during conflict against women. This process according to the IPOC training and Hyllander leads to a polarization of the genders.

The ted talk on the man box by Tony porter, an educator and activist, ¹³⁵ explains how the socialization of men leads to a fear of getting outside the “man box”. He also talks about the values that men attribute to women and how that affects men:

“[...] we as men are taught to have less value in women, to view them as property and the objects of men. We see that as an equation that equals violence against women. We as men, good men, the large majority of men, we operate on the foundation of this whole collective socialization. We kind of see ourselves separate, but we're very much a part of it. You see, we have to come to understand that less value, property and objectification is the foundation and the violence can't happen without it. So we're very much a part of the solution as well as the problem. The centre for disease control says that men's violence against women is at epidemic proportions, is the number one health concern for women in this country and abroad.”- Tony Porter

During the training there was a reoccurring statement that the man box, what it means to be a man, gender in equality and violence against women and people that do not live up to the norms of the man box, leads to an unstable environment and could lead to war in the long run.

6.8.6 NOT HERE BUT THERE

During the interview with Wallström I asked about the police view of patriarchy,. She felt hesitant to talk about the patriarchy and if the police in Sweden believed that they lived in a patriarchy. However, she did say that it was something that was mentioned during the training but she also said that it could be easier to mention there since the training concerns another context then Sweden. Wallström also said that the understanding of gender was much more developed in the international training then in the national. Persson mentioned that the same applied to the Military unit that she visited during her ethnographic study, it was clear that this was something that the troops needed to think about over there.

¹³⁵ Porter, Tony. "Tony Porter | Speaker | TED.Com". Ted.com. N.p., 2017. Web. 18 May 2017.

6.8.6 BY STANDER APPROACH AND MEN AS GATEKEEPERS

As mentioned earlier, one of the key roles for the police mentioned during the IPOC training was that they should act as role models when they are on a mission. They are using something that is called the bystander approach as a tool to live up to that.

During the interview with Hyllander he told me that the organization “Men for Gender Equality” had been a part of developing the Swedish international police force training on UNSCR 1325. I will provide the reader with Hyllander view of the “bystander approach” in peacekeeping and in implementing UNSCR 1325 and 1820, as an introduction to the subject.

Hyllander explained in relation to what was mentioned earlier about a continuum of violence and sexism that he believes that brutal violence can be prevented if you intervene in lighter forms of violence and against everyday sexism. The policemen practice during the IPOC training in Sweden so that they will know when they are on mission what to do and how to intervene if they are witnessing or experiencing sexism in different forms. Hyllander explains that they focus on men to understand that this is a part of their job as policemen both at home and during mission. They need to learn to detect and recognize sexism as a part of their job. The police force is also supposed to work on women’s empowerment when they are out on a peacekeeping mission. If they are in a context where they can they should try to support the process for women’s involvement as much as possible as well as making women more participatory. They are supposed to work against sexism in all its shapes both when they are out in the society and with other colleagues from the peacekeeping mission. If they hear a colleague speaking about a woman in a sexist way they are supposed to intervene, it is their job, and they need to be active in the opposing of the structures of gender in equality.

Hyllander explain the above practice like this:

“The policemen should be equipped with the understanding of what UNSCR 1325 is in practice. This isn’t just a good deed, this is implementing 1325. “– Hyllander

The ted talk that they are showing is also discussing the bystander approach, the ted talk is conducted by Jackson Katz, a Doctor of Philosophy.

Katz describes something that he calls a “paradigm-shifting perspective on the issues of gender violence” and the future peacekeepers learn that the perpetrators, the men who conduct sexual and gender based violence are not some individual monsters but Katz explain it as a systemic social problem it’s about structures in the society.

Before going into the bystander approach Katz examine “violence against women” and how this is making the men, the norm, invisible. And how we should talk about “Men’s violence against women” because this is a “Men’s issue” he claims:

“This is one of the ways that dominant systems maintain and reproduce themselves, which is to say the dominant group is rarely challenged to even think about its dominance, because that's one of the key characteristics of power and privilege, the ability to go unexamined, lacking introspection, in fact being rendered invisible, in large measure, in the discourse about issues that are primarily about us. And this is amazing how this works in domestic and sexual violence, how men have been largely erased from so much of the conversation about a subject that is centrally about men.” – Jackson katz

This could be related to what was mentioned in the beginning of this chapter how gender is viewed as a “women’s issue” making the man, the norm invisible. Hyllander explains that making the men invisible could be seen as the core of the patriarchy. Katz further explain that another way to keep this system intact is to try to quiet women through the technique “kill the messenger” by calling women e.g. “man haters” or “femine-nazi”. Katz questions the approach of talking about gender based violence and say that:

“Asking questions about women won’t get us anywhere in preventing violence against women” - Jackson Katz

The bystander approach is about taking a responsibility, being a role model and intervene if someone is saying or doing something that is sexist or discriminating.

Katz denotes the important part that men have as something that can be seen as a “gatekeeping role” men can say some things that women cannot. It will be taken more seriously if a man say something than if a women say something. Katz describes this as sexism

but that one can use that to create change towards a more gender equal society.

Persson was asked a question about men's role as gatekeepers as well and how she believed that the UNSCR 1325 training for the military unit challenged values and norms within the organisation. Persson answered.

"Yes in some way you are doing it by having a highly ranked rifle officer to talk about gender equality for two hours. You are challenging something of course"- Alma Persson

The one conducting the training was not only a man he was a commando a high ranked rifle officer. Persson thought that he represented the hegemonic masculinity quite well. That was something that she believed affected the women as well as the men, the trainers rank, status, within the military. But Persson also thought that the men listened more because he was a man but she did not think that this affected the women that they took him more seriously because of this.

Alma described that this could be seen as a technique where the end justifies the means, that we could create a greater change and a quicker development when using men to promote gender sensitive efforts. We could tackle that specific problem of men being taken more seriously than women when saying something later. Persson stressed that this was not a technique that one could always use, to always send men to say something that would not create a change in the long run.

When wright was asked the same question she felt a bit upset and tired. And answered that:

"Yeah I feel very ambivalent about that. Because for the practical perspective I can see his point that often having you know is usually referred to as male champions. Having men whether it's in government or within your programming on the ground having men who are willing to speak out about women's rights is very useful because people do often listen to men in another way then they listen to women. But at the same time if we always go down that road of using male champions we tend to be just reinforcing that. And you know some time people just have to listen to women. They just have to do it, and that has to be encouraged. I think if we always just say "oh let's have a cop for a man because he will be listened to" we do kind of play into that dynamic [...] I think we just needs to make sure that we're also making sure that women are giving a platform to speak alongside men as well. "- Wright

This is similar to Persson who did not believe that this was a technique that we couldn't always use, Wright was more opposed to the idea. Wright also denoted that what Katz and other feminist men are saying and getting praise for is "stuff" that women have been saying for decades.

Using the man as the messenger could be related to the IPOC training as well. The police training had two ted talks both talking about gender equality and masculinities and both speakers were men, and Wallström from the police said that the training on the "man box" conducted as a workshop was also conducted by a man because she it was important that a men held these questioning. Early in the interview Wallström talked about how it is recurrently women civil servants that brings up the subject of gender equality and topics related to relation to 1325 and because of that they had actively chosen a man to present the "man box".

Wright also connected this to the issue of men and masculinities:

"we need to make sure that we don't only start to talk more about men and masculinities because that's what makes you taken more seriously because it's somehow seen as a more serious subject than just kind of "women's issues". We have to question why we're focusing on men and masculinities to make sure that we're not kind of going down that path". – Wright

6.8.8 GENDER NORMS DURING AND BEFORE CONFLICT

Hyllander explained that the UN system with the organization MenEngage Alliance had already begun a discussions on armed conflict and masculinity and the connection to dominant masculinity built on power. This to be able to understand what is happening to the gender norms before a conflict. How e.g. different institutions and leaders wants to prepare the ground for men to be able to use violence against an enemy. Hyllander describes it as societies using masculinities mechanisms as a tool for a conflict to erupt. That the society is creating a norm were men should use violence and power.

Hyllander explained that the UN has created a system of early warning indicators. The early warning indicators are e.g. when it starts to be a lot of misogynist or homophobic messages,

women are attacked or starts to be controlled, rape cases increases or women's sexual and reproductive rights starts to be questioned. This is indicators for that the masculinities and femininities have started to polarize and a sign that something needs to be done to stop conflict. Hyllander explains that what's happening is that men are going into a more narrow masculinity that is built on power.

Persson mentions similarly that during the conflict women are being more controlled and the femininity is more narrow in the sense that they need protection and rights are taken away as well as women being attacked and raped but it is also a time of large norm breaches, Persson explains that women had to take on roles that they normally are not allowed to or can't do, this usually don't persist into peacetime. Persson also explains through a DDR perspective how one can work with men and boys through a masculinity perspective. That by understanding how dominant masculinity works be able to prevent men and boys from using violence in their relationship or against their women, or from a new conflict to erupt erupts. – Persson

6.8.9 INSTITUTIONS

There was a belief among all interviewees that expressions of gender was something that could be seen at every level in society from an individual level to an institutional. Persson and Wallström described the police and military as gendered institutions. Persson describes the military as a gendered, masculinist institution as a symbolic energy, and in men's legislative right rather than women's legislative right.

Wright denoted that the UNSC is a masculine institution explains how this affects their agenda, Wright said that:

"I think it's the thing that this has been framed as a UN Security Council Agenda, it really only focusing on issues within the preview of the UNSC which is kind of the hard security military security end of international security spectrum. The resolutions tend to focus a lot on things like peacekeeping on kind of increasing numbers of

women within military within security services and these kind of things and less of the bottom up peacebuilding side of things that tend to be the responsibility of the other parts of the UN system. I think what that means is that you have quite a militarized peace and security agenda I think in two senses. Both in the sense that it tends to focus quite a lot on that kind of hard security end of peacebuilding and responses to conflict but also in the sense that I think it tends to focus on adding women into the existing militarized peace and security paradigm rather than challenging that paradigm “Hannah wright

6.8.10 CONCLUSIONS

I have in this chapter explained how my interviewees expressed the need to take a more holistic gender perspective and how we need to use an intersectional analysis and see that there are oppressions within the groups as well. The result of the gender relation was brought up and how including women in peace talks e.g. could lead to that another kind of masculinity is invited as well. I also presented how my interviewees described different ways and techniques one can use to work on the “how”, how to include this perspective in UNSCR 1325 and 1820. I also highlighted the discussion that the participants had on different expressions of resistance and how gender could be understood as a component, before and during armed conflict.

6.9 DISCUSSION

6.9.1 INTRODUCTION

Since my thesis is building on the research method of induction I will here examine the empirical particulars from the interviews and from the IPOC trainings material to see what kind of generalizations I can do. I will analyse the data together with my theories radical libertarian feminism and Connell’s masculinity theory, keeping in mind that I am having a constructivist approach, I will give a lot of attention to my interviewees and try to make sense of, or interpret the meanings the interviewees have about this area. I will also dig deeper into the potential role of power, ideas and authority during the discussion in line with the constructivist and feminist approach¹³⁶. I will also use examples from the background to

¹³⁶ Moses & Knutsen (2007) *Ways of Knowing- Competing Methodologies in Social and Political Research* , Palgrave Macmillan p. 12

provide a complexity to the discussion and to answer my research questions.

6.9.2 GENDER PEACE AND SECURITY

The assumed benefits of involving men and a work on transforming masculinities in UNSCR 1325 and 1820 was in general spoken of during the interviews as a way to truly take a gender perspective, a holistic approach to the subject. The statement from Persson and Hyllander that we work with men as humans and women as women and that gender too often is seen as a “women’s issue”, could be described through a combination of Connell's theory of masculinities and feminist theory, it could be a way for the system of men’s domination over women to stay intact through a radical feminist perspective, by not giving attention to the men and their specific traits and experiences we won’t be able to dismantle the patriarchy. It could also be understood through Connell’s masculinity theory, that this is a part of the social power that men has created to sustain the inequalities, the gender order.

Both Hyllander and the information from the IPOC training stressed that it is in the relation between the genders that we are creating inequalities and therefore it could be understood as important to include men and a focus on masculinities into the work on gender. By using Connell's masculinity we can see in line with Hyllander argument that men can be subordinated by other men as well if one is not living up to the standards of the hegemonic masculinity in the context that one are in. Therefore to truly take a gender perspective could also mean to see the oppressions, needs and experiences within one gender.

Wright though that the UNSC did not focusing on men because it is threatening to them. Wright describes that opening up a discussion on men and militaries in the UNSC would threat a lot of powerful actors and that the UNSC is not interested in working on gender in a way as a social construct.

As mentioned in the background the UNSC is driven by the largest weapon exporters in world

and has been described as a masculine institution. Connell describes the gender order as existing from the institutional to the individual level. By including a masculinity perspective then would mean to investigate what role it is that the UNSC plays and what the driver of the politics being made there is.

The resistance to work on men as a social construct could be understood through a radical libertarian feminism perspective as a resistance from the UNSC to change, by presenting the social construction of gender as something natural, biological. It could be a way for the patriarchy to keep the women passive and disempowered subservient to men¹³⁷. It is also a way to take away the focus from the UNSC and whether or not the institution is gendered. To add men and masculinities to the gender perspective could lead to a focus on men as the problem as wright's mentioning, an example could be that structures of violence and SGBV could be dismantled something that has earlier been described a tools for the patriarchy.

A result of focusing on gender as a women's issue was mentioned in the background as well. That the implementation of UNSCR 1325 has focused too much on women as the victims and not enough on prevention¹³⁸. It was suggested that the UN's interest in adding women and stir simply grafts in essentialists gender analysis which assumes that women will just ease and assist the already predetermined business of peacekeeping and peace negotiations by bringing in women and "women's issues" into these activities. This is explained as predetermined business that disregard any considerations of militarized masculinity as a major source of prolonged conflict or such sources of structural violence¹³⁹,

To work on prevention from a radical libertarian feminism perspective could mean to focus

¹³⁷ McHugh, Nancy Arden. *Feminist Philosophies A-Z*, edited by Nancy Arden McHugh, Edinburgh University Press, 2007. ProQuest Ebook Central, <http://ebookcentral.proquest.com-lib/uu/detail.action?docID=292362>.P. 112

¹³⁸ Puechguirbal (2010) *Discourses on Gender, Patriarchy and Resolution 1325: A Textual Analysis of UN Documents*, *International Peacekeeping*, 17:2, 172-187, P 177

¹³⁹ Sandra Whitworth, *Men, Militarism, and UN Peacekeeping: A Gendered Analysis*, (London: Lynne Rienner Publishers, 2004), 133 and 137

on the role that different masculinities play in exposing women to violence. By continue to focus on the victims the WPS can implement the agenda by putting focus on women and girls without challenging the current patriarchal system.

It could be related to what was presented in the background that the UNSC would rather focus on women as “utopian peacemakers” instead of working on the gender norms that fuel, drive, and sustain violent conflict¹⁴⁰.

As wright mentioned she does not think that the UNSC is interested in working on gender as a social construct. When using Connell’s masculinity theory this could be understood as dismissing the creation of gender, that it is something that is made as a result of daily social practises and therefore can be changed. It could be assumed that if applying a focus on masculinities then prevention would be possible in a more efficient way since one can track the socially constructed practises that are leading to violence and take these into consideration when working on prevention. This is similar to how Hyllander explained his organisations work on a behavioural continuum.

Hyllander explained how he’s organization is using a behavioural continuum to see how men and boys are created in a gender unequal society. By adding a focus on men and different masculinities we can see what patterns it is Hyllander described, that leads to use of violence and other ways of getting power. It could mean that we would be able to work on prevention as well as taking care of the victims of violence.

Connell argues similarly that knowledge about masculinities is important to be able to prevent violence, he also stresses the importance to understand the spectrum of violence, e.g. SGBV in the home and sexual violence on an institutional violence and war it is all connected¹⁴¹.

This could be strengthened by what was explained in the background how the military girlfriends and partners experience violence from their male partner at a three to five times

¹⁴⁰ Sheri Lynn Gibbings (2011) No Angry Women at the United Nations: Political Dreams and the Cultural Politics of United Nations Security Council Resolution 1325, *International Feminist Journal of Politics*, 13:4, 522-538, P 533

¹⁴¹ R.W Connell (2008) *Maskuliniteter*, Policy press Ltd, Cambridge P 16

rate than women in civilian relationships do this could be related to the militarized masculinity discussed earlier it is also the case that men who have been in combat are four times more likely to be physically abusive¹⁴². The use of violence is moving between the political and personal.

6.9.3 POLARIZATION OF GENDER

As mentioned both men and women can be victims of violence but as Persson explained, it can be harder for men to apply for help since “victim” is associated with women, femininities, of violence or SGBV is not something that they can relate to since it is something that is typically associated with feminine traits. Persson analysis of why the men can’t relate to being a victim goes in line with radical libertarian feminism were the traits associated with masculinities and femininities can be internalized, the reason for the women to be defined as the victim could be understood as a patriarchal definition from a radical libertarian feminism perspective were the aim is to do an cultural disbarment, subordinating the woman¹⁴³.

To add a focus on men and masculinities with a radical feminist approach could then mean to create a society where the traits typically associated with femininities and masculinities in different groups and cultures are equal. This would lead to a depolarization of the genders and make it possible for men to see themselves as victims just as we would be able to see women as perpetrators.

6.9.4 GENDER AS A DRIVER OF CONFLICT

To truly take a gender perspective would mean to see the effect that different masculinities have, as mentioned earlier men as a group is accountable for most of the violence against women and men and for the violence occurring during conflict and post conflict, to have a gender perspective then could mean to address one of the drivers of conflict. It could also lead to as was mentioned in the background an explicit critique of men, masculinity and patriarchy

¹⁴² Peterson & Sisson Runyan (2010) Global Gender Issues: in the New Millennium. West view Press , third ed. P.167

¹⁴³ R.W Connell (2008) Masculiniteter, Policy press Ltd, Cambridge P 120

in relation to militarism, militarization and war¹⁴⁴.

This could lead to deepened gender analysis in the WPS agenda by addressing the gendered structures that can affect the peace building efforts. Similarly to how Hyllander explains how the UN is working with early warning indicators connected to the gender roles, the focus there is on the gender relation instead of how women are impacted by conflict. This further on could lead to that the work on prevention could be advanced. It would live up to UNSCR 1325 aim of working on gender mainstreaming and the reporting on gender issues in peacebuilding and could mean that the framework is holistically implemented when involving both genders.

Similarly to Hyllander the IPOC training describe it as the man box getting stronger before the conflict erupts, Gender inequality increases. To work on easing the polarization then could mean to work on prevention as well. The man box could be seen as a tool to reproduce the patriarchy or as the “hegemonic masculinity” then the focus on men could mean to dismantle the patriarchy to see what tools it is e.g. making the man, the norm invisible that is there to uphold the power.

The focus then on gender would mean through a radical libertarian feminism perspective that we would be able to see both the gendered drivers of conflict as well as the gendered impacts. It would also mean that both men and women would be able to seek for help and the gender dichotomy would be decreased the more gender equal society we are able to get.

6.9.5 THE MAN BOX

The man box that was described in the training session could be understood through Connell’s masculinity theory as a map of the “hegemonic masculinity”, describing the practices that are the accepted answer to the patriarchy’s legitimacy and the subordination of women¹⁴⁵. The training described that the man box is changing depending on context and time in history this

¹⁴⁴ Peterson & Sisson Runyan (2010) Global Gender Issues: in the New Millennium. West view Press , third ed.P 176

¹⁴⁵ Connell and Messerschmidt(2005) HEGEMONIC MASCULINITY Rethinking the Concept, GENDER & SOCIETY, Vol. 19 No. 6, December 2005 829-859 .P 838

is also relatable to Connell's description of the hegemonic masculinity. To work on transforming masculinities as they do in the training could then be understood as a way to dismantle the patriarchy, break it down in parts for review from a radical feminist perspective. This as well can be related to Hyllander's project in the organization Men for gender equality. The project focused on tracking the patterns that masculinities adopt to gain power and privileges.

The man box describes just as Connell's theory how some men that can't live up to the standard of the man box will be punished. From a radical feminist perspective, it could be understood as that the men as well are "hit by the patriarchy". From a radical libertarian feminism perspective as well as Connell's masculinity theory to be "hit by the patriarchy" would be because of women and men are associated with traits associated with femininity. The patriarchy from this perspective then is mainly the subordination of femininities by masculinities.

By presenting the men box the training is encouraging men to reflect upon their masculinities and step out of the man box, as mentioned earlier the traits associated with masculinities and femininities can be internalized with one's biological sex. This could be understood as being an important practice for the radical libertarian feminism since discovering that the socially constructed behaviours associated with what it means to "be a man" or a woman could lead to the realization that it does not have to be this way. It could also be understood as stepping out of the man box could mean to "refuse to be a man" the hegemonic masculinity, and therefore it follows radical feminist view on how to include men¹⁴⁶. Through an intersectional perspective it is problematic to discuss this in such an essentialist way and what it means to be a man, also an hegemonic masculinity should differ throughout different contexts and group belongings.

¹⁴⁶ Hesse- Biber & Yasier (2004) *Feminist perspectives on Social Research*. Oxford University Press, new York. P 184

The IPOC training could be understood as a way to work on transforming masculinities to ease the strict gender norms. To challenge the patriarchy with the aim of men not feeling that they need to live up to what it means to be “a real man” and change their values and norms, by refusing the man box/ patriarchy and this could then lead to a dismantling of the system, instead of as mentioned earlier, to add women into the system without changing values and norms.

The decreased gender polarization could be seen as leading to this as well, when the gender roles are more flexible will as well lead to changed values and norms.

6.9.6 GATEKEEPERS

Hyllander and Persson argued that it could be beneficial if men want to let the women in for women to have a meaningful participation this is something that was compared to a “gatekeeping role”.

If men does not want to include women the result could be according to Hyllander that people, both men and women with feminine traits will be excluded as well. If forced to include women it would be women with masculine traits. This goes in line with radical libertarian feminism were masculinities has a higher status than femininities.

The ted talk with Katz, and the interviews with Persson and Hyllander argued that it would be beneficial for gender equality if men could take one step further and not only accepting women in e.g. peace talks. Men could also play a role in speaking up against sexism as described in the “bystander approach” in the IPOC training. This could be understood from a radical feminist perspective as something that comes from men’s higher status in the society, the male supremacy, Connell masculinity theory would similarly describe it as being because of the status of the “hegemonic masculinity”, this is what would make it more efficient it men would speak up because they could be taken more seriously.

Hyllander argued that the inclusion of more women in the peace talks could lead to a wider variety of different masculinities welcomed as well. The kind of masculinity that is reproducing

the patriarchy, the hegemonic masculinity could be seen as decreasing or at least being contested. As mentioned by Hyllander and Persson individuals in a big enough group change the institutions but Connell's theory does also assume that institutions can change the behaviour of individuals this would mean that the current WPS agenda would deliberately change the masculinities in peace talks by adding women. This could also be explained through Connell's description of the gender role. Connell's theory describes how we are creating gender in the relation and action in between the genders, it would mean that it is impossible to only work on women in the agenda since the effect will be that we are influencing the behaviour of the men as well, in one direction or the other. It could be seen here as important to know how the work on women and femininities is affecting the men so that the implementation won't be contra productive.

This might also be possible to see in Swedish police force, that they are creating a more inclusive understanding of the traits associated with one's genders. This by sending 50% women and 50% men to peacekeeping missions. They are changing the gender norms just by being there interacting, if seen through Connell's masculinity theory then it is the social practices that are changing the norm of the masculinity

6.9.7 CHALLENGING NORMS

The IPOC training could be understood as changing the attitudes and behaviours of the staff going to peacekeeping missions as a way to implement 1325. Through a radical libertarian feminism perspective, the police force and peacekeeping staff could be seen as a typical masculine organization because of the feature of the organization that they then decide to start working on gender equality and transforming masculinities could be understood as a great leap for the work on gender mainstreaming and the zero tolerance against SGBV from the UN on peacekeepers in the WPS agenda.

It could be understood as challenging the gender norms just by having the training, creating

an awareness that the UN peacekeeping operations play a role in the construction of masculinities and can affect the impact of the different masculinities present. Through a radical feminist perspective this could be seen as affecting the public discourse within that field¹⁴⁷.

Similar to Connell radical feminism describes how transformation of gender can happen on a group level changing the institutional level, what's happening on an institutional level can influence the individual level. The Swedish police force then in UN peacekeeping mission could be seen as affecting the discourse on every level, since as described in the empirical part their job is to question and oppose any act sexism or expressions of gender in equality this through a radical feminist perspective could be understood as opposing any act of patriarchal expression. It could also be radical feminist view on how to end patriarchy it includes challenging the traditional gender roles and opposing sexism as a tactic instead of doing it through a political process¹⁴⁸. By doing it this way the Swedish police is challenging the system and its norms and values without having to do it through a political process.

6.9.8 NOT HERE BUT THERE

From a radical feminist perspective transforming masculinities in the IPOC training to the group men towards a more gender equal society could be understood as something quite problematic since the training is explaining the patriarchy for a group that is benefitting from it. What the task is for the future peacekeepers is then to give up power and privileges¹⁴⁹.

Wallström was hesitant to speak about the patriarchy as something that the Swedish police

¹⁴⁷ Hesse- Biber & Yasier (2004) *Feminist perspectives on Social Research*. Oxford University Press, new York. P 184

¹⁴⁸ Venkatalakshmi , Uma Samundeeswari, *Patriarchy and Feministic views in Jaishree Misra's Ancient Promises*, INTERNATIONAL JOURNAL OF INNOVATIVE RESEARCH & DEVELOPMENT, 2016, P 519-521, P 519

¹⁴⁹ Hesse- Biber & Yasier (2004) *Feminist perspectives on Social Research*. Oxford University Press, new York. P 184

Hesse- Biber & Yasier (2004) *Feminist perspectives on Social Research*. Oxford University Press, new York. P 185

force recognize as existing but she did say that it was something that was mentioned in the IPOC training. The reason for the hesitation could be understood as the gendered structure of the police force. It could be related to how both Persson and Wallström explained how the facilitators during the trainings on UNSCR 1325 is describing the patriarchal society and the way to work gender equal as something that we need to do “over there”. It could be understood through a radical feminist perspective as an expression of how men cannot understand the oppression of women. The expression could be a result of that facilitators do not want to see that they are a part of the oppression because that would mean that one would need to give up power and privileges at home¹⁵⁰. It could be seen as too close to one’s own culture and as a tactic for the patriarchy to sustain. But also as a technique to get the men “on the boat”. If using a radical feminist perspective, it could be understood as focusing too much on their own culture it could have been hard since it would mean to give up power and privilege themselves, this is by interrupting another groups sexist behaviour.

It could be understood from a radical feminist perspective that masculine institutions and people are not interested in saying that we live in a patriarchal society here that would mean that they are a part of the system and need to change. Wallström also said that the understanding of gender was much more developed in the international training then in the national. This could also be an expression if this.

6.9.9 PREVENTING VIOLENCE

As mentioned in the empirical part, both Hyllander and the IPOC training denoted the importance of focusing on the patterns that lead men and boys to use violence. this could be understood from Connell’s masculinity theory as a way to discover the different ways men is practicing the hegemonic masculinity and gaining power. From a radical feminist perspective it could be understood as finding the ways that men and boys is getting and maintaining power through the exploitation of women with the method of e.g. violence¹⁵¹. To target these practises by transforming masculinities as prevention would mean for men to give up power

¹⁵⁰ R.W Connell (2008) Masculiniteter, Policy press Ltd, Cambridge P 120

¹⁵¹ Hesse- Biber & Yasier (2004) Feminist perspectives on Social Research. Oxford University Press, new York. P 184

and privileges and though decreasing the subordination of women.

The IPOC course was reoccurring mentioning how gender inequality could lead to war it was seen as a root cause for war to happen and that the masculinities that is represented in a gender unequal society could be associated to power and certain privileges in control over women this could be understood as a way for the IPOC training to explain how this is something that is a part of their job, making it possible for men to understand why they need to work on this through making it more likeable that they use these methods during their mission since they know the aim of the practice.

The man box was mentioned several time during the training as something that was leading to a gender unequal society, as mentioned above it could be seen as something that is giving the patriarchy legitimacy and allowing men's dominance over women to continue.

6.9.9.1 PREVENTION

What the police force is trying to do is to show foremost men in their training, but also women there as well that they should be role models going outside of the man box, the patriarchal expression of masculinity. The key expression of the hegemonic masculinity is associated with violence, the training is seeing violence and sexism as a continuum and tough encouraging their staff to oppose and break sexist's structure on every level during their time on mission. Because of a continuum of violence, the police connect this work from low level violence and sexism to the violence occurring during and post conflict. The technique could be understood as Hyllander explained that one can intervene in lighter forms of violence and sexism to prevent heavier cases of violence and sexism.

The continuum of violence and the patriarchy's expression could also be understood as being at every level in society. When wright speaks about the relationship between the masculinities and militarism, and the UNSC. It is a continuum of violence and we need to work against it on every level, it is interlinked. As the concept of the personal is political is describing, if we want to address the gender norms that creates violence we need to do it both on an individual level

and an institutional level.

Expressions of violence and sexism could as mentioned be seen as expressions of the patriarchy through a radical feminist perspective.¹⁵²

The reason for this focus in peacekeeping mission could be understood when examining what was mentioned in the background chapter. E.g. how some UN peacekeepers feel entitled to sexual relations with women and children. If there are no prostitutes available for them then the soldiers of the military feel like they have the right to resort to “recreational rape” and violence against women¹⁵³. It was also mentioned that this was something that was important for their identity as men¹⁵⁴. This is referred to as normalisation and central to their masculinity as peacekeepers¹⁵⁵. This according to Raven- Roberts is not only a problem that prevents gender security and work against the implementation of 1325 it also prevents the success of the peace process itself¹⁵⁶. This is described as something that soldiers develop during the training process to become soldiers, mentioned earlier as a militarized masculinity¹⁵⁷.

The IPOC training is focusing on policemen as peacekeepers and not the Swedish military, but their task the opposite expressions of sexism and that they are aware of the “man box”, hegemonic masculinity could lead to that it is easier for them to intervene, if a fellow peacekeeper would e.g. sexually abuse someone or molesting a child. This could as mentioned, challenge the norms and values of the whole peacekeeping mission.

The reason then to do this could partly be seen as interlinked with UNSCR 1820 and its goal of zero cases of sexual violence from peacekeepers. This is a way to work on prevention.

¹⁵² Enloe, Cynthia (1990) *Bananas, Beaches and Bases: making feminist sense of international Politics*. Berkeley, University of California Press. (P.

¹⁵³ „Militarized Masculinity in Peacekeeping Operations: An Obstacle to Gender Mainstreaming,” *Peacebuild*, [online]. Available at: <http://www.peacebuild.ca/Lopes%20website%20ready.pdf> [Accessed April 20 2017] P 6

¹⁵⁴ Higate, Paul and Henry, Marsha (2004). “Engendering (In)security in Peace Support Operations,” *Security Dialogue*, 35(2), 481-498 P. 489

¹⁵⁵ Higate P. 490

¹⁵⁶ Raven-Roberts et al. (2005) *Gender, conflict, and peacekeeping*, Rowman & Littlefield P 59

¹⁵⁷ Whitworth, Sandra (2004) *Men, Militarism, and UN Peacekeeping: A Gendered Analysis*, London: Lynne Rienner Publishers P. 152

6.9.10 THE ROLE OF WOMEN

For us to move towards a gender equal society through a radical libertarian feminism perspective could be understood as the female traits needs to get a higher status, men need to be able to associate themselves with female traits just as women more often can do now with traditional male traits. This is something that the training could be understood doing since they are encouraging their staff to challenge the existing gender norms.

They are also meant to encourage women's participation and empowerment in line with UNSCR 1325. They are supposed to challenge the man box and do what is described as "not being desirable" in the society. As mentioned earlier there is a risk of being punished when breaking the social norms. It could be understood as a way to sustain the system to stop them who try to challenge the patriarchy. To have this as a task in your job as a peacekeeper, to resist the traditional gender norm can be seen as easier to do since it is not your own choice it is included in the mission.

Wallström mentioned that an important factor for the training to be developed into a perspective of masculinities was because of female caseworkers that was working as civil servants at the police in Sweden. They saw the need to give this training to future peacekeepers.

This could be related to radical feminist view of how women can relate to the oppression of women even though they are not the one being oppressed in that context or in that specific way that can e.g. can be seen on the field in a peacekeeping operation or among colleagues during the mission. Men is explained through this perspective as being unable to understand the oppression¹⁵⁸.

Similarly, the Swedish police could as explained be deeply linked to ideals of manliness, this could be the reason to why this was not a top down decision from the police. Since it would

¹⁵⁸ R.W Connell (2008) Masculiniteter, Policy press Ltd, Cambridge P 120

mean to challenge the same structures that they are getting power and privilege from.

The reason for the Swedish politicians to decide to work on the implementation of UNSCR 1325 could similarly be described as because we have a female minister of foreign affairs that was part of developing UNSCR 1820, as the Special Representative on Sexual Violence in Conflict¹⁵⁹.

The WPS agenda has been described earlier exist today because of the NGO working group on Women Peace and Security built up by women's rights organizations. This could be understood as radical feminism mentions, that women are the one raising the gender equality issues since they are the one who is oppressed by the current system while men are benefiting from it.

Men from a radical feminist viewpoint could be seen as pretending to be a "sensitive man" but they are understood as taking advantage of the feminist agenda, feminist men is viewed as a modernization of the patriarchy¹⁶⁰.

This might also be applicable on the UNSC decision to focus on women in peacebuilding, to "add women and stir" will give them credits for adding a "gender perspective" but in reality it has been understood as just taking away the focus on the role of men and masculinities. Because of this it could be understood as important to listen to women to understand what kind of oppression it is that needs to be detected.

6.9.11 STRATEGIC GENDER AGENDA

I got the understanding from Persson, Wallström and Hyllander that looking at both women and men's "gender agenda" was something that one could use to fasten the development of

¹⁵⁹Secretary-General Appoints Margot Wallström Of Sweden As Special Representative On Sexual Violence In Conflict | Meetings Coverage And Press Releases". Un.org. N.p., 2017. Web. 18 May 2017.

¹⁶⁰ R.W Connell (2008) Masculinititeter, Policy press Ltd, Cambridge P 78

gender equality. It could be related to what was mentioned in the background how one could strategically use the two genders as separate groups in an essentialist way¹⁶¹. Men as well as women can benefit from a more gender equal society, but we can also highlight the drivers of conflict as an essentialist way or women as a certain group to give attention to the structure.

The IPOC training could be understood as doing this when talking about “men’s violence against women” instead of e.g. gender based violence or “violence against women”. The IPOC trainings explanation of a continuum of violence where men throughout the training are the main perpetrators, goes in line with radical feminism, because that theory as we’ll see men’s oppression as a structure as a structural problem at every level.

The training do acknowledge that women can be the perpetrators but then it usually is to sustain the power of the man box. This goes in line with Connells “emphasized femininity” described in the theoretical framework.

The IPOC training do explain that there are several different masculinities to be able to show that it is a social construct and point to the possibility of changing by examining the group men in an essentialist way. This could as mentioned above be to fasten the development of gender equality that could strategically use the two genders as separate groups in an essentialist way¹⁶².

¹⁶¹ Peterson & Sisson Runyan (2010) *Global Gender Issues: in the New Millennium*. West view Press , third ed.

¹⁶² Peterson & Sisson Runyan (2010) *Global Gender Issues: in the New Millennium*. West view Press , third ed.

7. CONCLUSIONS

7.1 INTRODUCTION

In this chapter I will describe what is assumed to be the benefits of including men and work on transforming masculinities in the implementation of the WPS agenda and how we could include men and work on transforming masculinities in peacekeeping missions.

It is important to note that this analysis is limited in the generalisations that can be made, given that it is based on a small number of interviews. I will hereby provide the reader with an overview of what was brought up and what recurring themes the interviews and document analysis result indicated.

7.2 WHAT IS THE ASSUMED BENEFITS OF INVOLVING MEN AND WORK ON TRANSFORMING MASCULINITIES WHEN IMPLEMENTING UNSCR 1325 AND 1820?

7.2.3 HOLISTIC GENDER PERSPECTIVE

To work on both men and women could be understood as a more holistic approach to gender than just focusing on one of the genders. Both Hyllander and the material from the IPOC training stressed that it is in the relation between the genders that we are creating inequalities and therefore to address the inequality all gender's needs to be included.

By using Connell's masculinity theory we can see in line with Hyllander's argument that men can be subordinated by other men as well, if one is not living up to the standards of the hegemonic masculinity in the context that one is in. Therefore to truly take a gender perspective could also mean to see the oppressions, needs and experiences within one gender. The focus then on gender would mean through a radical feminist perspective that we would be able to see both the gendered drivers of conflict as well as the gendered impacts of conflict.

7.2.4 DECREASE THE POLARIZATION OF THE GENDER ROLES

To include a work on men and work on transforming masculinities could mean to both focus on men as victims and perpetrators, making the image a bit more complex by seeing that the patriarchal system is built up as Connell mentions of several different masculinities and femininities all subordinated by the hegemonic masculinity in that specific context.

The benefit could be that we have a higher flexibility in our gender roles. If we would manage to transform the gender roles towards a less polarized norm. It could be assumed that men as well as women would easier be able to get the help that they need if they have been exposed to e.g. SGBG. It could also lead to that the men would be able to get out of the man box. The man box from a radical feminist perspective could be seen as representing the expression, or tool of the patriarchy. And therefore it could mean to dismantle the patriarchy.

The gender polarization was described as getting narrower before the conflict erupts. To work on easing the polarization then could mean to work on prevention as well.

7.2.5 UNDERSTAND HOW THE WORK ON WOMEN AND FEMININITIES IS AFFECTING MEN AND MASCULINITIES

Hyllander argued that the inclusion of more women in the peace talks could lead to a wider variety of different masculinities welcomed as well. The kind of masculinity that is reproducing the patriarchy the hegemonic masculinity could be seen as decreasing or at least being contested.

As mentioned by Hyllander and Persson individuals in a big enough group change the institutions but Connell's theory does also assume that institutions can change the behaviour of individuals this could mean that the current WPS agenda would deliberately change the masculinities in peace talks by adding women.

It could be understood as important to know how the work on women and femininities is

affecting the men so that the implementation won't be contra productive.

7.2.6 PREVENTION

To include a focus on men from a radical feminist perspective could be understood as focusing on the reason to why women are exposed to SGBV and to create a change by dismantling the dominant system the patriarchy and for men to give up power and privileges. It could lead to that we can work more efficiently with prevention. As mentioned earlier the implementation of UNSCR 1325 was criticised for putting too much focus on the victims of gender based violence, to focus on the men could lead to focusing on the perpetrators since men as mentioned is accountable for most of the violence against women and violence occurring during conflict and post conflict. It could mean to address the root causes and drivers of conflict to see how the gender relation influence peacebuilding and to see how different masculinity play a role in conflict and insecurity by critically examine the roles and experiences of men and masculinities. It could be understood from a radical feminist perspective as dismantling the patriarchy and therefore the tools for the patriarchy to upheld power and privileges.

7.3 HOW CAN WE INCLUDE MEN AND WORK ON TRANSFORMING MASCULINITIES IN THE IMPLEMENTATION OF UNSCR 1325 AND UNSCR 1820 WHEN PREPARING PEACEKEEPERS FOR PEACEKEEPING MISSIONS, WITH A FOCUS ON SWEDEN'S IMPLEMENTATION

7.3.1 CRITICALLY EXAMINE THE MASCULINE GENDER ROLE

Sweden's gender training reflect on masculinities and give examples on how to step out of the man box, since the traits associated with masculinities and femininities can be internalized with one's biological sex. This could be understood as being an important practice for the radical libertarian feminism since discovering that the socially constructed behaviours

associated with what it means to “be a man” or a woman could lead to the realization that it does not have to be this way. This could be understood as challenging the patriarchy with the aim of men not feeling that they need to live up to what it means to be “a real man” and challenge destructive values and norms.

7.3.2 ENCOURAGE WOMEN'S PARTICIPATION AND EMPOWERMENT

Men needs' to encourage women's participation. If men does not want to include women the result could be according to Hyllander that people, both men and women with feminine traits will be excluded as well. If forced to include women it could be a strategy to include women with masculine traits. This goes in line with radical libertarian feminism were masculinities has a higher status than femininities.

7.3.3 MAKING IT A TASK TO CHALLENGE GENDER NORMS

The future peacekeepers at the Swedish police force learnt that they are supposed to challenge the man box, as a part of their job. To have this as a task in your job as a peacekeeper, to resist the traditional gender norm can be seen as easier to do since it is not your own choice it is included in the mission. As mentioned earlier there is a risk of being punished when breaking the social norms. It could be understood as a way to sustain the system to stop them who try to challenge the patriarchy.

In line with UNSCR 1325 the IPOC training is teaching the future peacekeepers that it is part of their job to encourage women's participation and empowerment and to intervene in cases of what could be seen through radical feminism perspective as expressions of patriarchy, e.g. acts of sexism.

7.3.4 FOCUS ON THAT THIS IS SOMETHING THAT IS HAPPENING “OVER THERE”

Both Persson and Wallström explained how the facilitators during the trainings on UNSCR 1325 is describing the patriarchal society and the way to work gender equal as something that we need to do “over there”. It could be understood through a radical feminist perspective as an expression of how men cannot understand the oppression of women. The expression could be a result of that facilitators do not want to see that they are a part of the oppression because

that could mean that one would need to give up power and privileges at home¹⁶³. It could be seen as too close to one's own culture and as a tactic for the patriarchy to sustain. But also as a technique by the facilitators to get the men "on the boat". Through a radical feminist perspective it could be understood as, if focusing too much on their own could have met resistance since they would need to give up power and privilege themselves. This way their task is to interrupt another group's sexist behaviour.

7.3.5 OPPOSE STRUCTURES OF INEQUALITY TO BREAK CONTINUUM OF VIOLENCE AND SEXISM

The key expression of the hegemonic masculinity is associated with violence, the IPOC training is describing violence and sexism as a continuum and they are encouraging their staff to oppose and break sexist's structure on every level during their time on mission. Because of a continuum of violence, the police connect this work from low level violence and sexism to the violence occurring during and post conflict. The focus is on intervening in lighter forms of violence and sexism to prevent heavier cases of violence and sexism.

They need to be active in the opposing of the structures of gender in equality. This could be explained by how we are shaped by unconscious conformity to internalized rules and how we in our daily life is reproducing these practises by e.g. laughing at a sexist joke or assuming that someone is in a heterosexual relationship. By going along we keep the system intact. This could be the reason for choosing a strategy to actively oppose structures of gender in equality or what can be understood as the expressions of the patriarchy. It is only by disrupting that we can create a change. By disrupting stereotypes, privileges, beliefs, marginalization and devalorisation that naturalize inequalities and oppressions¹⁶⁴. It could because of this be seen as important to denote the importance of making an active choice since it might not come naturally to the future peacekeepers if it is an internalized rule.

¹⁶³ R.W Connell (2008) Masculiniteter, Policy press Ltd, Cambridge P 120

¹⁶⁴ Peterson & Sisson Runyan (2010) Global Gender Issues: in the New Millennium. West view Press , third ed. P. 52-56

7.3.6 IMPORTANCE OF WOMEN

An important factor for the IPOC training to use a method of transforming masculinities was because of female caseworkers saw the need to give this training to future peacekeepers, this could be related to radical feminist view of how women can relate to the oppression of women. It could be difficult to get an organisation that is deeply linked to ideals of manliness to take this decision since it could mean to challenge the same structures that they get power and privilege from.

Men from a radical feminist viewpoint could be seen as pretending to be a “sensitive man” but they are understood as taking advantage of the feminist agenda, feminist men is viewed as a modernization of the patriarchy by radical feminism¹⁶⁵. Women have been described as recurrently bringing up the subject of gender equality and a need to work on transforming masculinity as was discussed in the discussion. Because of this it could be understood as important to listen to women to understand what kind of oppression it is that needs to be targeted to understand how one could involve men and a work on masculinities through a radical feminist perspective.

7.3.7 IN ADDITION TO THE WOMEN, PEACE AND SECURITY AGENDA

The interviewees were agreeing on that the focus on masculinities in peacebuilding should come in addition to the implementation of international commitments on women, peace and security.

7.3.7 STRATEGIC GENDER AGENDA

During Sweden’s gender training the training material presented women and men in a essentialist way. It could be beneficial to speak about men and women in an essentialist way to make it easier to explain and detect the gendered drivers and impacts of conflict and peacebuilding efforts. Because of this, one could use the two genders as separate groups in

¹⁶⁵ R.W Connell (2008) Masculiniteter, Policy press Ltd, Cambridge P 78

an essentialist way¹⁶⁶. Through a radical feminist perspective this would mean to focus on the structures in the society to be able to see what power structures there are at place.

¹⁶⁶ Peterson & Sisson Runyan (2010) *Global Gender Issues: in the New Millennium*. West view Press , third ed.

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9. APPENDIX

9.1 APPENDIX A, INTERVIEWS

The empirical data was collected between April 2016 –April 2017, two interviews were conducted in Stockholm and two through skype call.

Stockholm:

Linnéa Wallström, Desk Office at at the section for Peace Support Operations and International Development in the Division of International Affairs at the Swedish Police force, 54 minutes, 4 April 2017

Klas Hyllander, founder of the Organisation, Men for gender equality, 60 minutes, 12 April 2016

Skype Interviews:

Alma Persson, Researcher, Linköping University, 50 minutes, 22 march 2017

Hannah Wright, Gender, Peace and Security Adviser working at the NGO Saferworld, 40 minutes, 30 march 2016

9.2 APPENDIX B, INTERVIEW GUIDE

Interview questions:

- Could you tell me a bit about your organization and your role in it?
- Why did your organization start to work on masculinities in relation to the WPS agenda?
- What are your focus on when including men or taking a masculinity perspective in relation to the WPS agenda, why?
- What does the actual implementation look like?
- How could one include a perspective of masculinities in the WPS agenda?
- How could one include a perspective of masculinities in peacebuilding? Why?
- What is the role for men and the role for women in peacebuilding, do you see a difference?
- What would be the advantages and disadvantages of including a focus on men and masculinities?
- What role do men play for women to have meaningful participation?
- In what way do you see that the WPS framework is including women, what role does men and women have in peacebuilding is there a difference?

As mentioned when explaining the methodology I focused on open ending questions, and I put a lot of emphasis on the interviewees own thoughts and experiences. All of my interviewees started to discuss after the subject in relation to the first question about their job and their role. I did not ask the questions in a certain order but instead I used the questionnaire when the interviewee was finished explaining if I did not have a follow up question. This so that the questions would come in a natural order of the conversation.

I avoided using leading questions as much as possible. Since all of my interviewees were working in this field there was no need to explain terms and more that could have led to a positive or negative association.