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ANALYZING THE UNITED NATIONS PEACEKEEPING OPERATIONS
FROM FEMINIST PERSPECTIVE: CASES OF BOSNIA AND THE
CENTRAL AFRICAN REPUBLIC

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CENTRAL AFRICAN REPUBLIC

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Approval of the Graduate School of Social Sciences

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ABSTRACT

ANALYZING THE UNITED NATIONS PEACEKEEPING OPERATIONS FROM FEMINIST PERSPECTIVE: CASES OF BOSNIA AND THE CENTRAL AFRICAN REPUBLIC

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This thesis aims to analyze UN interventions within the framework of feminist perspective by focusing on two cases that UN peacekeeping operations took place in, which are Bosnia and Central African Republic. This thesis creates its basis by focusing on the main concepts that feminists focused on in their works, such as gender, militarization, nationalism, male domination, security and war, as well as the related debates within the discipline. Following these theoretical arguments, analysis on United Nations and peacekeeping operations using gendered lens takes place by focusing particularly on the cases of Bosnia and the Central African Republic. Comparing two incidents, this thesis intends to examine the effects of UN peacekeeping operations on women in different conditions to detect the similarities and differences including the sexual crimes of UN personnel and peacekeeping forces. This thesis also examines the UN personnels' sexual crimes and resolutions that UN Security Council adopted to prevent the incidents, as well as questioning the extent of the efficiency of these resolutions on the solution of the sexual crimes.

Keywords: UN peacekeeping operations, feminist international relations theory, Bosnia, the Central African Republic

ÖZ

FEMİNİST PERSPEKTİFTEN BİRLEŞMİŞ MİLLETLER BARIŞ OPERASYONLARININ ANALİZİ: BOSNA VE ORTA AFRIKA CUMHURİYETİ

Altınay Ünsal, Pelinsu

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Bu tez; Birleşmiş Milletler barış operasyonlarını, bu operasyonları deneyimlemiş iki farklı örnek olan Bosna ve Orta Afrika Cumhuriyeti üzerinden yola çıkarak feminist bakış açısıyla analiz etmeyi amaçlamaktadır. Bu çalışmanın teorik temelini, toplumsal cinsiyet, militarizasyon, milliyetçilik, erkek egemenlik, güvenlik ve savaş gibi feminist uluslararası ilişkiler yaklaşımının temel konuları oluşturmaktadır. Teorik tartışmaları takiben, bu tezde Birleşmiş Milletler'in barış operasyonlarının detaylı analizi yer almış, Bosna ve Orta Afrika Cumhuriyeti'ndeki operasyonlar örnek alınmıştır. Bu iki birbirinden farklı örneği incelemekteki amaç, farklı kondisyonlardaki barış operasyonlarının kadınlar üzerindeki etkisini, benzerlikleri ve ayrıntılarıyla göz önünde bulundurarak ortaya çıkarmaktır. Barış operasyonları esnasında yaşanan barışgüçlerinin cinsel istismar suçları ve bunlara karşı BM Güvenlik Konseyi'nin aldığı önlemlerin ne kadar etkili olduğu da tartışılmıştır.

Anahtar Kelimeler: Birleşmiş Milletler barış operasyonları, feminist uluslararası ilişkiler teorisi, Bosna, Orta Afrika Cumhuriyeti

To all women who suffer in a man's world

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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

UNSCR:	United Nations Security Council Resolution
UNPROFOR:	Force de Protection des Nations Unies - United Nations Protection Force
MINUSCA:	Stabilization Mission in the Central African Republic ECCAS: Economic Community of Central African States
MICOPAX:	Mission de consolidation de la paix en Centrafrique- ECCAS Peace Consolidation Mission in the Central African Republic
AU:	African Union
MISCA:	Mission internationale de soutien à la Centrafrique sous conduite africaine-International Support Mission in the Central African Republic
BINUCA:	Bureau Intégré de l'Organisation des Nations Unies en Centrafrique UN Integrated Peacebuilding Office in the Central African Republic
CAR:	Central African Republic
OFAC:	U.S. Department of the Treasury's Office of Foreign Assets Control
LRA:	Lord's Resistance Army

1. INTRODUCTION

*"I went to work with large numbers of women who had been the victims of rape during the war, but I ended up working as much with women who were being trafficked and raped by soldiers and police officers sent to keep the peace."*¹

1.1 Subject in Question

There is always a skepticism to a certain degree towards Hollywood movies in terms on reliability, even if they were based on true stories, where the producers barely hang on to conflicting interests with big guns within and outside of the sector. When I stumbled upon to *The Whistleblower* on a lazy Sunday afternoon, I got exactly the same cautious feelings while I was reading the storyline. As an extraordinary surprise, it ended up me being purely wrong-the movie was really telling the truth about women in Bosnia, sex trafficking, sexual exploitation and incidents of sexual abuse that UN peacekeeping personnel had been included. It was staggering to see how these could happen in front of the whole world while there was a savage conflict in Bosnia, but what more traumatic was to acknowledge and admit that the peacekeepers were the main actors on this dirty, inhumane wheel of sexual violence. So, this is an issue that even spread through the scripts of scenarist of Hollywood which would be the last resort, and still everyone including UN and troop-contributing states is in denial or ignoring the truth? If that is the case at the

¹ Ed Vulliamy, "Has the UN learned lessons of Bosnian sex slavery revealed in Rachel Weisz film?", *The Guardian*, January 15, 2012, <https://www.theguardian.com/world/2012/jan/15/bosnia-sex-trafficking-whistleblower>, (accessed December 20, 2016)

heart of Europe, then I would invite you to imagine the severity of the situation for women in the more inferior parts of the world that peacekeeping operations are being taken place.

This thesis aims to analyze UN interventions from the feminist perspective by focusing on two areas that UN sent peacekeeping forces to, which are Bosnia and Central African Republic. By analyzing these two cases, I will be able to compare them within the framework of feminist international relations theory in relation with the effects of UN peacekeeping operations on women. In this thesis, I do not only argue that UN fails to efficiently involve in case countries', Bosnia and Central African Republic, peace and negotiation process that it was intended to, but I also criticize UN for being structurally and missionary corrupt, being practically gender-blind to realities of host countries and most importantly acting as a cloak for the sexual crimes that its own personnel got involved within the time period of the missions.

Bosnia stands as a pioneer case for the feminist analysis on UN interventions which has many published articles and analysis on. Due to the Bosnia's geographical position in Europe and ethnic characteristic of the conflict including two well-known European ethnicities with major religious roots (Muslim Bosnians and Christian Serbs), it gained more publicity than any other incident within last decades. However, its popularity could not survive the victims; UN has failed on timing to step in and it quickly escalated the fatality of the civil war, yet Bosnia witnessed the most brutal systematic mass-rape organization in history.

On the other hand, though, Central African Republic is relatively new and less known case in comparison to Bosnia; the literature is so limited on the country and its history, let alone finding any solid research on the existence of UN in the country from the feminist perspective. Being one of the most neglected countries in continent, Central African Republic was under the heavy pressure of ongoing coups and civil war that have been continuing for years since its independence from the colonial power France in 1965. Even though the conflict could be labeled as sectarian, and there are two main actors from both camps, it has deeper roots related with country's rich mine, gold and diamond reserves as well as oil, and connection of

these resources with foreign actors. France's reluctance to leave the country due to their colonial history together makes it most overt foreign actor in area. It is no surprise that independence did not mean cutting all the ties between two countries, and also it did not mean for France to leave all these precious resources behind. Apparently, also the neighboring countries also have their own interests on Central African Republic which makes the situation even more complex and hard to ameliorate. Apart from the economic and political reasons, ethnicity is again an important factor on the rise of conflict, especially for the era before 2000s. The multi-ethnic demographic of Central African Republic could not survive in peace under these circumstances. As expected yet so unfortunate, the turmoil in the country hit women the most as they experienced war-time rape, via the opponent's males as well as their own communities', sexual abuse and assault, violence and humiliation.

Just as it was the case in all operations, UN's interventions were hope to certain degree for the people of the conflict areas but mostly for women. Even if the cautious attitude towards Western organizations and aids is mainstream for certain regions, UN by its own declarations and guidelines on peacekeeping and peacebuilding operations carries a lot of elements of the brighter future rhetoric. Although the success or failure of UN operations and possible justification of all in between are not sole focuses of this thesis, it has utmost importance for the gender lens that I adopt throughout the arguments due to its direct impact on women's physical and psychological integrity as well as their futures through policies and actors involved. That is why, the critiques towards UN's actions related to peacekeeping missions in general will take place through the feminist approach.

Adopting feminist perspective on UN interventions is crucial to understand the dynamics and structure of the incidents because with feminist lens, one would be able to spot the reality of militarized masculinity both in practice and theory, gendered dimensions of conflicts and operations, and the connection between reflections of patriarchal structure of war and peace on women under the circumstances of so-called peace-time and infamous "trustworthy" peacekeepers. Phenomenal critiques on soldiers being brought up as violent as possible and attending to missions where they need to be peaceful while holding on their violent

proud manliness, or perception of local prostitutes as means of fulfillment of soldiers' needs and making same soldiers introduce and safeguard peace to the same women within the same day or even hour, could only be explained and deeply analyzed with feminist theory. Obviously, the deviance of highly flattered UN peacekeepers' involvement in rape and sex in exchange for food and money cycle would only be meaningful and sensitively valuable when they are critically observed through this direction.

Even if that it seems like ancient times, the residue of neglecting of feminist theory in international relations discipline still lingers in this year and age, and it becomes more visible as the issues become more gender-related which was completely expected by feminists in academy of international relations. It might date back to 1997 when Tickner published *You Just Don't Understand: Troubled Engagements Between Feminists and IR Theorists*, a little has changed since then. Feminist analysis is still being perceived as inferior by most mainstream theorists, gender does not count as a unit of analysis by others, or the possible gendered explanations of so-called "serious issues" of IR do not receive a warm welcome. Critical approaches are being confronted with epistemological and ontological questions that are nothing but gimmicks. As the atmosphere within the discipline is rainy and miserable for feminists, it is essential to widen the spectrum of gender analysis topics where it could be wholeheartedly listened and cared about.

UN peacekeeping personnel's sex scandals in Bosnia and more recently Central African Republic are just what feminists need to draw attention on as fresh blood in veins of IR. As I experienced closely while I was in a desperate search for gendered analysis on Central African Republic's peacekeeping mission, MINUSCA, the detailed feminist analysis on the UN interventions and women are urgently needed. Keeping this in mind, this thesis aims to contribute to this area which is widely blank for the purposes of research and debate within international relations discipline.

1.2. Methodology

For the purpose of this thesis, I will mainly be using feminist international relations theories to explain and analyze the cases, also to support my arguments. By

doing that, I will consider the fact that feminist international relations theories are not unified and there is no single homogenous feminist theory to fit all the subjects. Regarding to the problematique of this thesis, the common grounds are the majority for all the fractions within feminism, such as the issues of patriarchy, gender, repression, masculinity, militarization debates, so the variations of the perspectives within theory would not create massive intellectual break-outs and they will only be mentioned if needed.

While analyzing the United Nations peacekeeping operations and their dynamics, I will also be using feminist theories as well as other prominent theories and their main debates on the UN itself. While holding the critical approach towards the peacekeeping operations and organizational structure of the UN, I will merge the existing knowledge of feminism with the issues argued on this topic.

The majority of the sources in this thesis are secondary sources including books and articles that have been published in academic journals, as well as online sources such as websites used for the statistical and official data. As primary sources, interviews and memoirs on certain events will be used selectively.

1.3. Outline of the Thesis

This thesis consists of three parts. After introduction, in the first part of this thesis, I will be evaluating the mainstream international relations theories' approaches on conventional concepts such as war, militarization, conflict and gender as well as focusing on anchor feminist international relations theorists' contributions to the debate. In this section, I will also be covering UN and its evolution in time in terms of peacekeeping operations and interventions besides UN's resolutions regarding gender and women issues. In the second part, I will focus on the first case, Bosnia, by providing information on historical background of the conflict and the UN intervention. The feminist analysis of Bosnia as well as UN intervention will wrap up this section as I move on with second case, Central Africa. The same procedure will also be applied to Central African Republic. After the feminist analysis of the case and mission of UN, in the third part, I will conclude with comparing two cases in terms of causal relationship between sexual violence and

peacekeeping missions by highlighting the similarities and differences between Bosnia and Central African Republic.

2. THEORY

2.1. Introduction of Feminist Theories to the Discipline of International Relations

Feminist theories and gender-related approaches on world politics have been controversial since the beginning of their introduction to the field of international relations. There were several prominent factors behind this non-acceptance of feminism within the area which I will be explaining in detail, but first we need to be familiar with the conditions and the structure of the international relations discipline within the framework of its own inner dynamics. Historical background and the general atmosphere of the certain time periods are crucial to analyze the position of feminism in international relations as a whole. That is why, I would like to start off with historical progression of IR-beginning with the post-World War I period. This will help us to have an in-depth understanding of the evolution of hierarchy within IR theories and the reasons why it is so introvert and reluctant for non-traditional approaches to explain the international system and its actors.

Beyond any doubt, World War I had catastrophic outcomes not only for the nations and the world system, but also for the professionals and academics who work on this area. As international relations scholars being concerned, the war was not solely emotionally and physically destructive for the states and the civilians, but also disillusioning for the discipline that they took place in. Soon after, the outbreak of the WWII and the unstoppable expansion of Nazism and fascism, international relations scholars adopted the idea that the previous approaches did not cure anything between two great wars and the idealist ideas were so naive, so they set the mission of the area as preventing wars which were inevitable for them. This pessimistic

understanding of the international system became systematized in the form of realist approach in IR, and dominated the field for the longest time. Realism's emphasis on state security brought military enforcement together, and maximizing the national interest became the main goal of the theory. As Ann Tickner explains: "Realism appeared best to describe the political behavior of the great powers during periods of high political tension."² That is why, none of the international relations scholars felt a pressure to stress other notions than realist approach dictates. The limitless amount of the issues that realism could not address did not create an enormous intellectual uprising due to the simple fact that war was too threatening to care about less and to shift the focus on other possible actors within the territory of international relations discipline. Even the most generalized "other actor" which was *the individual* was not close enough to be a subject matter-until the last decades of the Cold War.

Cold War period was so long to keep the focus just on the states to analyze the ongoing events in the world politics in an outdated manner, and realism gradually lost its legitimacy. Even if the dominant theory in the area was still realism, the strong oppositions were mushroomed against this state-only theory. In 1970s, the unexpected incline in the oil prices forced scholars to think outside of the box and many of them suggested working on economy rather than states' security in times of war at the first place-which evolved to liberal theory in no time.³ As a cumulative knowledge tradition in international relations suggests, the critiques and challenges towards existing theories started to create a diversity of new theories which were not necessarily new in practice but new to the field of international relations. The traditional of them being Marxism with class conflict base theory against previous two has been introduced to the discipline. While Marxism was a "traditional but new" theory for the international relations, it still could not provide a proper theoretical framework that includes gender within its analysis as it did with class conflicts. However, it would not be a mistake to say that Marxism did not completely ignore gender, yet Engels analyzed the formation and the progress of family from

² J. Ann, Tickner. *Gender in International Relations: Feminist Perspectives on Achieving Global Security* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1992); 12.

³ Ibid.

communist formation to capitalist settlement which changed the women's roles and perception completely:

In the old communistic household,...the task entrusted to the women of managing the household was as much a public and socially necessary industry...With the patriarchal family, household management lost its public character. It became a private service; the wife became the head servant, excluded from all participation in social production.⁴

And also from the same section of Engels' book, *Origin of the Family, Private Property and the State*:

In the great majority of cases today, at least in the possessing classes, the husband is obliged to earn a living and support his family, and that in itself gives him a position of supremacy, without any need for special legal titles and privileges. Within the family he is the bourgeois and the wife represents the proletariat.⁵

Still, the overly-romanticized perception of proletariat and place of women within that settlement seems problematic. After this strong attachment of Marxism to the debates and the discipline itself, it has been followed up by more contemporary theories which also includes feminism as a part of postmodern theories.

The proper introduction of feminist theory to the field of international relations was around late 1980s, but unfortunately feminists could not even have a chance to discuss their agenda with the scholars from other schools of theories because basically there were no communication at that time period. The pioneer feminist international relations theorists J. Ann Tickner defines those days in her major work *You Just Don't Understand* as full off awkward silences if not a complete refusal of the feminist existence in IR.⁶ When there was a sparkle of a conversation between conventional theorists of IR and feminists, they generally ended up, and still

⁴ Frederick Engels, Origins of the Family, Private Property, and the State, *Marxists.org Archive*, <https://www.marxists.org/archive/marx/works/1884/origin-family/ch02d.htm>, (accessed February 9, 2017)

⁵ Ibid.

⁶ J. Ann Tickner, "You Just Don't Understand: Troubled Engagements Between Feminists and IR Theorists," *International Studies Quarterly*, No. 41 (1997): 612.

ends up, with some questions of critiques towards feminists which have much deeper misunderstanding of feminist theory in general.

2.2. Critiques Towards Feminist Theories in International Relations and the Responses

The first critique towards IR feminist scholars is about their methodology. The scientific methodology of research as it is done in natural sciences has always been encouraged by conventional IR scholars. Positivist sense that they adopted did not include anything that feminists prioritize as a source of knowledge; such as the experiences of marginalized groups and their storytelling. From the purely positivist point of view, this kind of data collecting method seems non-scientific, however this evaluation is not even valid when the subject matter is a branch of social sciences. As Benhabib suggests; feminists strongly believe that the universalism that the orthodox positivist IR scholars support was derived from the experiences of elite men, so excluding women all together. ⁷The embedded masculinity in the field of IR is latently appearing in the fanaticism at the point of "single rightful methodology" that they propose since they do not even feel a need to step back and ask the question of "Whose knowledge is this that we are accepting as scientific data?". When IR is dealing with the states and their behaviors in current situations, and even preventing the possible wars or crisis, it is not reasonable to use theories solely relies on the states' actions which is, again, equal to men's knowledge and evaluation of the state.

Despite of the fact that the majority of the traditional IR theorists tend to behave and react within the same direction, some of the scholars actually try to build the bridge that feminists claim does not exist. Keohane, in his article where he responds to Tickner's major misunderstandings list, claims that the dichotomies that feminists constantly put forward, such as positivist vs. post-positivist, objective vs.

⁷ Seyla Benhabib, Drucilla Cornell, *Feminism as Critique: On the Politics of Gender* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1987); 81.

subjective, cause the communication become much harder and harsh to overcome. He thinks that no international relations student/scholar should have been obliged to choose between qualitative or quantitative data as well as normative or empiric research since IR needs both at the same time to explain and analyze the situations.⁸ Even if Keohane's approach to miscommunication between feminists and conventional theorists, it appears to be little naive and eclectic in that sense. Keohane was not the only "more conventional kind" of theorist that genuinely tried to connect with feminism without the target of taking it down but improving, however he was more suitable to mention since he was in a constant dialogue with Tickner herself. His anchoring about the sharpening of the existing dichotomies were clearly brilliant and fruitful for the mutual understanding of the parties, yet it was still shy from the reality that most of the IR scholars do not reckon the same.

Andrew Linklater supports the efforts of Keohane of building the methodological bridges and argues that the growing literature makes it possible to achieve "normatively grounded empirical analyses of 'real world' issues."⁹ While doing that, he also widens the scope and target of empirical analysis for feminists as follows: "...to explain asymmetries of power and to challenge them in accordance with ethical assumptions about how social resources, capabilities and opportunities can be distributed more fairly."¹⁰ So, feminists who adopt empirical analyses can and will explain every single issue, whether it is important for conventional IR or not, with their methodology due to its consistency with the field. Sylvester explains how IR feminists (including herself) "do IR" as follows: "We 'do' IR as transversal and liminal vis-a-vis ` philosophy, anthropology, literary and art theory, women's studies, cultural studies, postcolonial studies, history, psychoanalytic theory, and the like."¹¹

⁸ Robert O. Keohane, "Beyond Dichotomy: Conversations Between International Relations and Feminist Theory," *International Studies Quarterly* 42, no. 1 (1998): 195.

⁹ Andrew Linklater, "Dominant and Destructive Masculinities," *International Affairs* 80, no. 1 (2004): 91.

¹⁰ Ibid.

¹¹ Christine Sylvester, *Feminist International Relations an Unfinished Journey*, (Cambridge, U.K.: Cambridge University Press, 2002); 12.

Obviously, non-feminist or traditional theorists are not the only ones who are on the sharper and deterministic side of their views on methodology. Within the feminist international relations scholars, there are crucial names who does not support quantitative data analysis by any means, and just as the traditional non-feminist scholars devalue qualitative data, these sects of feminists devalue quantitative information on gender-related issues in international relations. Moreover, the scholars who had the flexibility about their methodologies and adopted some quantitative research in their works have been labeled as insufficient feminists by these orthodox qualitative data defenders.¹² This obviously creates intra-feminist hierarchical structure which is not the most useful way to improve the quality of the feminist discussions against its opponents by repeating the same mistakes of the unwanted. As Harding sums up in a clear way; "No distinctive feminist methodology exists because each methodology can contribute to feminist goals."¹³

These methodological discussions, both between feminists and the ones that arose between theories, led to another critique, which can be summarized as follows: "Do feminists even do something related to international relations?" This question was the most asked one due to the epistemological and ontological differences between feminists and IR theorists.¹⁴ Gender seems completely unrelated with the field for the conventional scholars, most probably caused by the underlying assumption of the discipline as gender-neutral. When the vision towards the "real issues of IR" is masculine by the nature of the IR tradition, gendered lens of the world politics is being perceived as unnecessary as well as irrelevant. Since the most famous and the strongest slogan of feminists *personal is political* suggests, nothing belongs to private sphere and out of the borders of international relations as

¹² Mary Caprioli, "Feminist IR Theory and Quantitative Methodology: A Critical Analysis," *International Studies Review* 6, no. 2 (2004): 254.

¹³ Sandra G. Harding, *Feminism and Methodology Social Science Issues*. (Buckinghamshire: Open University Press, 1987); 258.

¹⁴ J. Ann. Tickner "Why Women Can't Run the World: International Politics According to Francis Fukuyama," *International Studies Review* 1, no. 3 (1999): 3.

patriarchal structure of the states and social structures directly affect women in the most severe ways.

As traditional theories, starting with realism, set the standards, pre-assumptions of core principles and methodologies of the IR as the only legitimate way to "do IR", non-conventional contemporary theories have been marginalized. Feminist IR was standing at the most marginalized point of this spectrum with severe accusations regarding methodology, ontology and agenda of the theory which were arising from the misunderstandings that I mentioned above. These critiques were so crucial to be addressed by feminist scholars because it was the only way to prove that international relations needed feminism.

2.3. Basic Concepts from Gendered Lens

2.3.1. Gender

One of the most striking concepts that feminists put forward was the main concept of the theory; that is gender. The separation of the definitions and meanings of *sex* and *gender* as different terms were challenging enough at the first place for feminists, but that was only the beginning. They repeatedly defined sex as a biological indicator that comes with birth and gender as the socially constructed attribution on to the sexes which shapes the society's perceptions towards the ideal type of physical appearance, behavioral patterns and social positions of men and women separately. As the most important figure in critical theory Robert Cox argues: "Human institutions are made by people-not by the individual gestures of "actors" but by collective responses to a collectively perceived problematic that produces certain practices."¹⁵ So even if critical theory became the closest ally towards this understanding of "social construction", gender itself was still absent as a focal point.

However, apart from the mainstream understanding of feminist theory, some contemporary feminists argue that sex was not a biological factor by itself, but also a social construction just as gender was. They think that it is a deterministic view on biology to group people according to the anatomical characteristics and this natural

¹⁵ Robert W. Cox, Timothy J. Sinclair, *Approaches to World Order*. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996); 51.

dualistic separation causes as much trouble as gender does.¹⁶ Gender was surely problematic from every perspective for feminists, and the series of the issues that it brings to the world politics was the way to enlighten as a mission for them. I feel a strong urge to use Sylvester's genuine words about these differences in here: "Of course we have our differences: Enloe is a standpoint feminist and I incline toward postmodern feminism; Elshtain gracefully combines the two... Although our views on ontology, epistemology, scholarly style, and citational authority differ, these differences are small."¹⁷ Clearly, the differences between the fractions of the feminist theories became more recognizable as feminist studies gained a certain level of visibility in international relations arena but the general perspective towards the IR issues remained as common as it was at the beginning.

Although gender seemed like covering all the problematic areas for feminists when using it as a lens through the issues, it could not embrace all the factors that were marginalized by the dominant theories. Race, ethnicity, sexual orientation and religion needed to be considered as analyzing certain circumstances while using gender as a unit. Sylvester claims: "Feminism is inadequately penetrated by peripheries, or, more precisely, the peripheries are not always sighted and cited in ways that blur minorities and majorities."¹⁸ The impacts of the same stimulus on women of color or women from different races, as well as disabled groups within women differ enormously. While the core problem, patriarchal effects of the masculine settlement, stays the same, the effects on different women change in accordance with before-mentioned factors. Kimberle Crenshaw, who first used the term *intersectionality*, claims that violence that women experience is mainly shaped and directed by various perspectives of identities, such as class and race.¹⁹ Marginalization of women by their races attains their classes in the long-run where they become poorer, less educated and loosely skilled for the professional careers.

¹⁶ V. Spike Peterson, Anne Sisson Runyan, *Global Gender Issues in the New Millenium*, (Boulder, C.O.: Westview Press, 2010); 4.

¹⁷ Sylvester, *Unfinished Journey*, 12.

¹⁸ *Ibid.*, 302

¹⁹ Kimberle Crenshaw, "Mapping the Margins: Intersectionality, Identity Politics and Violence Against Women of Color," *Stanford Law Review* 43, no. 6 (1991): 1242.

These inferiorities foster each other's and the destructive incidents that all women in general experience become more destructive for certain groups of women. Referring back to Crenshaw again, "when making a sex discrimination claim, white women do not designate their race because only their gender would have caused any discrimination against them."²⁰ So, the problem of marginalized minority or "white women feminism" seems to stay within the theory as an unsolved but relatively more debated problem.

2.3.2. War, Security and Militarized Masculinity

When feminists had been accused with the irrelevancy to the field, they started to explain the so-called important issues of IR from the gendered lens of view. It is crucial at this point to stress the fact that feminist theory in international relations is not unified in terms of perspective on the various issues and their analysis. Just like any theory, feminism also contains different branches within (such as liberal feminists, critical feminists, constructive feminists, poststructuralist and postcolonial feminists) which create an ongoing atmosphere of discussion that is perfectly improving for the theory itself. That is why, by outlining the views of the feminists on topics in IR, both scholars and the audience need to realize that it is the commonality of different types of feminist theories; not the perfectly valid statement for all but the top layer of the perspective which is legitimate. In this case, it is interest of working on the subordination of gender in global politics²¹ that creates the common agreement for all feminists. They all have different opinions on gender-related issues in world politics, some of the differences are slight and some of them are nearly contradictory, and for the sake of this part of the paper I will be using the top layer opinion that all sort of feminists accept. When there are huge differences on any subject that I focus on between different branches, I will be mentioning.

The most outstanding one was security, since realism's security obsession for states had a major legacy to be sustained even with the other theories, and the war

²⁰ Aisha Nicole Davis, "Intersectionality and International Law: Recognizing Complex Identities on the Global Stage" *Harvard Human Rights Journal*, 28, no.1 (2015); 211.

²¹ Laura Sjoberg. *Gendering Global Conflict: Toward a Feminist Theory of War* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1979); 5.

was the relatively easier subject for feminists to defend their rightfulness due to the topic's explicit nature. War was not only between states as realist approach provides, and the security of the states did not mean the security of the individuals anyway. War has always been assumed to be an inter-state action where the parts are required to use their militaries and strategic maps to beat the opponents both physically and psychologically. As it is completely expected, the re-polished version of Sun Tzu of modern day, Clausewitz famously suggests that "War is politics by other means"²² which includes violence as a major brick by referring to the violence occurring between states (or political groups in a broader term), rather than individuals or non-state actors. More importantly though, as Laura Sjoberg pinpoints, "between" exactly means that both sides should be willing to fight and to get involved in the act of war. If that is the case, then we should not be including invasions/military intervention in the category of war since invaded country would not be in a willingness or approval towards the situation.²³ For feminists, the most important point to focus is not the cause of war per se, but the ongoing process of war and the aftermath with an emancipatory goal. What women were experiencing throughout the war is the main concern as they adopt the bottom-up approach on security which is absent in conventional IR theories. From the feminist perspective, security is defined in "...multidimensional and multilevel terms as the diminution of all forms of violence, including physical, structural and ecological." ²⁴

It is obvious that state security does not mean security of women while so-called peace time contains even more threat of domestic violence (sexual, physical and mental). So, it is accurate for feminists that "the topic of security should address acts of rape and violence, not only from foreign perpetrators, but from their own fellow citizens as well." ²⁵ Since civil wars include only native enemies for women,

²² Carl von Clausewitz, *On War*, eds. Michael Eliot Howard and Peter Paret, (New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 1989); 87.

²³ Sjoberg, *Gendering Global Conflict*, 16.

²⁴ Tickner, "You Just Don't Understand", 624.

²⁵ Tricia Ruiz, "Feminist Theory and International Relations: The Feminist Challenge to Realism and Liberalism", *Sounding Journal*, (2005), <https://www.csustan.edu/sites/default/files/honors/documents/journals/soundings/Ruiz.pdf>

it makes more sense from the gendered lens to stress the destructive and timeless effects of war when analyzing it. For instance, during Rwandan civil war, 250,000 women were raped because of stigmatization, and even their children were shamed as devil's children.²⁶ No need to mention that they have not been counted as refugees so they could not gain any support from international refugee charities. Therefore it is meaningful to recall Blanchard's statement on Tickner's view in accordance with the circumstances above:

Tickner rejects the analytic separation of explanations for war into distinct levels and the identification of security with state borders, arguing that violence at the international, national, and family levels is interrelated, ironically taking place in domestic and international spaces beyond the reaches of law.²⁷

Accurately, the blank spaces and false evaluations of the concept of war is not limited to the discussions of relativity of IR and gender, also about excessive internalization of the gender roles and their places in war. The most straightforward place to see this is the must-have gendering of the enemy in war-time, with feminization of the weak features of the opposition (especially to turn "naturally masculine, need-to-be-strong" features to "feminine housework-like" dysfunctions). The "motherland" understanding of the soil is crucial for the soldiers to catch up the motivation and mental preparedness. This dual-ended femininity stands at a point to fight and die for (sacred motherland, untouchable, to be protected), and to destroy (enemies' soil, enemies' women, enemies' submissive parts). The traditional cliché of men going war and women looking after children (or as Elshtain states; "women are excluded from war talk; men, from baby talk"²⁸) is more than just a mindset of an average person who has limited resources to get the reality of the picture, but also it is the primitive and ground-level version of certain conventional IR theories which do not take gender issues seriously and do not accept it as a unit of analysis by any

²⁶ J. Ann Tickner, *Gendering World Politics: Issues and Approaches in the Post-Cold War Era*, 200. (New York: Columbia University Press, 2001); 50.

²⁷ Eric M. Blanchard "Gender, International Relations, and the Development of Feminist Security Theory," *Signs: Journal of Women in Culture and Society* 28, no. 4 (2003): 1296.

²⁸ Jean Bethke Elshtain, *Women and War*, (New York: Basic Books, 1987); 225.

means. It has been a long time since Darwin described women as "docile, sexually coy" and men as "physically and intelligently superior"²⁹ while getting the biological facts (sex) and social constructions (gender) twisted and melted in a cauldron, yet it is still being summarized as "Boys will be boys" when it comes to gender specific attributions regarding war and peace.

This static understanding of women and men leads to another assumption that effects the realization of the war and gender in the most negative way. Both scholars and individuals in general tend to lean towards the idea that women are more peaceful by nature than men, so it is an expected result of the genesis of both sexes to act in a certain way. As Zalewski argues in her famous article *Well, What is the Feminist Perspective on Bosnia?*; "...gender is socially and culturally constructed and that beliefs about sexual difference play a part in constructing realities, in this case the realities of war."³⁰ This basically means that when men are violent and ruthless enough by nature to fight and kill, women are peaceful in a complete opposite (obviously, because gender is traditionally binary and complementary) and defenseless against enemies so nothing is wrong and questionable about men going war and not being feminine by being peaceful. Elshtain uses her well-known symbols to depict this situation, while referring to Hegel: Just warriors (men) that are "construed as violent, whether eagerly and inevitably or reluctantly and tragically" and beautiful souls(women) as "nonviolent, offering succor and compassion"³¹

On the other hand, when the situation occurs in reverse, where a woman fights or acts as rigid and brutal as an ideal man, she gets labeled as extraordinary (not necessarily in a negative way, but in the meaning of being different and rare) while being constantly highlighted with her masculine features rather than an ideal woman. Some scholars argued at this point that the more woman fighters get included in military or militia, the more visible they become in terms of breaking the gendered cycle of war, however this view is problematic in many terms as Routledge

²⁹ Charles Darwin, *The Descent of Man and Selection in Relation to Sex*, (New York: D. Appleton and Company, 1871); 563.

³⁰ Marysia Zalewski, "Well, What Is the Feminist Perspective on Bosnia?," *International Affairs* 71, no. 2 (1995); 350.

³¹ Elshtain, *Women and War*, 225.

says: "Rather, women who choose to join military forces have to combat both the external enemy and the patriarchal attitudes and actions within the military force itself."³² When politics is concerned, the classic example of this masculine women stereotype was Margaret Thatcher with her unusual warrior-like traits political personality, and as a by-product, it caused traditionalists to use in discussions to cover-up the reality of non-representation and exclusion of women in politics by claiming that women could be in politics if they worked really hard. For the non-feminists, it became easier to falsify the attribution of gender roles when there was a single "extraordinary" example as if there was no such barrier in front of women to get to that point. The masculinist nature of the field gives opportunity to estrange the so-called masculine woman and pretendedly glorifying her at the same time.

Apart from out-of-ordinary circumstances, this "peaceful and innocent women of our own soil" type of irrational and fully emotional labeling creates the legitimate base for any intentions of war and conflict. Tickner calls this "myth of protection" which is a created illusion that wars are fought to protect or save women (and in some incidents, children).³³ At that point, the notion of the state should be reviewed in relation with the protection issue. Feminists are always skeptic and reluctant about the idea of state security; both in times of war and peace. From the feminist perspective on war, "It is neither beginning with the first gunfire, nor ending when the treaties are signed."³⁴ The aftermath of war, and the pre-conflict conditions cannot be analyzed without focusing on gender and gendering of war. I find it perfectly summarized in these words which I reckon to be useful:

Before the first gunfire is the research, development and deployment of weapons; the maintaining of standing armies; the cultural glorification of the power of armed force; and the social construction of masculinities and femininities which support a militarized state.

³² Nozizwe Madlala-Routledge, "We Need an International Campaign to Resist Androcentric Militarized Neo-Colonial Masculinities!", *African Gender Institute*, no.10 (2008); 85.

³³ Tickner, *Gendering World Politics*, 48.

³⁴ Carol Cohn, and Sara Ruddick, "A Feminist Ethical Perspective on Weapons of Mass Destruction." *Ethics and Weapons of Mass Destruction Religious and Secular Perspectives* 104, (2003): 411.

When the organized violence of war is over, what remains is a ripped social fabric.³⁵

Feminist security studies' focus is not only the relationship between women and security, but on gendering of the security issues. As Harding's well-known term suggests, it is not the process of "adding gender in and stirring"³⁶, but analyzing the femininities and masculinities of security situations while searching for the answer to how these masculinities and femininities shape people's mindset on being men and being women; not the difference between them.³⁷ This can be seen best at Cynthia Enloe's works, another pioneer feminist IR scholar who works on militarism and gender relations, due to the fact that she does not simply put gender inside of the IR topics; she actually finds the gender within them. Her arguments take the issue to the whole another level which could backlash the conventional theorists' claims and justify the feminist international relations for all.

In her groundbreaking book, *Bananas Beaches and Bases*, she exposes how invisible femininities keep the existing masculinities in state affairs and military actions. The main question Enloe poses is "What happens if we put women and their experiences at the center of the analysis?" and her aim by asking this particular one is to highlight the invisibility of women's vital involvement in every masculine settlement. She places her claim on the wives of military personnel³⁸ and elite diplomats, and sex workers as the stabilizers of the circle of masculine success; both in home and abroad. She argues that the wives or girlfriends of the elite diplomats help them to maintain the good relations by providing a charming, appealing and highly active companionship in state-related meetings or formal invitations. Just as the wives, the native sex workers of the area where soldiers were settled, contribute to the prioritized masculine needs by serving them. This does not only provide the fulfillment of the needs for military personnel, but also creates a bond between the

³⁵ Ibid.

³⁶ Sandra G. Harding, *The Science Question in Feminism*, (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1986): 296.

³⁷ Sjoberg, *Gendering Global Conflict*, 62.

³⁸ Enloe, *Bananas, Beaches & Bases*, 174-211.

citizens of the certain place and the foreign state's soldiers. Due to the fact that the communication and well-being of the relationship between them is so important for the both states, that has a great value for the maintenance of the process itself. These dynamics and existences of the helping hands of women cannot and should not be invisible and underestimated, Enloe claims.

Moreover, the unintentional but effective supporters of the gendered international relations is not limited to diplomatic wives and sex workers. According to Enloe, there are up to seven main categories that one might see the same mechanism; such as tourism, nationalism, agriculture, international labor force and textile industry. After her analysis, it becomes more obvious that the androcentric international politics could not survive a day without its structures of gender.³⁹

2.3.3. Nationalism

War itself is foundationally incomplete and shallow without analyzing nationalism as its vital components from the gender lens. According to the predominant acceptance of war as the fighting states due to completely defensive reasons or expansionist policies, nationalist motives and symbolisms that it brings are crucial for both cases. The non-instinctual/then-created emotional attachments to the soil and the unconditional appreciation to the man-made borders carry more than pure urge to protect the country, but also protect (which eventually becomes equivalent to subordinating, suppressing, dominating, insignificating, making dependent) women who are nothing but reproducers, child bearers, cooks and all the non-glorifying/well-domesticated terms of reference. But, this hierarchical segmentation and gendered division of labor in both war-time and so-called peace-time might be comforting for women in many ways. This nationalist chain of ideas which turn into behaviors have a strong emphasis on the protection as I discussed above, and for this reason majority of the women (who belong to that particular race, mainly married and own children) get their share on this protected environment. Women with no jobs, no insurance, no families other than their husbands and children find themselves in this circle of "protected" ones.

³⁹ McClintock, Anne. "Dangerous Liaisons", *The Women's Review of Books*, Vol.7 No.8, 1990 1

However, nothing that women get are under the terms of blank check in gendered society. Those women who benefit from the protection of the men (or the state, as state is masculine and glorious in gendered hierarchy, equivalent of men) due to the prerequisite of nationalism are involuntarily accepting the whole pack of safety which includes detainment of their right to choose the way of living their lives, hindering their access to public realm, unconditional domestication, unquestionable unpaid job maintenance at home and devotion to their husbands. Cynthia Enloe describes this situation as an uneasy relationship between women and nationalism, and explains as follows:

Seeing themselves as, and being seen by others, members of a nation have given these women an identity larger than defined by domesticated motherhood or marriage. On the other hand, even when they have been energized by nationalism, many women have discovered that in practice, as women, they often have been treated by male nationalist leaders as symbols-patriarchally sculpted symbols- of the nation. Women have served as symbols of nation violated, nation suffering, the nation at its purest.⁴⁰

Because of this very reason, looking at war in relation with nationalism from the feminist perspective is vital for understanding the whole interlocked picture of gendered war and peace. As Enloe explicitly claims: “Nationalism typically has sprung from masculinized memory, masculinized humiliation and masculinized hope.”⁴¹, and that places nationalism to the center of the debates revolving around military and masculinity. Without states being and acting masculine, without personification (more precisely, genderification) of the weak and strong with direct feminine and masculine attributions, without creating military force to protect their motherland in the same way they protect their women, this bargain of sexes in form of war could not be sufficiently analyzed. Also, nationalism militarizes women in a such dividing way that they start to ignore the base that they have in common, which is being women, and transform into a proper subject of hierarchical positioning within domestic and international system. The women that have been militarized by

⁴⁰ Cynthia Enloe, *Bananas, Beaches & Bases: Making Feminist Sense of International Politics*, (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2014): 87.

⁴¹ Ibid., 93.

serving various purposes of the military (as a military wife, as a military prostitute, as military nurse, as a wife of a diplomat) do not feel close to each other by any means and any feelings, not even at the base of womanhood, due to the competitive atmosphere within this militarized communities.

It needs to be addressed that the relationship between women and state and military personnel (soldiers and other higher degree) is not a new phenomenon that arose in the modern area of state relations. Nationalism's and colonialism's effects on the native women-foreign soldier connections were also gendered and crucial even before 1900s. Enloe provides the examples of British and French colonial forces' documents which include the countless photographs that they took of the native women on the settled land. The women on the photographs were generally half-naked or fully naked, and eroticized in a way that soldiers find appealing. They were turning them into postcards to send to their home countries which explains the situation better for scholars to analyze. There were two reasons behind: First, they were trying to legitimize their states' occupation of the certain land by showing the "primitive" women of the place who needs the "white men administration" to modernize. Secondly, they were honoring the success of the occupation with dominating and using women to do what they want. By doing this, they were equalizing the notion of "conquering the territory" with "conquering the women".⁴²

That is the hidden understanding of the "motherland" metaphor which should be both protected when it's your own, and should be occupied when it's enemies'. As Spike Peterson reflects; "Gendering operates to set up and reinforce dualistic, dichotomous, or either-or thinking, but it also fosters hierarchical thinking in which those people and objects assigned masculine qualities are valued or given power over those assigned feminine qualities."⁴³ Different groups of women who are not the ones to be protected but the ones to be used and abused are distinctively visible. They are the native women of the "enemy", generally prostitutes who could not carry even a bit of significance in terms of war or military relations from the perspective of conventional approaches in international relations to explain the dynamics of the

⁴² Sjoberg, *Gendering Global Conflict*, 222.

⁴³ V. Spike Peterson, Anne Sisson Runyan. *Global Gender Issues in the New Millenium* (Boulder, Colo: Westview Press, 2010); 3.

conflicts. Actually, the reality is quite the opposite. These women who are the most invisible and hidden actors of the war-time have a not-so-small impact on the wheel that maintains the war itself. Their existence in the foreign soil is pre-assumed and already-owned destination for male military personnel and soldiers for the morale and distraction from the atmosphere as well as fulfilling their "rightful needs" as men which is to have sex under any condition.

The point that need to be stressed here is the invisible role that these women play in this militarized masculinity. The way they are being identified, the way they are being ignored, and the way they are serving unintentionally for the purposes of patriarchal hierarchical order are the main concerns that should be taken into account. It is so clear that military bases and women who are prostitutes go hand in hand even in the analyses of war; they are being treated as a whole, as something completely natural to occur. That is why, it happens to be completely unworthy to politically investigate by any means.⁴⁴ The closest and the most explicit incident of this militarized prostitution was revolving around Vietnam War where US-demanded militarized sex tourism turned into a great income for the Vietnam as a state due to the demographics of the women that were taking part in this business. They were women from Thailand and Philippines as well as Vietnam as local hostesses, which turned the existing situation to a multi-party industry and the states were into this chain as a pro-prostitutionists.⁴⁵ The profile of these women were as follows: “..(they) were war widows, had been abandoned by their husbands, or were rape victims. Prostitutes were women outside of the family unit.”⁴⁶

It should be no surprise that prostitutes were the women who were left out or choose to be left out of the patriarchal norms of the society and of the certain nation that foster the gap between “good wives” and “bad girls” by hinderly promoting the more paid option of two. As Enloe claims: “Women in prostitution, women working against the prostitution industry, men profiting from prostitution, men patronizing women in prostitution, and men who make military policies to mold prostitution to

⁴⁴ Ibid.,157.

⁴⁵ K. Barry, *The prostitution of sexuality*, (New York: New York University Press, 1995): 133.

⁴⁶ Ibid.

suit their militaries' needs....reshape the local and international politics of prostitution."⁴⁷ That is why, "where is women" was an utterly significant question to ask while working on the analysis of wars, and searching for a masculine-based militarized structures will light us way to "really" understand and explain what was going on. Masculinity has been talking so loud within the borders of international relations discipline for a long time that it is impossible not to hear.

That is why; for feminists, state is so far from being the guarantee of the security. In contrast, state's security forces are the threat for women's security due to its masculine and hegemonic features over them. Tickner defines this ongoing absence of trust of women towards state as follows: "Rather than seeing military capability as an assurance against outside threats to the state, militaries are seen as frequently antithetical to individuals' (particularly women's) security."⁴⁸ This concern includes state's capability for a violence against its own citizens; mainly against inner marginalized groups which includes women at the first place; so the so-called security-seeking or peace-stabilizing actions of the state are never safe for women. State's threatening decisions and tendencies which effect women are being legitimized by its relations with certain types of hegemonic masculinities.⁴⁹ Moreover, state's faithful dedication to the private-personal space distinction as I mentioned earlier is creating a constant protection of men at home while putting women at risk of not accessibility by law. That is why, as explained at the beginning of this paper, state-centric theories that aims to explain world politics and international dynamics are the worst possible way to approach women and gender issues; not only because it is completely limited to the state survival in an anarchical atmosphere understanding by completely eliminating women as active actors, but also because the core values that they stress are explicitly threat for women's security in private sphere and public sphere without any distinction.

Apart from the war itself, another defining feature that gendered war analysis has is its focus on the notion of the war narratives. We know that critical theorists are

⁴⁷ Enloe, *Bananas, Beaches & Bases*, 168.

⁴⁸ Tickner, *Gendering World Politics*, 62.

⁴⁹ Ibid.,63

the most prominent ones that stress the effects of different lingual dynamics on the history and its legacy, and the methodological similarities between critical theorists and feminists are readily exposed. That is why it is not shocking to see feminists applying more or less the same understanding of particular structural phenomena to their own analysis. Feminists attribute great importance to war narratives which form the mainstream understanding of history of wars. War narratives are basically the type of stories about war that are told both during the time of war to the citizens of participant states and during the aftermath of war that creates the history book passages.⁵⁰ This chain of storytelling helps civilians stay motivated in wartime, and invests for strong patriotic sentiments after war which will last for decades. "But no war has one story."⁵¹, and that is why it is possible to see completely different narrations in the books or minds of the people from the two different countries about the same war. While critical theory investigates these parts of mainstream history creation in depth, it lacks on spotting the absence in analyze the differences between women's and men's experiences. Here, we start to see IR feminists filling the gap.

Just as the androcentric characteristic of the field of IR, the dominant narration of war that traditional IR scholars accept as knowledge for their analysis is gendered-yet completely masculine. The questions such as "Whose experience that we are accepting as the legitimate source of knowledge?" have not been asked by mainstream theorists, mostly strict positivists due to questions' ethnographic nature, and the discipline is left with the cumulative narrative of men's experiences. This narrative domination is also valid for the racial, religious, ethnic and sexual orientational marginalization which has been covered by other critical and post-modern theories in IR; but the possible worst circumstances, combination of women and the others above, have only been addressed by feminist international relations theorists.

While feminists were adopting gender lens through "real IR issues" to prove the obvious relevancy of gender and international relations discipline, security was not the only hot topic that they could play all of their strong cards against traditional

⁵⁰ Sjoberg, *Gendering Global Conflict*, 119.

⁵¹ Ibid.

IR theorists. Economy was always trending in any conventional and subfield theories of the field, and feminists had so much to say about it. To be precise, I find it necessary to stress importance of the existing diversity among feminists within IR discipline also on the subject of economy; just as the previous topics. As I highlighted before, I use the general acceptances and methods of feminists which unite them and for the following part I will briefly mention the structural differences as much as I can within the framework of the theory talk.

2.3.4. Political Economy and Globalization

Political economy analyses economic and politic power with the idea of them belonging to same structure of authority, and "all forms of power — including the use of violence — are understood as having a material basis, and often founded on material relations of inequality. The method directs us to investigate the interconnections between the economic, social and political realms."⁵² From this defining perspective, feminist approach on IPE gets clearer and the connections become more visible. So, feminist IPE scholars using the gender lens to understand androcentric/masculine nature of this structure of authority which has economic and social bases combined in. The unequal distribution of the income between sexes and marginalization of women in politics go hand in hand due to the fact that the former is creating the base for the latter in some ways. I would like to assert a quote from Peterson at this point to explain the importance political economy while working from gender perspective in IR. She argues:

Focus on global political economy reveals starkly how the power of gender constitutes not only a sexual division of labor that exploits women, but also gendered, polarized valorization of skills, activities, work and workers that serves to 'naturalize' the exploitation of most of the earth's population and the planet itself.⁵³

The strongest feature of gendered perspective on global political economy is its stress on the well-known public-private sphere distinction's economic outcome which is the unpaid labor of women inside of the household thus this idea is called

⁵² Jacqui True, "The Political Economy of Violence Against Women" *The Australian Feminist Law Journal* 32, no.1, (2010): 44.

⁵³ Peterson, *Gender Issues in the New Millenium*, 185.

gendered division of labor. The internalization of the image of women doing cleaning, ironing, babysitting and cooking is not just a fact related with certain cultures (though majority of the women's issues are strictly linked with the base of cultural and traditional aspects) but a mainstream acceptance of women's unofficial duties by nature. Political economy strategies are the determinant causes and factors of the maintenance of unpaid labor of women which stands on the center of feminist critiques towards certain ineffective ways of economic planning. Moreover, as the market becomes more competitive for individuals in time, the minimum requirements for living also increase which cause women to feel obliged to do both; official and unofficial work, so "...the strict division of roles in the domestic sphere constrains women's public participation and their access to economic opportunities in the market, in turn creating inequalities in household bargaining power between men and women"⁵⁴ However, even if women managed to force themselves to do all these unpaid and paid work assigned to them, they still earn greatly lower wages than men (i.e.15.6% being OECD countries' average, 17% being United States' gender pay gap at the end of 2013⁵⁵) which is well-known and the most basic outcome of global political economy.

It would be a mistake to ignore the destructive impacts of the globalization on women. Started as neoliberal Western economic program with the aim of free flow of goods and services, globalization became bigger than any other stream of ideals that was introduced. However, it was not only borderless world of trade and economic relations but also borderless world of *everything*. To be precise, it was a whole set of "the expansion and near universalization of a global capitalist market that will be accompanied by the spread of liberal democratic norms and political liberties."⁵⁶ Globalization has much deeper meanings and wider scope than just a liberal economy trend; it is a contagious set of norms, values, traditions, cultural implications which is irresistible due to the modern age trends that were glorified via

⁵⁴ Ibid., 45.

⁵⁵ OECD, "Gender Wage Gap" <http://www.oecd.org/gender/data/genderwagegap.htm>. (Accessed December 1, 2015)

⁵⁶ Tickner, *Gendering World Politics*, 70.

intense improvement of communication and technology, as well as due to its nature where the dominant source of power gets the ability to make others desire what is costly (both economically and socially) to reach but appealing with every aspect. No doubt of that it is not only creating the polished products to desire, but also creating the need for the market which requires the mass and international production of goods and services. It was not hard to predict that this need of labor and growing idea of consumption would lead to tremendous inequalities between individuals in a way that poor getting poorer while rich getting richer. Moreover, the disproportionate spread of the labor and income was not only escalating the inequality between people from different economic strata but also between sexes.

There are countless topics that mainstream IR scholars value and feminists show how the gender lens could be used and applied in a methodologically valid way; however most of them are interrelated with the two core issues that I explained in detail above: security and economy. Migration, racism, international aids and peaceful interventions, environmental concerns and summits, human trafficking and many other troubled areas for international relations are more or less related with these two wide and first-ranked headlines. They are both problems and remedies depending on the perspective, that is why there are various approaches and debates revolving around them.

2.3.5. Sovereignty, Intervention and Ethics

Sovereignty as a concept (which maintains as full-on political entity also in practice with the same scope) holds the most crucial position in the intervention debates in any department of social sciences-not only in international relations. That is why, understanding the dynamics of the changes and permanent solid opponents of the sovereignty will be enlightening in order to explain and argue the UN existence and involvement in a country itself. The actual meaning and evaluation of the sovereignty would be a good point to start from to answer the possible questions that could come in one's mind whilst getting into the debate.

As expected, various schools of thought have different understanding and re-defining sovereignty but the most outstanding and logically self-validating ones come from the constructivist point of view as theory itself focuses on the change and normative value on every aspect-not only sovereignty. When the idea of sovereignty

is considered in the light of the “norms” derived from the societal structures and their dynamics, the whole array becomes more promising for the feminist explanatory intentions.

Sovereignty is also a norm itself in international politics as well as domestic affairs, and it is being perceived as *grundnorm*⁵⁷ in international society which stands for a fundamental norm. That gives it a characteristic of strongly resistant to change in time, more untouchable than other norms related with the states, being sensitive issue both for states and the citizens, and kind of a taboo to suggest related alternatives in case of necessity. So, this automatically means that for the international politics, sovereignty of the states would be prior to other contradicting issues, where sovereignty could be on the gambling—at least this was the case up until the end of the Cold War era. The norm of sovereignty has been stable in general terms, however its practices in real-life cases have been “periodically renovated” in accordance with the changes in history.⁵⁸ That exactly refers to the situation and the changes in perspectives towards sovereignty after Cold War. “What is different since the end of the Cold War, however, is that the revocation or temporary suspension of sovereignty has been justified by states seeking to protect fundamental human rights and uphold international humanitarian law.”⁵⁹

There were several reasons for this serious and unique shift in the perception of sovereignty. It could be summed up as follows: “...the rise in intrastate conflict, increasing mass atrocity crimes, the growing strength of the human rights movement, the increasing legitimacy of human rights norms, crimes against humanity, ethnic cleansing, and genocide.”⁶⁰ This, however, means neither that sovereignty for the states lost its importance as national preciousness, nor the individuals changed their perceptions on the stress they put on it. After all, this was not the aim (or the result—depends on where you look at) of the introduction of other progressively necessary components such as human rights to the evaluation of sovereignty’s place and value

⁵⁷ C. B. Walling, “Human Rights Norms, State Sovereignty, and Humanitarian Intervention,” *Human Rights Quarterly* 37, no.2 (2015): 387.

⁵⁸ Ibid, 386.

⁵⁹ Ibid.

⁶⁰ Ibid, 387.

in international politics. This solely represents the possibility and reality of the change in times of a need; even in the most rigid and fundamental concepts.

With the shift of the perception of sovereignty, the term intervention has also evolved accordingly. Intervention and its applications are important for us in terms of UN and peacekeeping operations as a part of building up the argument of this thesis so the current debates will be briefly discussed in this part. The meaning of intervention could simply be explained as follows:

...intentional act of one state or group of states or an international agency aimed at exercising overriding authority on what are normally the “internal” policies or practices of another state or group of states. It is crucial here, therefore, that the target state...does not consent to the intervention.⁶¹

So, the borders of states’ sovereignty broaden or narrow down (depends on the subject being interventionist party or target state) in relation to the certain “internal” events that might require to take brutal actions by “foreigners”. As stated in the previous quote, these foreigners are not limited to states or individuals as parts of military forces but also they could be supra-national political entities that include states as official members and act collectively. Obviously, there should be massive differences in the act of intervening depending on the actor/s themselves, which operates the motive behind their possible sovereignty-violating actions.

At this point, ethical concerns become the primary focus of arguments due to the unknown or latent triggers that interventionists (states or entities) might have carried as a source. Ethics as a philosophical problematique has always been a remarkable part of the debates in international relations, in which every school of thought had their own perception and application of ethics mainly derived from the ancient philosophers such as Socrates, Hobbes, Plato, Machiavelli and many others. The ethics that they mainly touched upon was, obviously, slightly different than the individual ethics that may affect and direct individuals’ lives but it was the political ethics that influences or aims to influence the shape of “should be”s in the World politics. In cases of intervention, chances of questions are “Should a state intervene

⁶¹ C. Coady, “The Ethics of Armed Humanitarian Intervention,” *Peaceworks* 45 (2002):10

with ignoring the sovereignty of the target state?” or “Is there an ethical base for this action for particular state?” in the first place. More than trying to get accurate yes/no answers, the theorists –regardless of their camps- tend to analyze the circumstances layer by layer to expose the “intention” of the act, which directly reflects the place of this act in a spectrum of ethics due to the fact that intention happens to be the core predatory component for the philosophers of ethics.

After all, no matter if one whole-heartly devotes himself to Machiavellian *Prince* or believes in human-nature related explanations of ethics of Hobbesian tradition, the impact of ethics on intervention debates are undeniable. The reasoning of the act of intervention would dictate the category that it would be fitted, so the circumstances should be observed closely. Apart from the “consent on intervention” issue that I have mentioned above, which sometimes can simply mean asking for help from another state or institution, the possible expansionist motives of the interventionist states or pragmatist efforts on balance of power in terms of territorial affairs could change the classification and evaluation of the particular intervention. At this point, we get to the fork in the road of distinguishing regular/straightforward intervention and humanitarian intervention.

Humanitarian intervention is another core concept to get into the details due to its direct relation with UN operations and peacekeeping process. Humanitarian intervention could be defined as “The threat or use of force across state borders by a state (or group of states) aimed at preventing or ending widespread and grave violations of the fundamental human rights of individuals other than its own citizens, without the permission of the state within whose territory force is applied.”⁶² Therefore, there is no consent issued in humanitarian intervention because of the existing violation atmosphere on human rights in which permission of the target state is absent in the sense. There are common fulfillments that need to be shown in occurrence to get into this kind of humanitarian action, which could be divided into two. First, there should have been serious and explicit treat to international peace which could have been caused through the “failed states” which has its own separate literature in international relations by itself as failed states issues; or as a second

⁶² J.L. Holzfrege, Keohane, Robert O. eds., *Humanitarian Intervention: Ethical, Legal and Political Dilemmas* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003), 18.

indicator, there should have been a massive violation of human rights which includes genocides as a part of the violations list.⁶³ This classification is not a division that mimics one fits for all type theoretical validations, but in humanitarian intervention context that is the simplest way to relate and differentiate the intervention from the humanitarian one.

The utmost importance in the cases of humanitarian intervention is on whether these actions and intentions have legal ground or not. Obviously, there are the oldest and foundational conventions to protect human rights of all the human beings regardless their races, sexes, religions, ethnicities, sexual orientations and possessed innate features. To be an advocate of the protection of these fundamental rights and the safety of the individuals are the pre-accepted norms and duties that the states agreed on. The legal reflection of this takes place in UN Charter's related articles which are Article 1 (1) and (3) on maintaining international peace and security and promoting human rights, Article 55 (c) on universal respect and observance of human rights and freedoms, and Article 56 on the agreement on cooperation in times of joint operations.⁶⁴

However, there are prominent articles on the charter that reinforces the understanding and extraterritoriality of sovereignty and territorial integrity. Article 2 (4) is so overt and clear about this by stating "All Members shall refrain in their international relations from the threat or use of force against the territorial integrity or political independence of any state, or in any other manner inconsistent with the Purposes of the United Nations."⁶⁵ Obviously, that does not mean that UN Charter is inconsistent; that would be oversimplified way of evaluating. This overlapping articles are the result of the charter being too broad and too inclusive, which was the necessary move to ensure international peace and cooperation between states for the period of early post-WWII, precisely 1945. After experiencing two world wars, the precautions were at the utmost level while leaving open doors for the possible interventions here and there.

⁶³ Coady, *The Ethics*, 20.

⁶⁴ International Court of Justice, "Charter of the United Nations", <http://www.icj-cij.org/documents/index.php?p1=4&p2=1&#Chapter1>, (Accessed: April 29, 2016)

⁶⁵ Ibid

When terms and theoretical frameworks get complicated, international law may transform a bit into the international custom law where “...states must actually engage in the practice that is claimed to have the status of law, and they must do so because they believe that the law permits this.”⁶⁶ This applies to the use of force and self-defense that were issued in UN Charter and the rule of law becomes the interpretation of law by sticking to its origins. It is basically a “general practice accepted as law”⁶⁷ that should be treated within the circumstances of the case that the law is being applied. Thus, the responses to the same issues in terms of humanitarian intervention that derives from the international customary law will not be the same as it would be expected from the international law itself as a uninformative regulatory system. That is why, the international community responded quite differently to the cases of Kosovo and Rwanda at the first place.

The approaches support the legitimate state of intervention also claims that sovereignty and intervention were not contradictory terms but complementary ones

...in the sense that sovereignty is conditional on a government respecting the obligation to protect its own people. This view argues that humanitarian intervention is lawful because the legal protections for sovereign states cease to exist if the state is engaged in the worst kinds of abuses of its citizens.⁶⁸

By that it means sovereignty is actually illegitimate and totally absent when the authority that holds the power of sovereignty, that is state, acts inappropriately. As it can be seen, even the most straightforward and brief discussions on legality of humanitarian intervention gets into a cul de sac situation where the limits of the formal international law do not meet the requirements to solve the problem. As an incomplete result, just as Hurd states: “...the practice of humanitarian intervention exists in a space between legality and illegality, one where each instance of the practice can be plausibly seen as either compliance or noncompliance with

⁶⁶ A. J. Bellamy, and J. N. Wheeler, “Humanitarian Intervention in World Politics,” <http://citeseerx.ist.psu.edu/viewdoc/download?doi=10.1.1.490.6383&rep=rep1&type=pdf>

⁶⁷ International Court of Justice, “Statute of the International Court of Justice-Article 38 (1)”, <http://www.icj-cij.org/documents/?p1=4&p2=2>, (Accessed April 29, 2016)

⁶⁸ I. Hurd, “Is Humanitarian Intervention Legal? The Rule of Law in an Incoherent World,” *Ethics & International Affairs* 25, no.3 (2011): 302.

international law.”⁶⁹ There are further and detailed debates on this issue especially in international law journals with technical bases to work on, however I will leave it at this point to serve the purpose of my thesis.

It is already too complex from the legal perspective but we need to ask one more question to finally wrap up ongoing humanitarian intervention debates. How does the infamous ethics appraise to this “utterly necessary” non-consensual intervention to the territories, internal politics and the sovereignties of the violator states? Well, the answers are not less complex than legal ones. Many defenders of humanitarian intervention in ethical senses feed from the emotional aspect of the situation which is perfectly understandable from the perspective of ethics. The ethics of saving someone’s lives from the misery and constant distress without considering how far they live or what religion they believe in within the framework of human rights sounds utterly humane and positive perspective from the altruistic understanding of the world. Unfortunately, this fairy intentions do not apply when it comes to the use of military force. The riskiness of the military intervention with the humanitarian aims may outweigh the action itself or vice versa, the pure goodness might leave its place to utilitarian and interchangeable goodness towards the selective situations and actors.

There are certain camps in terms of ethics of humanitarian intervention who are interested in the source of morality such as naturalists that believes in existing norms within international politics and there is another camp called consensualists who defend the complete opposite by claiming the norm being made. In addition, there are various perceptions on the objects of moral concerns that includes individualists and collectivists, also there are egalitarian and inegalitarian parts of the discussion on the equality within the moral concerns. Finally, the universalists and particularist approaches exist on the discussions of agents on moral concerns.⁷⁰ Just as I explained in the legality part of the discussion, the double standard of the customary law and its implications are within the borders of ethics too. So, the selectiveness and changing attitudes of agents from case to case in terms of

⁶⁹ Ibid., 294.

⁷⁰ Holzfrege, *Humanitarian Intervention*, 20.

humanitarian intervention is being problematized in ethics as well as legalists. Again, I just leave the intermediate discussions on ethics to the sources who has these issues as their statements, but for now, getting a general overview on the ethical and legal frameworks and debates on humanitarian intervention are sufficient for this thesis to move on.

2.4. United Nations

2.4.1. United Nations, Authority and Autonomy

It is important to realize that the UN as an organization is not homogenous by any means and the different strata within the structure make it more complicated and hard to imply changes and keep up with the changing world dynamics all together at once. Thomas Weiss' *The "Third" United Nations* article examines the three different sections that exist within the United Nations, in which the first two were the parts that have been there for a long time and analyzed by social scientist since the beginning. The first UN consists of the member states which "establish the priorities and pay the bills, more or less, thus determining what the world body does."⁷¹ This part of the UN is basically where states have the most control over the agenda with the Security Council. The second UN is where the actual bureaucracy works. "The second UN is also a distinct sphere, consisting of career and long-serving staff members who are paid through assessed and voluntary contributions"⁷² The existence of the powerful authority such as bureaucracy creates various problems which become a characteristic of the organization in time, and I will be getting into details of this concept in the following paragraph. Finally, the third UN includes the strong involvement of NGOs, lobbies, individuals related to certain groups with causes and many others. Weiss, Carayannis and Jolly explain the third UN as follows:

We define the third UN comprising NGOs, academics, consultants, experts, independent commissions, and other groups of individuals that routinely engage with the first and the second UN and thereby influence UN thinking, policies, priorities, and actions. The key

⁷¹ Thomas G. Weiss, Tatiana Carayannis and Richard Jolly, "The Third United Nations," *Global Governance* 15, (2009): 125.

⁷² Ibid., 126.

characteristic for this third sphere is its independence from governments and UN secretariats. Thus, legislators in Parliamentarians for Global Action as well as local governmental officials in United Cities and Local Governments would be part of the third UN by virtue of their position outside the executive branch of government.⁷³

At this point, by holding on to the approach of Weiss on three sections of the UN, we need to get into more detailed explanations of the reasons of incompatibleness between the actions and theories, and also inefficiency of UN to catch up on the newly introduced measures toward its peacekeeping operations. Barnett and Fennimore's revolutionary work on the international organizations' structural dynamics and bureaucracy's impact on their mechanisms would be a perfect-fit to use in here. In their article *The Politics, Power, and Pathologies of International Organizations* they argue that IOs should not be explained as the platforms that the states could pursue their material interests, as many approaches assume, rather they should be considered within the social content of the organization including its norms that shape and direct their behaviors and shapes, culture, legitimacy concerns and relationship of these factors with the larger normative environment.⁷⁴ They focused on the features of the concept of bureaucracy as "a peculiarly modern cultural form that embodies certain values and can have own distinct agenda and behavioral dispositions"⁷⁵ and it refers to legitimate rational authority that is being perceived as "good" by modernity. Bureaucracy's power of authority leads to an autonomy which is often depicted as neutral and impersonal, which is the exact case for the UN and peacekeeping operations in particular, and these advantages of authority and autonomy make it able to create and change the meanings and the classifications of the norms, and if required to conceal the faultiness of the previous ones. This redefinition worked for the changes in the understanding of peacekeeping operations where they would have been as "sole

⁷³ Ibid., 127.

⁷⁴ Michael N. Barnett, and Martha Finnemore, "The Politics, Power, and Pathologies of International Organizations," *The MIT Press* 53, no.4, (1999): 706.

⁷⁵ Ibid.

interventions" before the redefinition however it has been captured as "humanitarian assistance" after the existing power of the bureaucracy has been applied.

But, this power of authority and autonomy provided by bureaucracy within the IOs had some serious pay-offs that Barnett and Fennimore analyzed using the term *pathologies*, and found out the deviances from the rightfulness and efficiency of the duties could be derived from several reasons vary in accordance with the approach applied: Competition and bargaining among the subunits of the organizations(bureaucratic politics approach), states' disagreements on optimal choices and IOs being left with awful or worst choices to choose from(realist/neoliberal institutionalist approach), organizations' search for symbolic legitimacy rather than efficiency(world polity approach) and lastly the distraction effect of the routinization of bureaucracy(bureaucratic culture approach).⁷⁶ For UN peacekeeping operations' failures, such as timing issues, being far from the realities of the host countries, the contradiction of being peacekeeper and soldier at the same time, conflicting interests on staying neutral and helping and missions' vagueness could be interpreted with the help of the last model they provided:

Rather than designing the most appropriate and efficient rules and procedures to accomplish their missions, bureaucracies often tailor their missions to fit the existing, well-known, and comfortable rulebook. . . Peacekeepers, however, are military troops, trained to handle interstate conflict and to be interposed between two contending national armies, operating with their consent. Some UN staff, state officials, and peacekeeping scholars worried that peacekeepers might be inappropriate for the demands of handling domestic security. They feared that peacekeepers would transfer the skills and attitudes that had been honed for one environment to another without fully considering the adjustments require."⁷⁷

Bosnia is the classic case in point. On the one hand, the "all necessary means" provision of Security Council resolutions gave the UN authority to deliver humanitarian aid and protect civilians in the safe havens. On the other hand, the UN abstained from "taking sides" because of the fear that such actions would compromise its neutrality and future effectiveness. . .According to Shashi Tharoor, a UN

⁷⁶ Ibid., 716-18.

⁷⁷ Ibid., 720.

official intimately involved in these decisions, 'It is extremely difficult to make war and peace with the same people on the same territory at the same time' ⁷⁸

These indicators show that it requires different variables tested in different environments and social settings with the understanding of the power and dynamics of bureaucracy in UN itself to explain the reasons behind highly-criticized decisions and the missions of the organization, which are obviously not static and determined but rather transforming in terms of needs and objectives of the time being.

2.4.2. Historical Background

The historical progress of the term peacekeeping and the changes in times are crucial to fully understand the concept of UN peacekeeping operations. As it is the case for nearly every event that happened in international arena after WWII, the UN and its peacekeeping operations have also been shaped by the Cold War era conditions. Due to the harsh rivalry atmosphere that US and Soviet Union dragged the whole international politics in, United Nations as an organization in which both great powers exist as members, experienced countless disagreements and vetoes in terms of Security Council actions. The first two peacekeeping operations at those times were UN Truce Supervision Organization and UN Military Observer Group in India and Pakistan, which were operating with the aim of monitoring and observing with unarmed UN military personnel.⁷⁹ However, the actual meaning of peacekeeping has aroused in 1956 addressing Suez Crises which happens to be the first armed operation of UN. With special efforts on shaping the guidelines of peacekeeping operations, shifting "...the United Nations from an international coalition that could forcefully cope with threats and breaches of international peace and security to a neutral third party to prevent direct confrontation between East and West"⁸⁰ have been succeeded.

⁷⁸ Ibid, 725.

⁷⁹ United Nations, "United Nations Peacekeeping Operations-Early Years", <http://www.un.org/en/peacekeeping/operations/early.shtml>, (Accessed April 13, 2016)

⁸⁰ Daniel S. Blocq, "The Fog of UN Peacekeeping: Ethical Issues Regarding the Use of Force to Protect Civilians in UN Operations," *Journal of Military Ethics* 5, no.3, (2006): 203.

After the Cold War, the expected changes have also occurred in UN peacekeeping formation in sync with the changing dynamics in the world politics, decreasing dual aggression, played out proxy wars and new political actors. As some changes and reforms have successfully implemented by this new wind of transformation, peacekeeping became a “welcome alternative to the traditional use of military.”⁸¹ However, these promising labels could not validate itself by UN. When looking back, even if UN describes its peacekeeping operation in Cambodia(UNTAC) as a success story, which is completely questionable from the feminist perspective as I will be touching on later onwards, Rwanda and Srebrenica were complete disasters and fails for UN peacekeeping operations history by watching (observing, in UN politically correct words) human rights violations and genocides.

Blocq points out that after these disastrous incidents, in 2000, UN adopted a new set of doctrine called Brahimi Report (from the ideational founder Ambassador Lakhdar Brahimi) which proposes “cautious move from the narrow, Cold War inspired objectives of national security to the broader, post-Cold War inspired ambitions of collective human security”⁸², and providing necessary authority to the peacekeepers at every level to act in situations where they witness any violence against civilians.⁸³ This should be perceived, and is being perceived, as a milestone for the UN peacekeeping history. From complete neutral passivist positions to becoming active actors in the territory itself. As Crawford states: “Whereas United Nations Peace Operations (UNPOs) traditionally involved keeping combatants apart after they had ceased fighting, the United Nations of the post–Cold War period moved actively into combat and accepted ambitious peace.”⁸⁴ Also; “These new interventions have involved a much wider range of tasks, including protecting territory, people, and aid operations, disarming belligerents, policing demilitarized

⁸¹ Withworth, *Men, Militarism, and UN Peacekeeping*, 11.

⁸² Blocq, *The Fog of UN*, 204.

⁸³ Ibid.

⁸⁴ K. F. Crawford, J. H. Lebovic, and J. M. Macdonald, “Explaining the Variation in Gender Composition of Personnel Contributions to UN Peacekeeping Operations,” *Armed Forces & Society* 41, no.2, (2014): 258.

sites and monitoring demobilization, monitoring and running elections, and helping to reconstruct governments, police forces, and armies.”⁸⁵

This massive and remarkable change in the scope of the UN peacekeeping forces’ power has two contradictory results. First, when we look at the brighter side, the UN as an organization is prone to change as it is required in time. The old-fashion status-quo seems to be gone forever for UN, and the plan for it to be one of the most progressive and dynamic NGO within similar actors. Some may claim that UN had no chance but to change, which might be true in that sense, but the inevitable change occurs in both ways where the subject shows a great resistance and then surrender, or that would be a willingness to efforts of change. No matter how much it is being criticized from the various wings including feminist international relations theorists, the efforts of UN to catch up with time is worth applauding.

Second, however, the responsibility that these changes bring requires various qualifications that cannot be achieved as fast as the decision of changing. The most crucial preparedness should be the psychological training of the peacekeeping forces within the framework of their new duties that desperately need close attention on possible behavioral and communicational consequences. Recognition of the possible risks due to being not fully prepared to this kind of environment is vital for UN to evolve their path in time, favorably before getting into an operation that is destined to fail in new way of UN peacekeeping/humanitarian intervention understanding.

2.4.3. UN Peacekeeping Operations from Gendered Lens: Peace for Whom?

Feminist perspective on the issues regarding solution, peace, peacekeeping and peace-making processes and United Nations would obviously be in a way that gender being held as a unit of analysis and gendered lens being perfectly adopted. Even though feminists follow the same methodological and epistemological pathways towards “heavy duty topics” in traditional international relations discipline, peace –in relation with security- has always been “the one” that feminist IR theorists tend to focus on. There are countless problematic that they could dig and gain proper legitimacy in intra-discipline debates, but the pioneer issue to target was militarized masculinity-gender relation within the framework of peace. Whilst all the

⁸⁵ John Baylis eds., *Strategy in the Contemporary World: An Introduction to Strategic Studies*, (New York: Oxford University Press, 2007); 315.

organizational features of peacekeeping operations are gender hierarchical and characteristically masculine in nature, “Peace for whom?” is a question to ask repeatedly, and post-conflict is a phase to be redefined which does not mean peace for every segment of the particular society.

Individual level versus state level analysis might sound like the main difference between remaining, especially conventional, theorists and feminists however that would be over-simplification of the deeper characteristics of the feminist IR theory, especially on the concept of war and peace. As a fundamental concern, feminists would be focusing on the experiences of individuals, not only women, that have been subjected to the gender hierarchy within the militarized masculinity while analyzing and criticizing United Nations and peacekeeping operations per se. As a result of focusing on military/militarization that has gendered components, soldiers and UN personnel are the problematic agents of the peacekeeping operations as well as structural gendered hierarchical settlement that UN has in its own. As I try to explain these linkages and causal relations from feminist perspective, I will also adapt this understanding to the case of Bosnia which stands at the heart of feminist confrontations due to its horrendous consequences for women.

Feminist critiques on the topic of UN may serve to the cause in several ways. First, to target mainstreaming on peacekeeping operations which completely ignores gender and related issues. Second, to act as a mean of analyzing sexual relations in peace operations with the aim of debating on the forms of regulations that might be in a common line with feminist objectives.⁸⁶ Adopting critical perspective to the issues including gender as an issue and masculinity as motive is always efficient for feminist objectives in terms of achieving a clear base on why and how all these corruptions within UN peacekeeping operations occur.

Starting with the most straightforward critique of peacekeeping from feminist perspective; the main reason peacekeeping as a concept is a contradiction is its exclusive reliance on soldiers.⁸⁷ As Withworth claims: “Soldiers are not born, they

⁸⁶ G. Simm, *Sex in Peace Operations*, (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2013): 49.

⁸⁷ Sandra Withworth, *Men, Militarism, and UN Peacekeeping: A Gendered Analysis*, (Boulder, Colo: Lynne Rienner Publishers Inc., 2004): 3.

are made; and part of what goes into the making of a soldier is a celebration and reinforcement of some of the most aggressive, and most insecure, elements of masculinity; those that promote violence, misogyny, homophobia and racism.”⁸⁸ It is obvious that the celebration and encouragement of these beast-like mindsets with the cover-up of masculinity and manliness that all the men should have is not limited with peacekeeping operations and their soldiers. It is day to day practice within the society under the silent rule of gendered hierarchy which has dozens of applications in social life. That is why, it is crucial to see the repetitive patterns that two completely different areas-as some claim, they actually are highly related for many theorists- have identical patriarchal bases leading to the invisible black hole which everyone knows but no one talks about.

In the following section, I will be evaluating the steps that UN has taken within over a decade in terms of Security Council Resolutions; mainly the pioneer Resolution 1325(2000), followed by the resolutions 1820, 1888, 1889 and 2122.

2.4.4. United Nations Security Council Resolution 1325 and Its Critiques from the Gendered Lens

2000 has been a year that UN's agenda had serious transformations starting with United Nation Millennium Declaration in September, as an outcome of Millennium Summit in New York, where states were "committing to a new global partnership to reduce extreme poverty and setting out a series of time-bound targets - with a deadline of 2015"⁸⁹ which became simply Millennium Development Goals afterwards. Declaration included the emphasis on the equality between sexes and security, but the main concept was development, thus we have seen statements such as " ...to promote gender equality and the empowerment of women as effective ways to combat poverty, hunger and disease and to stimulate development"⁹⁰ in the full text. Obviously, UN was expected to come up with completely revolutionary updates

⁸⁸ Ibid.

⁸⁹ United Nations, “Millennium Development Goals and Beyond 2015”, <http://www.un.org/millenniumgoals/bkgd.shtml>, (Accessed December 29, 2016)

⁹⁰ United Nations General Assembly, “55/2 United Nations Millennium Declaration”, http://www.un.org/en/ga/search/view_doc.asp?symbol=A/RES/55/2, (Accessed December 29, 2016)

for the new millennium, and Development Goals could not be that sensational declaration on its own.

UN Security Council Resolution 1325 was that milestone which had been expected to be reached for a long time. Basically, it was the accumulation of the results derived from the tremendous events regarding civil conflicts in 1990s. "It was the culmination of a congruence of events and circumstances in the 1990s, most particularly the horrific civil conflicts that broke out after the end of the Cold War, the often hapless nation-building efforts that followed those conflicts, and the growing global appreciation of the need for human as well as national security."⁹¹ Also, lessons from these events in particular time period "... were not only the disproportionate impacts of conflict on women (including female ex-combatants, who had very different disarmament, demobilization, and reintegration needs than former male soldiers) but the need for women's active participation."⁹² This resolution "linked gender, peace and security and recognized the need to 'mainstream a gender perspective in peacekeeping operations'. The Resolution authorizes monitoring of peacekeeping operations by gender experts and condemns military sexual violence."⁹³ Also, "...the Security Council calls upon governments and other parties to take steps toward the implementation of the eighteen actions outlined in the Resolution concerning women's participation, protection, prevention, relief and recovery in conflict and post-conflict settings around the world."⁹⁴ However, the road leading to the point of passing of the Resolution was not a bed of roses; rather it was a passive aggressive journey for feminists and activist in a world of "real men". As Cynthia Cockburn genuinely expresses:

⁹¹ Elizabeth J. Moore, "An Unfulfilled Promise: Why Implementation of UNSC Resolution 1325 Remains Elusive", <http://inter-disciplinary.net/ptb/www/www5/Moore%20paper.pdf>

⁹² Ibid.

⁹³ Carol Harrington, "Resolution 1325 and Post-Cold War Feminist Politics," *International Feminist Journal of Politics* 13, no.4, (2011): 557.

⁹⁴ Barbara Miller, Milad Pournik, and Aisling Swaine, "Women in Peace and Security through United Nations Security Resolution 1325: Literature Review, Content Analysis of National Action Plans, and Implementation," *Institute for Global and International Studies* 13, no.9, (2014): 6.

The Resolution was achieved by a wide, unnamed, ad hoc transnational network of women in local and international NGOs, joined by women from member state governments, several UN departments and agencies, and academic feminists in universities. It entailed co-operation between women very differently positioned in relation to structures of power, and differently located in relation to wars. It was an informal, unnamed but highly productive alliance, that came together for no other purpose than this specific project. It involved the skilled handling of complicated mechanisms of power at the UN, in which they encountered resistance from many sources, including reluctant individual and governments, and the inertia of institutional processes.⁹⁵

Apart from the various non-state actors being included for over 20 years, the spark of the resolution has been made by Netumbo Nandi-Ndaitwah, then-Minister of Women's Affairs in Namibia, when Namibia was the chair of the UN Security Council in the month of October 2000. The idealist initiative of Netumbo Nandi-Ndaitwah on trying to reframe the efforts of previous lobbying activities and women's groups succeeded with adoption of the resolution. "The cause was taken up by Ina Iiyambo, first secretary at the Namibian Mission to the U.N. By the end of October, with the successful lobbying efforts of dozens of women's organizations and UNIFEM, the resolution won unanimous approval."⁹⁶ Netumbo Nandi-Ndaitwah's move towards the resolution was also crucial for African voice as "it was the creation primarily of African women, putting the lie to that old slander about feminism being a strictly North American imposition."⁹⁷

Besides from the fact that it took colossal efforts on lobbying and pressure from both local and international women's organizations to achieve to the point where we are now in terms of gender related resolutions, UN has quite considerable history when we look back on the subject. The important meetings and conventions for women in relation with the UN could be summarized as follows: In 1974 UN

⁹⁵ Cynthia Cockburn, "Snagged On the Contradiction: NATO, Resolution 1325, and Feminist Responses," *Women in Action*, (2011), http://www.isiswomen.org/phocadownload/print/isispub/wia/wia2012/WIA2012_07TalkingPointsCynthiaCockBurn.pdf

⁹⁶ Michele Landsberg, "Resolution 1325-Use It or Lose It," *Ms. Magazine*, 2003, <http://www.msmagazine.com/june03/landsberg.asp>

⁹⁷ Ibid.

General Assembly adopted *the Declaration on the Protection of Women and Children in Emergency and Armed Conflict*, it also proclaimed period between 1976 and 1985 as *UN Decade for Women*, again in 1975 *Declaration of Mexico on the Equality of Women and Their Contribution to Development and Peace* followed the same theme, 1979 *Convention on Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination Against Women (CEDAW)* was the broadest convention where UN openly declared its willingness on the solution of women's rights and equality, 1985 World Conference was the event where *The Nairobi Forward-Looking Strategies for the Advancement of Women* adopted, in 1995 *Fourth World Conference on Women in Beijing* with its outcome *The Beijing Platform for Action(BPA)* marked milestone openings. BPA was particularly important for the introduction of the concept of *gender mainstreaming* which has been defined by UN as follows:

...the process of assessing the implications for women and men of any planned action, including legislation, policies or programmes, in all areas and at all levels. It is a strategy for making women's as well as men's concerns and experiences an integral dimension of the design, implementation, monitoring and evaluation of policies and programmes in all political, economic and societal spheres so that women and men benefit equally and inequality is not perpetuated. The ultimate goal is to achieve gender equality.⁹⁸

Following that, may 2000 was the time of *Seminar in Windhoek/Namibia* which resulted with an agreement of *Windhoek Declaration or Namibia Plan of Action on Mainstreaming a Gender Perspective in Multidimensional Peace Support Operations*.⁹⁹

Just after a month, in June 2000, *Beijing Plus Five* took place "to examine further actions and initiatives to implement Beijing Declaration and Plan for Action." that has been finalized with Political Declaration of UN General Assembly which shows the commitment to the full recognition of under-representation of women in

⁹⁸ United Nations, "Gender Mainstreaming: An Overview", *Office of the Special Adviser on Gender Issues and Advancement of Women*, 2002, <http://www.un.org/womenwatch/osagi/pdf/e65237.pdf>

⁹⁹ Victoria Martin de la Rosa, and Elena Dominguez Romero, "Is the Portrayal of Women's Role Changing in United Nations Peacekeeping Resolutions?," *International Journal of Humanities and Social Science* 4, no.11, (2014): 55.

formal processes.¹⁰⁰ What more crucial about Beijing Plus Five initiative is the fact that its declaration laid the basis for resolution 1325.¹⁰¹ Declaration's stress on the issue of women under the circumstances of armed conflict and absence of any practicing resolution concerning this made it a highlight declaration amongst other efforts, and it ended up with the establishment of *the NGO Working Group on Women and Armed Conflict(NGOWG)* as an instrument of lobbying-in this case lobbying for Resolution 1325.

In addition to the continuous and proactive efforts of women's groups and NGOs, the evolution of UN's vision on women and the decision of their involvement have their roots back in the Cold War dynamics. As Harrington explains, the tension between the US and the Soviet Union under an umbrella concept of capitalism vs. communism was not solely based on systematic arguments on the economic models but also it includes gender issues within, and gender equality and the empowerment of women were the fronts that Soviets were dominantly leading in contrast with the ongoing critiques towards capitalist system being exploitative on women and patriarchal as a whole. No matter what the US did, including extraordinary strategies by including CIA in the issue, Soviet's championing on the topic could not be prevented. Under these circumstances, the collapse of the Soviet Union gave a ready-made victory to the US in the gender area which shaped the post-Cold War understanding on women and security.

International policing of sexual violence forms part of the global democratic policing stance adopted by the USA and its allies since the collapse of the Soviet Union and the reorientation of global security discourse. ...violence against women emerged as an international security issue after the Cold War because of its framing within new wars discourse as a reason for international policing and surveillance. In this context Resolution 1325 passed as a response to the tension produced by embedding opposition to violence against women within the militarized projects of political and economic transformation which characterize the new wars.¹⁰²

¹⁰⁰ Susan Willett, "Introduction: Security Council Resolution 1325: Assessing the Impact on Women, Peace and Security," *International Peacekeeping* 17, no.2, (2010): 148-49.

¹⁰¹ Ibid.

¹⁰² Harrington, *Resolution 1325*, 565-66.

When we look at the content of the resolution, we see that it is an 18-paragraph text that could be divided as follows: Paragraphs between 1 and 4 refer to the need of women's participation in high-rank decision-making positions as well as throughout the whole peace processes. Paragraphs 5,6,8 and 15 focus on the adoption of the gender-sensitive perspective and gender training. Paragraphs between 8 and 11, and also 15 deals with the issue of protection of women's rights. Paragraphs 8a, 12,13 and 14 highlight the special needs of women regarding with the topics of refugees, resettlement and rehabilitation. Paragraphs 8b and 15 refer to the participation of local and international women's groups to the peace processes and finally paragraphs 3,4,16,17 focus on the promotion of gender mainstreaming in implementation mechanisms and reporting systems of UN.¹⁰³ Basically, UNSCR 1325 exposes three main concepts: Participation, protection and implementation of gender perspective to the peacekeeping operations. As Pratt and Richter-Devroe explain the contents of the themes:

First, the resolution recognizes women's contribution to peacebuilding and conflict resolution and calls for their increased participation at all decision-making levels in national, regional and international conflict prevention and resolution initiatives. Second, it highlights the gendered aspects of war and armed conflict demanding the protection of women's rights, including shielding women and girls from gender-based violence and other violations of international law. Finally, the resolution calls upon local actors, member states, but also the UN system itself, to adopt a gender perspective in peace operations, negotiations and agreements.¹⁰⁴

For the issue of UN peacekeepers' involvement in sexual exploitation, abuse and rape, Special Committee on Peacekeeping Operations designed and proposed certain measurements including mandatory intensification of training programmes on sexual abuse for all categories of personnel in the mission, and the establishment of

¹⁰³ Ulrika Westerlung, "Resolution 1325: A Resolution for Peace," *Operation 1325*, 38-39, http://operation1325.se/sites/default/files/1325_eng_final_low.pdf

¹⁰⁴ Nicola Pratt, and Sophie Richter-Devroe, "Critically Examining UNSCR 1325 on Women, Peace and Security," *International Feminist Journal of Politics* 13, no.4, (2011): 492.

the mechanism of tracking and dealing with the cases of misconduct.¹⁰⁵ Despite these efforts, the measures for the personnel who have been found guilty are still not clear and ambiguous, Department of Peacekeeping operations' approach related this part of the crimes includes suspension, termination and dismissal however "there is no guarantee that individuals found guilty will be prosecuted in their countries of origin. Impunity therefore remains an obstacle, despite the good intentions to prevent cases of abuse and sexual exploitation in peacekeeping operations"¹⁰⁶ So, due to the lack of proper criminal sanction for the personnel of UN, there is no possible deterrent force to aid the prevention of mentioned crimes.

Although there were several vital problems of the resolution itself as I mentioned previously, the first impression of resolution from the direct informative perspective is promising and satisfactory in the short-run but the detailed analysis was required before celebration, which feminist scholars did and concluded on a certain common base; that is the issue of women's agency.

The undeniable truth of the Resolution's language serves to the mindset of "women as victims" has been the first flow that could be identified in analysis. The conjoint usage of two different groups, in a repetitive manner, was the solid evidence of this victimization in the Resolution's language: "women and children" or "women and girls". According to de la Rosa and Romero, in the Resolution 1325, the association "women and children" found twice, whereas "women and girls" found in twelve sentences where in the four of them the reference were to the special needs of "women and girls" and in remaining eight cases "women and girls" were portrayed as targets of violence.¹⁰⁷ While this presentation of women under the armed conflict is not false or deceptive, it serves to a dangerous perception of them "as vulnerable human beings, but at the same time, it establishes some kind of sympathy towards women, as well as towards children and girls. Thus, the subconscious assumption

¹⁰⁵ Françoise Nduwimana, "United Nations Security Council Resolution 1325 (2000) on Women, Peace and Security Understanding the Implications, Fulfilling the Obligations," *United Nations Office of the Special Adviser on Gender Issues and Advancement of Women*, 38, http://www.un.org/womenwatch/osagi/cdrom/documents/Background_Paper_Africa.pdf

¹⁰⁶ Ibid.

¹⁰⁷ De La Rosa, *Portrayal of Women's Role*, 58.

evoked is that of a human being in need of protection, not in need of freedom to face and address new challenges."¹⁰⁸

In addition to the victimization problem in the Resolution 1325, there is a lack of connection between gender and other social labels and categories that have essential effects on women's lives. Race, ethnicity and religious differences in relation with gender are non-existent in the Resolution, just as they are non-existent in UN's structural perception as well. This was shockingly visible when two Iraqi women visited UN in 2003, which Sheri Gibbings tells in her article in detail. When Al-Khedairy and Al-Mufti attended the arranged meeting at UN within the framework of the Resolution 1325's premise on participation of women in peace processes, they faced with rigid exclusion and embarrass due to their unplanned and raw speech on US invasion's in Iraq's effects on them that included anti-imperialist nuances and direct accusations towards the UN. Gibbings explains that UN has strict covert rules on the language in meeting with NGOs or local representatives, and two Iraqi women's unfiltered "angry" speeches were not welcomed where the questioning of Security Council members' tactics and approaches to the peace and critique of imperialism is completely banned. "At the space of the UN, a certain kind of performance is demanded of women; one that asks women to be loyal to the global while also showing their connection to the local, and one that encourages them to speak in the positive ways."¹⁰⁹ The reason this exemplary incident has important place in the analysis of agency of women is the fact that "it illustrates the contradictions inherent in Resolution 1325 between the idea of the 'free acting subject' and the constraints of the UN system, which sets frameworks for action and intervention."¹¹⁰ These direct effects on efficiency of the agency in UN proves that the Resolutions on their owns stay hallow while they have been built upon the base of hidden norms and standards.

¹⁰⁸ Ibid.

¹⁰⁹ Sheri Lynn Gibbings, "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, no.4, (2011): 534.

¹¹⁰ Ibid.

The Resolution 1325 paved the way for the new and complementary resolutions to be passed, and the perception and presentation of women changed gradually in a positive way. In the Resolution 1820 (2008), "women and girls" expression found in thirteen different occasions, and "protection of women and children" found in four. In the Resolution 1888(2009), "women and children" construction found in eight places within the document in relation with them being labeled as civilians most frequently affected by the armed conflict. In the Resolution 1889(2009), there are nine incidents where the need of appointment of a higher number of women in peacebuilding and after conflict expressed, found needs of "women and girls" five times, and six cases that highlights "women and girls" as targets of rape and sexual violence. Finally, in the Resolution 2122(2013), women on their own without the phrase of "girls" or "children" raised twenty-five times in relation with leadership, empowerment, participation, peacebuilding and conflict resolution. Still, "women and girls" expression found in nine occasions in similar ways to the previous resolutions.¹¹¹ The improvement is not to consider insufficient, especially for an organization so strict and static, as well as resistant to change-even if it is for good. However, UN's so-called legitimization of women as actors does not automatically make them actors. As Shepherd critically summarized:

The point is to demonstrate the existence of serious, (infra-) structural inhibitors that may well impede the (superheroic) activities of the women in post-conflict societies on whom the UN Security Council relies in its efforts to achieve empowerment and gender equality in those same societies. If a woman – even a superwoman – has to spend upwards of six hours per day sourcing and gathering water and wood (UNDP 2004: 28) her capacity for engaging in formal political activity or even informal community-based organization is likely to be severely limited."¹¹²

Even though the pioneer resolution, 1325, evolved and improved in time with different names and expanded contexts, UN as an organization with its blindness to the realities of women under the conflict circumstances as well as post-conflict settlements and with its resistance to women with different and critical ways of

¹¹¹ De La Rosa, *Portrayal of Women's Role*, 58.

¹¹² Laura J. Shephers, "Sex, Security and Superhero(in)es: From 1325 to 1820 and Beyond," *International Feminist Journal of Politics* 13, no.4, (2011): 511.

presentations of themselves, stands at on an insufficient place for the complete and realistic "women as peacebuilders and main actors for the peace-making" aim that they allegedly try to achieve.

3. CASES

3.1. Bosnian War

3.1.1. Historical Background

Bosnian War is quite possibly the most complex, dramatic and touchy conflict amongst the ones that had place after WWII, particularly in European continent. Despite having an enormous amount of academic works on the dynamics of Bosnian War available, which have various explanations that might be contradictory or fully complimentary, the omnidirectional sophisticated analyses are always more welcomed within related disciplines. The collapse of a multinational country, ethnic and religious motives merged with nationalistic instincts, multiple actors involved with legitimate and paramilitarical forces; they all provided a perfect base for a severe conflict that would last for years with leaving thousands of dead and completely changed geographical and political balances behind.

It would not be a mistake to mark the starting point at Tito's death. The decline of communism as both an ideology and practical state system in bipolar Cold War settlement followed by the death of the supreme leader of a multinational country who muted all the possible ethnic clashes down by favoring all of them instead of idealizing only one, pushed so-called peaceful days to an end. Obviously, while many thinks that Tito was a unifying factor without letting one particular segment to dominate, some claim that "Tito had suppressed the voicing of ethnic sentiments in politics and the new regime was marked by a rise in nationalist sentiment."¹¹³ No matter what Tito's actual policy was, it is undeniable that nationalism was the most embedded motive that people felt throughout the history of the time when he was in power. The authoritarian dictator or the true patriotic unifying leader; when he was gone, the balance has completely changed.

¹¹³ S. N. Kalyvas, and N. Sambanis, "Bosnia's Civil War Origins and Violence Dynamics," *World Bank Publications*, (2005): 192. <http://stathis.research.yale.edu/documents/Bosnia.pdf>

Ethnic diversities were not the sole and independent factors that cracked the long-term multicultural former Yugoslavia, due to the crucial fact that the communities' ethnicities were merged with their religious beliefs as an identity which composed ethnoreligious roots of the conflict. The region consisted of mainly Orthodox Serbs, Catholic Croats, Catholic Slovenians, Orthodox Macedonians, Orthodox Montenegrins and Muslim Albanians. There were also distant Serbs and Croats who were not reconverted to Christianity after Ottoman Turks left the area, and because of that they did not identify as Serbs or Croats they got the name of Bosniaks who have been labelled basically as "Muslims" by Tito himself, which made them "unique phenomenon in Islam, being both Muslim by religion and nationality" ¹¹⁴

When it was 1990, the ethno-religious separations started to get fostered up and escalated so quickly. Slovenians took a first chance to turn their nationalistic emotions into an action and declared independence in 1991. Obviously, they have been confronted by the other ethnic groups, mostly Serbs, but the war lasted only for ten days until Slovenia gained its independence. This so-called war is still kind of ambiguous in terms of the ending and suspicious withdrawal of the military forces against Slovenia. After the incident, Serbs tried to adopt the same strategy towards Croats who also demanded independence, but this time the war was not that naïve as it was with the Slovenians. The fuel to the fire came from the Krajina Serbs, the Serbian minority in Croatian territory, who claimed that if Croatia could secede from Yugoslavia, they also should have been able to gain their autonomy from Croatia. ¹¹⁵ They also followed their passion on the territory that they would get from Croatia, and they declared independence which Serbia recognized.

While the Slovenian independence did not spark Yugoslav army up, Croatian independence did. The fight between Croatian armed forces and Yugoslav National Army spread a wider territorial area, in which Serbs were also included. But somehow, Yugoslav National Army were serving for the Serbian policy, and this was

¹¹⁴ Berkley Center for Religion, Peace and World Affairs, "Bosnia: Ethno-Religious Nationalism in Conflicts, Religion and Conflict Case Study Series," *Georgetown University*, (2013): 6. <https://s3.amazonaws.com/berkley-center/130801BCBosniaEthnoReligiousNationalismsConflict.pdf>

¹¹⁵ Kalyvas, *Bosnia's Civil War*, 193.

the conflict that finally pushed international involvement into the crisis.¹¹⁶ In 1992, after the ongoing fight, European Community took a step to recognize both Croatian and Slovenian independence. However, they showed no sign of interest on recognizing the independence of Bosnia, where the nationalist motives were aggressively growing day by day. On 1 March 1992, Bosnia-Herzegovina held a referendum on independence, which had been resulted with the vote for independence by the dominating Muslim majority despite of Serbian boycott. Serbs tried to prevent the results to turn into a legal structural change by recognizing independent Bosnian Republic, "in the knowledge that they would constantly be outvoted by the other two ethnic groups, and that electoral contests would always result in voting along ethnic rather than political lines."¹¹⁷ The inflammation of the Serbs' aggression caused UN Security Council to impose economic sanctions against Serbia in 1992, which has been followed by the peacekeeping forces' deployment in Bosnia due to the growing crisis.

3.1.2. UNPROFOR

Following year, in 1993, NATO became a part of the conflict-preventing operation as a protector of UN peacekeeping forces in case of a possible attack. All of these efforts had a minimal impact, and Bosnian Serbs continued their extreme inhumane fights against Bosnian Muslims. 1994 was the year for UN, US and EU on trying to find a mediation and diplomatic solution which includes US arranged agreement between Bosnian Croats, Bosnian government and Croatian government. These agreements and intentions on mediations were happening while there was a continuing Serbian attack without even a day off of a temporary cease-fire. Bosnian Serbs were not being affected by the economic or political sanctions that EU members and US applied in several ways and the situation was worsening every single day. However, the worst was yet to come.

In 1995, Bosnian Serbs attacked Sarajevo and Srebrenica which were being considered as safe areas within the conflict zones for Bosnian Muslims. These incidents did not remain as "attack" but severely turned into a massacre and they

¹¹⁶ M. R. Berdal, and S. Economides, *United Nations Interventionism: 1991-2004*. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2007); 66.

¹¹⁷ Ibid

have been formally recognized as genocide by the international community. According to the report that International Criminal Tribunal for the former Yugoslavia, the international court that have been established to investigate and criminalize the incident that have placed in Bosnian War, "Bosnian Serb forces systematically massacred between 7,000 and 8,000 Bosnian Muslim men from Srebrenica during a period of no more than seven days. At the same time, they forcibly transferred the rest of the Bosnian Muslim population from Srebrenica, some 25,000 people" and "...the massacre and the subsequent cover-up operation were planned and well-organized; and that it was an act of genocide."¹¹⁸

After severe incidents including devastating genocide, Dayton Settlement has been signed by the parties which marked the legitimate end of the war on 14 December 1995. Obviously, this could not be the end of the years of hostility, and UN peacekeeping forces remained in control. Bosnian War was a total disaster for UN in terms of managing the crisis and properly governing the aftermath in times of peacekeeping mission. The complexity of the conflict has the biggest impact of the difficulty to analyze and provide alternatives for the possible solution of the issues to the parties, but this does not mean that UN could not do more to prevent the humanitarian disaster that took place in. According to Jae-Seok Huh, the unique features of the Yugoslavian conflict were as follows: "First, the nature of the crises was in part deeply rooted in past religious and historical experiences" which gives it a long-term characteristic that had started early on. Second, this was not a singular case in Yugoslavian crisis that we have witnessed but rather series of crises. Third, there were more than just two parties involved in these conflicts. And finally, "It is controversial whether the crises were intra-state conflicts or inter-state conflicts."¹¹⁹ These were all the components that Yugoslavian crisis, or series of crises, had been dragging within the conflicts which UN, EU and US should have been dealing with.

¹¹⁸ International Criminal Tribunal for the former Yugoslavia, *Facts About Srebrenica*, http://www.icty.org/x/file/Outreach/view_from_hague/jit_srebrenica_en.pdf, (Accessed April 25, 2016)

¹¹⁹ J. Huh, "Rethinking the Practices of UN Peacekeeping Operations in the Early post-Cold War era: the Implications of the Cases of Somalia, Bosnia-Herzegovina, and Kosovo," University of Sheffield, (2008): 81, <http://etheses.whiterose.ac.uk/6107/1/489386.pdf>.

This certainly does not mean that due to the extreme complexity of the conflict, the mediating and peacebuilding/peacekeeping institutions were in such a desperate position that this was the best they could have done. This would only be a poor excuse to state, as this is exactly what they should have been focusing on, this is the essence and foundational purpose of UN to be a neutral power to get in and ease the extremity at the first place. If it was not that complicated, no legitimate authority would call UN and its Security Council for an urgent action as an only way out for tragic turmoil. The default dilemma of these operations was also fully existent in Bosnian War experience. The two contradictory principles, which are the sanctity of the frontiers of states, and the right to self-determination and protection of the rights of ethnic minorities, merged with the fact of UN being completely inexperienced and unprepared in practice to get integrated in post-Cold War issues of peace built up the historical failure on Bosnian War.¹²⁰ At this point, ineffectiveness of the customary law in times of ultimately complex relations within the conflict becomes more explicit than standard formations that could be effortlessly applied.

The contradictory principles in Charter were not only obstacles that UN had faced in former Yugoslavia. The scope of the operation, which was simply called peacekeeping but actually did not work as a pure peacekeeping by any means, caused enormous amount of complication in the progress and planning of the operation as well as finalizing the whole procedure. The misinterpretation and misconduct of the concept of peacekeeping led UNPROFOR (United Nations Protection Force in former Yugoslavia) become one of the biggest disasters in UN history. The reasoning, acting, legalization, synchronization with the existing legal basis, absence of the serious consideration upon the subject of possible transformations of duties that had been attained specifically to this operation, they were all at their weakest they could be. To clear up the intertwined pile of concepts, I will be going term by term which creates confusion in the debates on peacekeeping operations within the case of former Yugoslavia.

Starting with the core concept of this pool of similar terms, which ironically has no clear legal base in UN Charter, *peacekeeping* stands for

¹²⁰ Berdal, *United Nations Interventionism*, 66.

The interposition of unarmed or lightly-armed UN forces, including police personnel and civilians, in an environment with the consent of all the parties concerned to encourage the warring parties to negotiate a settlement or to impartially buttress a political agreement between them through the means authorized by the Security Council.¹²¹

Peace enforcement or enforcement peacekeeping, on the other hand,

Manifests itself both in enforcement of political solutions through support of a government's state-building ambitions and its attempts to extend state authority in the midst of conflict and in enforcement of military victories through offensive use of force.¹²²

From this perspective it can also be seen that these enforcement activities' actors as parties of the conflict are not state or states' military forces but rather non-state actors, who possess war crimes and human rights violations in their histories, and that is why they could not enjoy any international legitimacy.¹²³ Obviously, this directly causes the absence of the appropriate and legal peace agreements without peacekeeping forces has been deployed to the area of conflict, which both arises from the illegitimate characteristic of party/parties but the non-recognition of them that prevents any attempt on solutions on peace. In the case of former Yugoslavia, these non-state actors were clearly from the Serbian side which were paramilitaries who appeared as independent from the legitimate state of Serbia.

The main difference between peacekeeping and peace-enforcement that related with UNPROFOR stands at the point of the use of military force other than just self-defense of UN personnel and armed forces. Articles 42 and 43 in UN Charter allow UN forces to use weapons with purposes other than self-defense but in more offensive ways. As they dictate;

The Security Council may decide what measures not involving the use of armed force are to be employed to give effect to its decisions, and it may call upon the Members of the United Nations to apply such measures. These may include complete or partial interruption of

¹²¹ Huh, *Practices of UN Peacekeeping Operations*, 40.

¹²² Peter Mateja, "Between Doctrine and Practice: The UN Peacekeeping Dilemma," *Global Governance* 21, no.3, (2015): 353.

¹²³ Ibid.

economic relations and of rail, sea, air, postal, telegraphic, radio, and other means of communication, and the severance of diplomatic relations. (Article 41)¹²⁴

Should the Security Council consider that measures provided for in Article 41 would be inadequate or have proved to be inadequate, it may take such action by air, sea, or land forces as may be necessary to maintain or restore international peace and security. Such action may include demonstrations, blockade, and other operations by air, sea, or land forces of Members of the United Nations. (Article 42)¹²⁵

The problem with UNPROFOR at this point was its ambiguity on the operation's nature. Obviously, it has all started with the compromise on the "peacekeeping" which would include the aims of "relieving as far as possible the humanitarian consequences of the war, containing the conflict to the territories of the former Yugoslavia and encouraging and facilitating a negotiated solution among the parties"¹²⁶ but these were the most naive and blurry objectives that any operation had and it clearly did not work out. As Shawcross claimed that the Western powers had never defined a clear objective on the conflict in the former Yugoslavia, and Britain's Permanent Representative to the United Nations highlighted the fact that the parties involved in the solution process as UN members were explicitly unwilling to be a part of the operation, and they would not desire to send troops to fight in the area.¹²⁷

No matter how reluctant the UN's "big fives", US, China, France, Russia and UK, were about this particular crisis due to extreme complexity and ancient ethnic roots of the conflict, the foremost problem was the incompatibility within UN's operational functioning routes that I explained earlier. It was not a brand new, unexpected problem that had been developed *through* the operation-which might have been the cover-up of UN's failure- but rather the issue was explicitly there from

¹²⁴ United Nations, "UN Charter Full Text", <http://www.un.org/en/sections/un-charter/un-charter-full-text/index.html>, (Accessed April 25, 2016).

¹²⁵ Ibid.

¹²⁶ Mats R. Berdal, "The Security Council, Peacekeeping and Internal Conflict After the Cold War," *Duke Journal of Comparative & International Law* 7, no.71, (1996): 77.

¹²⁷ Ibid.

the beginning. Whether the intervention should be in a humanitarian characteristic or should it be the deployment of the principle of sanctity of frontiers, maybe both¹²⁸, these were the questions remained unanswered, and they still are.

Debates on the organizational shortages, strategic drawbacks, diplomatic controversies, operational inefficiencies and remaining uncategorized components take place on the excuse list of UN's former Yugoslavia and Bosnia fail could continue until every single approach say their words on the situation and analyze it from the perspective in which they have a presumed unit of analysis, and these all create a thick chapter in UN history with the title of *Lessons Learnt from UNPROFOR*. As I discussed at the beginning, I will get into details on feminist approach specifically on the issue. As we already discussed the incidents that took place in under UN peacekeeping operation in former Yugoslavia without applying any particular theoretical framework on it, I will be adopting gendered lens on the subjects of UN, peacekeeping operations, Bosnia and UN officials' sexual harassment attempts/incidents in the following section of this thesis.

3.1.3. Feminist Perspective on Bosnian Case

The systematic mass rapes of the Bosnian Muslims were one of the two highlights of the UN failure on peacekeeping along with Srebrenica genocides. Not the incident, obviously, but the analyzing the incidents of these series of rapes was a great opportunity for feminist international relations theorists because the direct reflection of hidden patriarchy could get in the form of superficial bigger causalities (be it nationalism or religion) in Bosnia where non-consensual physical practices and expression of power on women's bodies were so rigid that no one could deny or ignore the existence of these dynamics. Feminists got further on analyzing and divided these wartime rapes into groups in terms of their characteristics: "Rapes that occurred when Serbs first occupied a village; rapes committed by prison guards in detention camps; and rape camps or houses temporarily commandeered by Serbs to keep women expressly for that purpose."¹²⁹ Why would the act of raping enemy's

¹²⁸ Berdal, *United Nations Interventionism*, 68.

¹²⁹ D. M. Rejali, "After Feminist Analyses of Bosnian Violence" in *The Women and War Reader*, eds. Lois Ann Lorentzen, and Jennifer E. Turpin, (New York: NYU Press: 1998): 26.

women feel glorious when rape independently feels so wrong to most/some of these soldiers then? Also, why would women feel revenge and not stand against the rapes that have been issued by their soldiers on other sides' women?

In case of former Yugoslavia, ethnicity and motives that it dragged within combined with masculinities were the realities that created such excruciating results in Bosnia. Donald Horowitz's argument on the ethnicity is worth-mentioning at this point because it explains the dynamics within society that led especially former Yugoslavia to experience this. He claims that there are two types of ethnicity system which are ranked and unranked, where in ranked system groups have clear-cut superordination or subordination to one another, and in unranked systems each group spread through entire selection of occupations and statuses. So it means "in unranked societies such as the former Yugoslavia, each group is potentially a whole society."¹³⁰ Horowitz's approach has been adopted by countless feminists to Bosnia because they believed that it fitted perfectly. "In unranked systems, the national census and women's birthrate are highly contested among men in politics. When an unranked system collapses, as in Bosnia, women's bodies become a battlefield where men communicate their rage to other men-because women's bodies had been the implicit political battlefield all along."¹³¹ That makes even more sense when ethnomarkers is being considered while analyzing these systematic rapes and impregnations of Bosnian Muslim women. After all, "in military conflicts, physical and sexual abuse of women is part of male communication: displays of machismo are enacted through violence against women who are associated with the target males."¹³²

Wartime rape has two anchor components that serve for the strategic purposes of the parties: First, it shows the enemy that the perpetrators recognizes the most sensitive group within society which carries all the symbolic values on, and they purposely move in terms of these existing dynamics. Second, while wartime rape happens to be unit-level strategy, forced impregnation is an explicit cause for rape

¹³⁰ Ibid., 30

¹³¹ Ibid.

¹³² Allison Ruby Reid-Cunningham, "Rape as a Weapon of Genocide," *Genocide Studies and Prevention: An International Journal* 3, no.4 (2008): 282.

and the intent of the rapist.¹³³ The unique feature of the wartime rapes is the fact that the provider of the message does not aim to send the message to the subject of the act, rather wants other actors to receive the message through that mid-line actor. So, when a soldier rape the enemy's woman, his collocutor is not that woman who has being raped but the men of the nations that woman belongs to. Sjoberg argues: "When forced impregnation results from the wartime sexual violence, it functions to injure not only the particular woman against whom the rape is perpetrated and the man or men who are seen to be responsible for her protection, but also to disrupt-by planting alien seed or destroying reproductive viability-the maintenance of the community through time."¹³⁴ The aftermath of these forced impregnations is possibly worse than the actual act of rape, which might seem absurd to compare but the length of the effects differ drastically. From the most lethal to life-long psychological imprisonment; women who have been raped could die short after due to traumatic violence and extreme physical breakdown, they could be killed by their closest relatives due to moral concerns, they could choose suicide, they could miscarry due to unhealthy conditions of reproduction process and lastly, if women could give birth in a way or another, the child would be labeled as mixed-blood of enemy and never get proper legitimacy.

Clearly, these aspects of systematically constructed militarized masculinity actions and the consequences were not exclusive to Bosnia by any means. However, incidents in Bosnia were marked as milestone events for both United Nations as it was a complete failure in terms of peacekeeping/peace-enforcement dichotomy that they could not agree on in operation, and for feminists in international relations discipline as this made it possible to get more "serious" reactions towards gender issues in world politics as well as it caused a huge outrage that any debate on the issue could be spread in mainstream mediums of academy. Another reason that Bosnian War was such a crucial conflict is the fact that the rape incidents were being made so visible due to its "European" characteristic derived from sole geographical existences. When the sufferers were European women, relatively bolder reactions

¹³³ Sjoberg *Gendering Global Conflict*, 222.

¹³⁴ Ibid.

and cautions were being delivered by non-governmental local and international women's rights groups.¹³⁵

However, these geographical double standardizations had another face that implemented certain behavioral stereotypes to the specific culture and region, in this case Balkans, to normalize the ongoing crimes and decrease the possible pressure for an urgent intervention. The construction of Balkans has been linked with the violence, brutality, hatred and savagery in a historical context that it would not be shocking to see these crimes as these were their own style of conflict.

Reading the exposure of the mass rape through the prisms of essential 'Balkan brutality' it could be argued that extreme forms of violence had always been a feature of the Balkans and that while more Bosnians had been raped than Serbians, it was still the case that rapes have been carried out by all sides.¹³⁶

This specifically highlights and reminds the differences between "us" and "them", the West and Balkans in Bosnian case, even in terms of soldiering, warfare and understanding of invisible conflict ethics. Apart from the West's unwillingness on intervention, it also was perceived with skepticism from the victim side, because "if aggressive male behavior is a corollary to all military action, one would have to be critical of western military invention, even in the case where its explicit goal were to stop rape."¹³⁷

As I stressed at the beginning of this thesis, feminism in international relations is not a unitary or unified approach that every feminist agrees on the same subject at the same level of priority. That is why, even in the case of Bosnia which should have been undoubtedly the most common base for all the fractions within feminist theory, this was not the case. There were contrasting opinions on various subject, the pioneer being the sharp disagreements on concepts and their definitions while debating on the Bosnian rapes-whether they were to be labeled as "genocidal" or not. Feminism as a theory benefited from these disagreements within, as the

¹³⁵ C. Cockburn *The space between us: Negotiating gender and national identities in conflict*, (London: Zed Books, 1998): 171.

¹³⁶ Lene Hansen, "Gender, Nation, Rape: Bosnia and the Construction of Security," *International Feminist Journal of Politics* 3, no.1, (2000): 61.

¹³⁷ *Ibid.*, 67.

discussion keep the topic hot in long-term and exposed the wide extent of the wartime rapes.¹³⁸ There are also debates on religion's portion and scope of effect in these motives; some theorists find it irrelevant even though the majority of the analysts agreed on the fact that "the rape of Bosnian Muslim women took on the symbolic meaning as a site of ethnic cleansing, as the policy of forced impregnation practiced by the Serb forces was claimed to be a military strategy of generating future Serb generations which would rise up with their fathers against the Muslims."¹³⁹ There are also divided opinions on the agency and action relations. Some feminists argue that "intervention should take place on behalf of all women who were facing rape in this conflict: Bosnian women, certainly, but Croatian and Serb women as well." while others claim "since the Serb attack on the Bosnian women seemed to be planned and systemic and since Serbs were the main aggressors in this war, attempts at intervention should focus on helping Bosnian women and on condemning Serb men specifically."¹⁴⁰

The systematic mass rapes in Bosnia, call it genocidal or not, has been the most controversial and strongly supporting incidents for feminists in the post-Cold War era. The motives behind them, ethnicity problematic which also created wide-range discussions between feminists, the methods and tactics that perpetrators had and their repetitive patterns that could be examined from the former incidents, were all the core headlines of the feminist international relations theorists. However, the only criminals were not the Serbian military forces in Bosnia, and this made the issue even more complex from the gendered lens. Peacekeeping operations were no exception as servants of militarization of existing masculinity. United Nations peacekeeping forces were also in this chain of war crimes, which was surprising for the camp of "rape is an unfortunate yet ordinary practice in war" and many others. Possibly, no feminist was surprised by the UN's unimaginable deviations from the

¹³⁸ Karen Engle, "Feminism and Its (Dis)contents: Criminalizing Wartime Rape in Bosnia and Herzegovina," *The American Journal of International Law* 99, no.4, (2005): 779.

¹³⁹ Teodora Todorova, "'Giving Memory a Future': Confronting the Legacy of Mass Rape in Post-conflict Bosnia-Herzegovina," *Journal of International Women's Studies* 12, no.2, (2011): 6.

¹⁴⁰ Pascale R. Bos, "Feminists Interpreting the Politics of Wartime Rape: Berlin, 1945; Yugoslavia, 1992–1993," *Signs* 31, no.4 (2006): 1013.

mission itself, but it was still so huge to handle in an atmosphere of admiration of United Nations fanatically. In the following part of the thesis, I will focus on these extremely shocking yet expected incidents that took place in Bosnia from feminist perspective.

3.1.4. UN Peacekeeping Scandals in Bosnia: Sexual Assault, Sex Trafficking and Sexual Abuse

While fighting military forces' sexual violations and rapes are explicitly out there to investigate and analyze at this point in international arena –thanks to the efforts of feminists and activists around the world-, United Nations' forces' similar acts and intentions are still a taboo to talk and discuss about. United Nations as an organization is being criticized from every perspective in relation with the wide spectrum of the flaws that it has, which are mostly welcomed by the audience. However, as always, when the complaints were about women and masculinities that are being continuously reproduced, no one was willing to investigate other than feminists. The fog that mass rapes brought to the Bosnia case, the focus shifted from the individual or unit-base actors to the UN due to its failure on peacekeeping- basically it was blamed for just watching the whole inhumane disasters in front of their eyes. At this point, most of the critiques were so isolated from the remaining UN-based issues that these sexual exploitation scandals were nearly absent until recent years.

To discuss on the sex in peacekeeping operations is important in three ways: First, it is an issue that has a long history with the examples of Sudan, Eritrea, Liberia, Cambodia, East Timor, Kosovo, Bosnia, Haiti and many others. Second, there is a possibility of the sexual conduct of international personnel to undermine the objectives of UN. Third, it shows the reaction to its unpunished status and dictated regulations.¹⁴¹ Even if the realization on these came to the point of recognition in post-Cold War era, this should not mean that the intimate and exploitative relations between peacekeeping personnel and locals was completely unseen before that. Simm explains the reasoning behind this transformation from

¹⁴¹ Simm, *Sex in Peace Operations*, 11.

Cold War era to post-Cold War as follows: "...the larger number of troops deployed and the changed the nature of their duties in post-Cold War peacekeeping has increased the likelihood of peacekeepers coming into contact with local people and hence the incidents of sex in peace operations."¹⁴²

The constructed and intentionally directed behavioral patterns holds a crucial importance while analyzing the issue of peacekeepers getting into the act of sexual violence. The glorified militarized masculinity that has been discussed in the previous chapters, was not limited to nation's soldiers as defenders of their countries (their women, as motherlands) but it was valid for every single man in this procedure, let them be the neutral peacekeepers or diplomats. The embedded, traditional aspects of masculinity is the answer of the questions such as "Why would the peacekeepers do these things where they do not fight or negotiate on their own soils?" or "How would they dare to do that while they were working under the United Nations umbrella which should have been the most sterilized organization as they find themselves appropriate for solving even the deepest conflicts?" As being the most complicated one with the Rwandan incidents in the similar patterns, Bosnia was no exception on the peacekeeper exploitation which was under the shadow of the mass rapes.

The allegations towards UN peacekeeping personnel on sexual abuse had a clear visibility on the level of UN high-ranked officials, such as general secretary in year of 2000, however the prior operations and their allegations have not been publicized and have not been officially admitted. After these acts have been admitted officially, the numbers of the allegations were published with a hope of settling more rigid and enforcing precautions and sanction if needed. The official chart that shows the statistics on the sexual abuse of peacekeepers in the UN's Conduct and Discipline Unit's website provides data starting from 2007, up until 2016. According to these data, 792 allegations have been made within these years.¹⁴³ These are the provided

¹⁴² Ibid., 26.

¹⁴³ United Nations, "Allegations for All Categories of Personnel Per Year (Sexual Exploitation and Abuse)," *Conduct and Discipline Unit*, <https://cdu.unlb.org/Statistics/AllegationsbyCategoryofPersonnelSexualExploitationa>

numbers that occurred after the famous resolutions, such as UNSCR 1325, however there are two problems with these statistics; first, the portion of the "verified" incidents is not clear. "Anecdotally, it has been suggested that some cases are likely to have been fabricated, particularly in return for financial gain."¹⁴⁴ Second, we do not know if these were the all of the reported incidents that had happened-which is quite unlikely, " because the victims have not reported the occurrence out of shame or fear, or because they have, in some cases, 'chosen' to engage in sexual activities such as prostitution ."¹⁴⁵ Obviously, there were thousands of related complaints that have never been officially verified had occurred before 2007, and have never been verbalized before 2000 in general.

The traditional militarized masculinity as a crucial base for peacekeeper rapes that has imprints and also dilemmas on peacekeepers, though, might not be an ideal condition as it is taken for granted. The tough military training that military forces have been subjected to happened to be one of the key components of motives in militarization of the existing masculinities, and the fragile nature of peacekeeping operations stood at the heart of the dilemma. But apparently, there was a much-desired alternative of militarized masculinity for both peacekeepers and local women, as Duncanson explains by analyzing the autobiographies of peacekeepers who took part in the peacekeeping operation in Bosnia in 1990s¹⁴⁶. There were two competing themes in their personal notes of these four peacekeepers of those days; on the one hand they were admiring the Bosnian local soldiers as they were tough as a rock, they were brave enough to fight even in -67 degrees cold, bearded and tall with full of confidence; and on the other hand they were being depicted as hyper-masculine, uncontrollable, aggressive, violent and irrational. The latter was a bridge to the perception of peacekeepers as more civilized, controlled and intelligent where

ndAbuse/AllegationsforAllCategoriesofPersonnelPerYearSexualExploitationandAbuse.aspx, (Accessed: August 15, 2016).

¹⁴⁴ Kate Grady, "Sexual Exploitation and Abuse by UN Peacekeepers: A Threat to Impartiality," *International Peacekeeping* 17, no.2, (2010): 218.

¹⁴⁵ Ibid., 219.

¹⁴⁶ Claire Duncanson, "Forces for Good? Narratives of Military Masculinity in Peacekeeping Operations," *International Feminist Journal of Politics* 11, no.1, (2009): 75.

the former represented the traditional militarized masculinity-oddly enough it was being downgraded for being "too much" of everything by the "Other" alternative masculinity. Alternating approaches on armed forces were not new or limited to Bosnia; the pragmatic adoption of the certain masculinities or femininities in relation with armed forces took an important place in operations' strategies; it continues to reinforce hierarchical gender roles and ensure the wealth and respect to be owned by certain elites. Regardless, as Cockburn and Hubic conclude, this revisioned, softer militarized masculinity would be welcomed by women in countries experiencing conflict; "women's organizations in the Balkans wanted peacekeepers to be both more militarily assertive and more gender sensitive and inclusive"¹⁴⁷

Although the personal perceptions of peacekeepers might have been promising to overcome some embedded patterns, the UN-level approach to peacekeeping and women relation could not make any improvements for better gender strategies in Bosnia. Not only UN recklessly watched the mass rapes, they also covered the whole sector of sexual harassment, minor abuse and rape committed by UN peacekeepers and personnel. Tradition of masculinity was so empowered within the ecologie of Western militaries that the exposition of these scandals did not affect any parties; what happened in Bosnia stayed in Bosnia for good.

3.2. THE CENTRAL AFRICAN REPUBLIC

Being a landlocked country in the middle of the continent of Africa with six border neighbors; Chad, Cameroon, Republic of Congo, South Sudan, Democratic Republic of Congo and Sudan; the Central African Republic has estimated¹⁴⁸ 5 and a half million population¹⁴⁹. Ethnic distribution among the population is dominated by Baya with 33% and Banda with 27%, followed by Mandjia 13%, Sara 10%, Mboum

¹⁴⁷ Ibid.

¹⁴⁸ CIA Database: Estimates for this country explicitly take into account the effects of excess mortality due to AIDS; this can result in lower life expectancy, higher infant mortality, higher death rates, lower population growth rates, and changes in the distribution of population by age and sex than would otherwise be expected (July 2016 est.)

¹⁴⁹ Central Intelligence Agency(CIA), "The Central African Republic", <https://www.cia.gov/library/publications/the-world-factbook/geos/ct.html>, November 17 2016, (Accessed 10.01.2017).

7%, M'Baka 4%, Yakoma 4%, other 2%. While indigenous beliefs (35% of the population) are the most common religious belief, Protestants (25%) and Catholics (25%) hold the majority on the monotheistic religions with the fact that indigenous beliefs and animistic practices strongly influence Christian majority, where Muslims are minority with (15%)¹⁵⁰. Natural resources are the main affluences that includes diamonds, gold, uranium, timber and hydropower. The health system in the country is severely poor that even preventable diseases such as malaria and malnutrition cause deaths of thousands of people. Education system is even worse, the schools are constantly closed and there are no adequate teachers to help schools to regain their momentum. Human rights violations are at the highest level due to the ongoing civil war and crisis which I will be getting into detail in the next part, and forced displacement of citizens of the CAR to the neighboring states is so common under the internal and external turmoil conditions. United Nations Peacekeeping Mission, MINUSCA (United Nations Multidimensional Integrated Stabilization Mission in the Central African Republic), has been authorized in 2014 and since then the UN peacekeeping forces have been trying to secure the region.

In the following sections of the Central African Republic chapter of this thesis, I will be explaining the historical background and brief information on country's pre-independence, then getting into details of conflicts, coups and deficiencies in authority of the state with the reasoning and conditional structures that led to the certain circumstances of the area. Following that, I will be evaluating the international community's involvement and UN existence, as well as possible drawbacks and failures from the feminist lens, including UN peacekeeper sex scandals and abuse allegations.

3.2.1. Historical Background: Pre-Independence

Before the modern-day CAR as an independent state, it was the colony of France with its former name *Oubangui-Chari*, when France started its colonial activities in Africa in 1887. In the late 18th century, Islam was expanding its boundaries of belief to Sudan and surrounding areas which Central African Republic

¹⁵⁰ Ibid.

was shy from due to the absence of communication and trade between Muslims and locals of CAR, so any monotheistic religion including Islam was non-existent up until the beginning of 19th century. Muslim traders from Sudan marked the beginning of the introduction of Islam to region with no foreseeable clashes within the context of trade relations. However, when the Arabs with full-on armed soldiers who aimed to establish a slave trade web in the region to sell them to the continent of America changed the structure of the today-CAR region.¹⁵¹

The beginning of slave trade basically meant the interaction with the overseas which made the region more open to the foreign investigation for the future plans, especially within the time period that indicates the escalation of French interest in Africa as finding its possible colonial states. After France's deployment in Congo (as it was named French Congo), Central African Republic with its gold and diamond reserves was under the French colonial rule which followed the establishment of private companies owned by French to accommodate cheap African labor to sell the goods to their European business partners. This was not unexpected as the 19th century colonial principles indicate these types of liberal profiting via cheaper cost and maximum benefit nexus. However, the unexpectedness for France began when these people who were forced labors revolted against employers. The conditions that they were forced to be included were horrendous, such as lack of health support, excessive working hours with unpaid overtime periods, brutal methods to force labors to work for these companies and even dying from the diseases while working without any sanctions applied to employers(i.e. countless railroad workers who died due to sleeping sickness which was epidemic).¹⁵² Almost half of the CAR's population between 1890 and 1940 died from either exposure to new disease or violence related to the colonial presence.¹⁵³

¹⁵¹ "The History of Central African Republic", *Osarge News*, <http://www.osargenews.com/history-info/central-african-republic/>, (Accessed: October 26, 2016).

¹⁵² *Ibid.*

¹⁵³ United Nations, "The International Commission of Inquiry on the Central African Republic.", *United Nations Security Council*, (2014): 25,

All of these led an uprising, called the Kongo-Wara rebellion, and this was the historic moment for the path to modern CAR as it was the largest anti-colonial rebellion that even forced France to hide incidents from the public. These features of French colonial time in Africa were crucial in analyzing CAR's today's status as vulnerable state that has serious mistrust towards international community as well as main international organizations such as United Nations. I will be examining UN and Central African Republic relation separately but at this point we need to examine the causes and dynamics that created the unrest.

3.2.2. Roots of the Conflict

To truly understand the reason of independence in 1960 being nonfunctional, the analysis of the causes that dragged the country into a vicious cycle of turmoil that continuously reproduce itself is essential. The main root of the conflict lies in the disparity between the two geographical regions of the country in terms of economic and political opportunities. The population lives in the northern part of the country (mainly Muslim minority) is visibly marginalized while southern part enjoys more prosperity, both economically and politically. Obviously, the country itself is severely poor and underdeveloped in terms of infrastructure, education, human rights, health system, state authority etc. but the reflection of the existing narrow circumstances is much worse in the northern part. This quote from Human Rights Watch's report on CAR shows how catastrophic the conditions are in the northern region of the CAR:

There are no tarred roads or electrified towns, and schools and medical facilities are primitive and understaffed, if functioning at all. In many villages, there are no water pumps to provide clean water. In the most remote areas of northern CAR, state structures are virtually non-existent—there are no police officers, administrative officials, teachers, or health professionals. There are almost no development projects in many parts of the north, in contrast with southern CAR, where the donor community and the World Bank are supporting large-scale development initiatives.¹⁵⁴

http://www.securitycouncilreport.org/atf/cf/%7B65BFCF9B-6D27-4E9C-8CD3-CF6E4FF96FF9%7D/s_2014_928.pdf

¹⁵⁴ Human Rights Watch, “*Background: The Varied Causes of Conflict in CAR*”, (2007), <https://www.hrw.org/reports/2007/car0907/4.htm>, (Accessed January 10, 2017).

While marginalization of the north is the root of the conflict, the massive effect of colonial past under France could not be ignored. It is no secret that CAR happens to be the most inferior country within the French colonies in continent of Africa:

The country's influence and political clout on the global stage is remarkably weak when compared to that of its central Africa counterparts, like Cameroon and Gabon. The weakness is even more glaring when Central African Republic is compared with its counterparts in Franco-phone West Africa, such as, Cote d'Ivoire, and Senegal.¹⁵⁵

That is why, the pessimist approach of the mentor powers, mainly France, towards the destiny of CAR arose from these socio-economic realities that it had since the beginning. It is probably safe to say that the CAR seems like the last to be saved in fire for both international community and France itself. Within the colonial years of France in the CAR, the exploitative concessionary system of forced labor as I mentioned above was not the only component that created an irresistible uneasiness amongst people, but also the lack of sufficient French administration was one of the worst experiences that people had. Today-CAR, then Oubangi Chari colony was being administered indirectly from Brazzaville which was 600 miles far from the capital, and within the modern-day borders of the Republic of Congo, and because of that colonial officials were far from the realities facing the subjects, and they invested minimally such as small network of roads and mobile health facilities, and no schools at all.¹⁵⁶

Living under the colonial rule where it was barely possible to access basic needs to stay alive, the population in the CAR was ready to be polarized that the inequality between the groups of people were enormous and even the wealthiest and

¹⁵⁵ Abiodun Joseph Oluwadare, "Gendering Political Power in Central African Republic: An Analysis of the Emergence and Challenges of 'Mother Courage'," *International Journal of Humanities Social Sciences and Education* 1, no.7, (2014): 69.

¹⁵⁶ Amy Copley, and Sy. Amadou, "Emerging from crisis: The role of economic recovery in creating a durable peace for the Central African Republic", *Brookings Institute Global Views*, no.4, (2015): 10, https://www.brookings.edu/wp-content/uploads/2015/10/global_20160811_car_emerging_from_crisis.pdf

healthiest members of the society were not that lucky at all. In 13th of August 1960, the CAR gained its independence from the colonial power, France.

3.2.3. Post-Independence: Ethnic Favoritism, Coups and Formation of Seleka and Anti-Balaka Forces

1960 was the year for 17 sub-Saharan African countries to gain their independence, when they "put pressure on colonial powers, reminding them of promises made to secure their support in the war effort. The colonizing countries were thus obliged to let their colonies go."¹⁵⁷ The first president of the country was Barthelemy Boganda starting with the CAR's modern-day name were entitled in 1958 until his sudden death in a plane crash in 1959. David Dacko had been transferred to power. Even though Dacko seemed like a new chapter in the country's history, his time was so limited. His insecurity towards his own authority, he immediately dissolved the opposition parties and trade unions that could try to overthrow him, and more importantly "...he established a neo-patrimonial system by which he provided financial and political rewards to members of his family and ethnic group, creating a 'parasitic caste' of civil servants who enriched themselves on foreign assistance and the taxes of the middle and lower classes."¹⁵⁸ Dacko was of Ngbaka ethnicity, and the incidents were the starting point of the kin favoring in the independence era of the CAR, and this ethnic favoritism served as a base for the upcoming conflicts. On the other hand, the withdrawal of French forces from CAR in 1960 did not mean that they completely cut the ties with France in terms of state and governance related issues and the instance France prioritize was not the illegal superiority of Dacko's ethnic ties in parliament but rather his close ties with China. Taking this as a serious treat, France sacrificed him with a smooth coup by replacing him with Jean Bedel Bokassa due to his "...fierce devotion to France and anti-Communist stance."¹⁵⁹ in 1965.

¹⁵⁷ France 24, "1960: The Year of Independence," <http://www.france24.com/en/20100214-1960-year-independence>, 16.02.2010, (Accessed: January 10, 2017).

¹⁵⁸ Copley, *The role of economic recovery*, 10.

¹⁵⁹ Devon Douglas-Bowers, "Coups, and Conflict: The Violence in the Central African Republic," *Foreign Policy Journal*

Bokassa was such a character; he declared himself king in 1977, suspended constitution, dissolved the assembly and changed the foreign policy, maintained the former legacy of ethnic favoritism for his own ethnicity, wasted the unbelievable amounts of money from the treasury of the country for his own goods and finally he lost all his supporters. Suddenly in 1979 France decided to help former leader Dacko to turn back by coup.¹⁶⁰ It is claimed that France had also benefited from Bokassa in other ways in the past: "French politicians and higher servants benefited from this relationship, as Bokassa rewarded his 'patrons' in Paris with the country's natural resources. For example, diamonds were given as gifts to leading French politicians."¹⁶¹ Dacko was already blacklisted for the people of the CAR due to his previous corruptions so he was not the man to last long in his position. Another coup took place in 1981 against Dacko by Army Chief of Staff General André Kolingba who hold the power of CAR with military dictatorship until 1993. His dictatorship was highly militarized that all the ministers were soldiers and the army included only people from his ethnic group Yakoma, both due to his former position but also due to the legacy that the CAR has since the establishment, where "the army has always been present, exerting its political influence on the political administration of CAR."¹⁶²

In 1993, the so-called first democratic elections that resulted with the triumph of Ange-Felix Patasse marked the beginning of another series of coup attempts and discontent within the country. "Despite the first peaceful and democratic elections in the country's history in 1993, the elected President, Ange-Felix Patasse, soon lost public confidence because of widespread discontent over social and economic

<http://www.foreignpolicyjournal.com/2015/02/06/colonialism-coups-and-conflict-the-violence-in-the-central-african-republic/>, 6 February 2015, (Accessed: December 11, 2016).

¹⁶⁰ Ibid.

¹⁶¹ Morten Boas, "Central African Republic: History of a Collapse Foretold?," *Open Democracy*, <https://www.opendemocracy.net/opensecurity/morten-b%C3%B8%C3%A5s/central-african-republic-history-of-collapse-foretold>, January 26 2014, (Accessed December 12, 2016.)

¹⁶² Tukumbi Lumumba-Kasongo, *Liberal Democracy and Its Critics in Africa: Political Dysfunction and the Struggle for Progress*, (London: Zed Books ,2005); 191.

problems...and ethnic favoritism in army."¹⁶³ as he replaced the existing members of the army with his own ethnicity that was Gbaya. Under the shadow of these accusations, Patasse had to deal with the strongest coup attempt he had experienced, which was by General François Bozize in 2001. Patasse survived with the help of the Libyan forces, specifically Qaddafi, "in return for a 99-year monopoly on extracting the republic's vast reserves of diamonds, gold and other minerals".¹⁶⁴ However, with the additional international pressure over the existing unsolved problems, a successful coup took place in 2003 by General François Bozize. He was one of the figures that often alarm some mayday calls to France about inner threats, and his re-elections in 2011 were claimed to be fraudulent.¹⁶⁵ Bozize faced with the threat of being overthrown by various groups of armed opposition forces which plays important roles in the CAR's recent conflicts and I will be examining them in the following section starting with Seleka Armed Group and continuing with Anti-Balaka armed group.

Ethnic favoritism became a true legacy and political tradition in the CAR within all these years by excluding many ethnic and religious groups altogether from political and economic access to the authority and power, and this caused creation of independent armed forces in groups that consists of people who lost their beliefs in legal governance and hopes of having place and voice in the legitimate parliament. Seleka, meaning "coalition" in local Sango language, has been formed with this motives by various peoples from different ethnicities and religions coming together at the end of 2012. To be more accurate, Seleka consisted of the following groups: The Convention of Patriots for Justice and Peace(CPJP), The Union of Democratic Forces Unity(UFDR), The Democratic Front of the Central African People(FDPC), The Patriotic Convention for Saving the Country(CPSK) and The Alliance for

¹⁶³ Martin Welz, "Briefing: Crisis in the Central African Republic and the International Response." *African Affairs* 113, no.453, (2014): 602.

¹⁶⁴ The Economist, "Rebellion in Central Africa: No Pay, No Peace," <http://www.economist.com/node/1418716>, 31 October 2002, (Accessed December 11, 2016).

¹⁶⁵ "The History of Central African Republic", *Osarge News*, <http://www.osargenews.com/history-info/central-african-republic/>, (Accessed October 26, 2016).

Revival and Rebuilding(A2R), FPRC, CPJP Fondamantale, UFR and FPR while the ethnicities of these groups included: Gula, Runga, Bornu, Peuhl and Salamat.¹⁶⁶ Also, "This coalition was expanded to include a large number of Chadian and Sudanese mercenaries who, according to certain sources, made up 80% of the Seleka in March 2013".¹⁶⁷

Finding the common ground on the strategy towards the leadership and possible coup was not easy due to the heterogeneous structure of Seleka, and eventually the leadership discussion led to some separations of groups. Remaining forces who could agree on same name for the leadership have chosen Michael Djotodia, who was a Muslim who had distinctive success on organization and fighting, as their leader on the way of coup against Bozize government. When Seleka became more isolated in variety when the others left and consisted of Djotodia supporters only, it automatically became an armed group predominantly consisted of Muslims. To achieve their goal of authority, Seleka started to expand their areas of control by continuously moving from town to town, specifically selecting the strategically important ones as possible. "Between 10 December 2012 and early January 2013, Seleka fighters quickly advanced and occupied the military base and central mining town of Bria, Kabo, Ippy and Ndassima, and the regional capitals Bambari and Kaga-Bandoro. Consolidating their control over the eastern parts of the country, the Seleka also moved towards Bangui, taking Sibut, which is only 160 km north of the capital."¹⁶⁸ Fighters of Seleka have been involved in countless incidents of killings, rape, serious injuring and other criminal offences.

The breakpoint for the dynamics of this conflict was the fact that Seleka was quickly becoming an anti-Christian armed group where they started to target only Christians on purpose. The mutation on the causes of the conflict and reasons to fight

¹⁶⁶ Yannick Weyns, Lotte Hoex, Filip Hilgert and Steven Spittaels, "Mapping Conflict Motives: The Central African Republic", *IPIS*, (2014): 17, http://reliefweb.int/sites/reliefweb.int/files/resources/20141124_CAR.pdf

¹⁶⁷ FIDH, "Central African Republic: 'They must all leave or die' Investigate Report," https://www.fidh.org/IMG/pdf/rapport_rca_2014-uk-04.pdf, (2014) (Accessed December 12, 2016).

¹⁶⁸ Weyns, *The Central African Republic*, 21.

for the power has changed the game completely, and it seemingly turned into a "religious conflict" by leaving the ethnicity-related roots in the past. "On their march west, they systematically pillaged villages and towns. As well as systematically plundering the mainly Christian population, the Seleka committed other serious and widespread human rights violations, including extrajudicial killings, rape, ill-treatment and illegal detention."¹⁶⁹ Seleka's ruthless fight against civilians and military succeeded and eventually in March 2013, Bozize has been overthrown by Seleka and Michel Djotodia became the first Muslim president of the CAR. However, this did not refrain Seleka from maintaining its brutal activities throughout the country which caused Djotodia to disband Seleka and to leave its leadership.

Against the growing manslaughter of Seleka, the self-defense local militia of the various regions formed Anti-Balaka (meaning anti-machete in local Sango language) to fight against Seleka forces in the summer of 2013. They could be described as "a group comprised mostly of young men whose families had been killed in Seleka's brutal campaign, and who were now seeking revenge"¹⁷⁰ Anti-balaka forces "have created an alliance including the Gbaya, many Christians and animists, and other groups with affiliations to former Presidents Patassé and Bozizé."¹⁷¹ Also, it is important to point out that most of the members of the former government army of CAR, FACA, joined anti-balaka after the coup.¹⁷²

The police and army...completely disintegrated following the 2013 coup. The state also lacks the institutional capacity to enforce justice and the rule of law. Most judges and lawyers have left the country or have been targeted by the Seleka as part of its efforts to undermine the official authorities during and after the coup.¹⁷³

¹⁶⁹ Welz, *Crisis in the Central African Republic*, 603.

¹⁷⁰ Ibid.

¹⁷¹ Copley, *The Role of Economic Recovery*, 13.

¹⁷² IR in News, "Who are the anti-balaka of CAR?," <http://www.irinnews.org/analysis/2014/02/12/who-are-anti-balaka-car>, February 12 2014, (Accessed December 12, 2016).

¹⁷³ Veronique Barbelet, "Central African Republic: Addressing the Protection Crisis." *Humanitarian Policy Group Overseas Development Institute*, (2015): 7, <https://data2.unhcr.org/en/documents/download/33060>

Just as Seleka did, Anti-Balaka militias were involved in countless attacks, rapes, assaults, kidnappings as well as homicide. At this point, United Nations openly shared its concern by stating that the Central African Republic was at risk of spiraling into genocide.¹⁷⁴ Apart from all the crimes they were involved in, top anti-balaka militants were also accused of being diamond smugglers: "The U.S. Department of the Treasury's Office of Foreign Assets Control (OFAC) designated militia leaders Alfred Yekatom, Habib Soussou, and Oumar Younous for through the illicit trade in natural resources."¹⁷⁵ In relation with that, UN decided to apply sanctions on the firms that were in illegal trade deals with these militants: "A UN sanctions committee imposed an assets freeze on the Badica/Kardiam firm for providing support to armed groups in the Central African Republic through illegal trading in diamonds and gold."¹⁷⁶ As being Uganda-based militants who have spread through African countries, Lord's Resistance Army had also supported anti-Balaka with violent actions in their terror cells accompanied by "captives who are forced to work as porters, cooks, and sex slaves. The LRA engages in gender-based violence including rapes of women and young girls."¹⁷⁷ It is also known that they are responsible for elephant trafficking in various countries in Africa that has been detected and sanctioned by UN. Under these harsh circumstances and multiple actors involved, Djotodia was suddenly left with a monster that he created, which was brutal Seleka that did not approve his policies on Muslims and Christians, he completely lost the control over the government and his own groups, also the mass killings and severe manslaughter intensified between Seleka and anti-Balaka

¹⁷⁴ BBC, "African Republic Genocide Risk," <http://www.bbc.com/news/world-africa-24800682>, (Accessed October 27, 2016).

¹⁷⁵ U.S. Department of the Treasury, "Treasury Sanctions Individuals and Entities Fueling Violence in the Central African Republic," <https://www.treasury.gov/press-center/press-releases/Pages/jl0150.aspx>, August 21 2015, (Accessed December 12, 2016).

¹⁷⁶ NDTV, "UN Blacklists Central African Diamond Firm, 3 Militia Leaders," <http://www.ndtv.com/world-news/un-blacklists-central-african-diamond-firm-3-militia-leaders-1209485>, August 21 2015, (Accessed December 12, 2016).

¹⁷⁷ UN, "Security Council Committee Established Pursuant to Resolution 2127(2013) Concerning the Central African Republic," *UN Security Council Subsidiary Organs*, <https://www.un.org/sc/suborg/en/sanctions/2127/materials/summaries/entity/lord%E2%80%99s-resistance-army>, March 7 2016, (Accessed December 12, 2016).

members which led him to resign in 2014. He transferred the power to the temporary transitional government led by Catherina Samba-Panza.

3.2.4. External Actors

The turmoil in CAR could not be evaluated without the impacts of the other states which are strong and managing actors from time to time for CAR's politics. The socio-economic conditions that led country to this severe positions are also related with these actors in one way or another-mostly connected with the mine reserves that area has. France is the obvious one as a former colonial power of CAR, it is being the strongest candidate for the valuable uranium reserves. The unwillingness of France to completely step back from the region, even from the most problematic one -CAR-, has this motive in its origins. However, France is prominent but not alone in this race: "Extensive interests in Africa, in oil, minerals, infrastructure projects, telecoms, its market share is being eroded by competition from China, Brazil, India and others."¹⁷⁸ China has been the most outstanding rival for France on CAR, and even Bozize, who had been supported without questioning by France, improved relations and signed certain agreements and contracts with China which rang the bells for France. China's desire to access to oil, diamond and uranium reserves required a good amount of investment in the area, which happened to be China's 67 million dollars of aid to CAR.¹⁷⁹ Closest neighbors such as Chad, Democratic Republic of Congo, Darfur and Sudan became the core places for the armed groups with the strong efforts of incursion.¹⁸⁰ While China and Sudan alliance provide support and aids to Seleka militias, France fosters the capability of anti-balaka militia against them. Chad showed its interest in CAR by explicitly supporting Bozize in hope of security by limiting Chadian rebel groups' possible territory usage in CAR, as well as keeping the oil reserve on agenda in relations with CAR due to its

¹⁷⁸ Douglas-Bower, *Foreign Interests*, <http://www.occupy.com/article/foreign-interests-play-key-role-central-african-republic-conflict#sthash.8sUshWtG.dpbs>.

¹⁷⁹ Kenan Sala, "İç Savaşın Gölgesinde Orta Afrika Cumhuriyeti," *Akademik Perspektif*, <http://akademikperspektif.com/2014/03/09/ic-savasin-golgesinde-orta-afrika-cumhuriyeti/>, March 9 2014, (Accessed December 12, 2016).

¹⁸⁰ Barbelet, *Addressing the Protection Crisis*, 3.

geographical position that had been situated in the border of Chad and CAR¹⁸¹. Shared oil reserves and its politics has always been Chad's main target to have control over. On the other hand, U.S.'s interest in Sub-Saharan region is no secret and CAR is no exception, as Assistant US. Secretary of the State for African Affairs Walter Kansteiner states: "'African oil is of strategic national interest to us and it will increase and become more important as we go forward.'"¹⁸² Existence of all these actors and their interests of CAR indicate that the conflict in the country could not be degraded to the sole sectarian clashes, and as historian Bruno Drweski claims "...there is competition in Africa between Western powers and China. And local tensions are just used as a pretext to intervene. There were no religious conflicts in CAR for a long time. What we call a religious conflict is not really a religious conflict."¹⁸³

3.2.4. International Response, MINUSCA and Critiques

From the beginning of the recent turmoil, ECCAS (Economic Community of Central African States) and its specific organization regarding Central African Republic, MICOPAX (ECCAS Peace Consolidation Mission in the Central African Republic) had been operating in the CAR. However, in 2012, the contributing countries (Cameroon, Chad, Congo, Equatorial Guinea and Gabon) decided to limit their troops and began partial withdrawal from the region due to the lack of progress as well as decline of financial support from EU.¹⁸⁴ In December 2013, as UN Security Council Resolution 2127 authorized, MICOPAX transferred its authority to new African-led organization MISCA (International Support Mission in the Central African Republic).¹⁸⁵

¹⁸¹ Douglas-Bower, *Foreign Interests*, <http://www.occupy.com/article/foreign-interests-play-key-role-central-african-republic-conflict#sthash.8sUshWtG.dpbs>.

¹⁸² Ibid.

¹⁸³ RT, "CAR is victim of West vs China fight for influence in Africa," <http://on.rt.com/40zpgo>, February 27 2014, (Accessed December 12, 2016).

¹⁸⁴ Welz, *Crisis in the Central African Republic*, 604.

¹⁸⁵ African Union Peace and Security, "Transfer of Authority from MICOPAX to MISCA," <http://www.peaceau.org/en/article/transfer-of-authority-from-micopax-to-misca>, (Accessed October 27, 2016).

On the other hand, UN's existence in the CAR since 2008 in its peacebuilding architecture did not seem to work in terms of its objectives. The UN Integrated Peacebuilding Office in the Central African Republic (BINUCA) has been present since 2010 with the aim of "support for the implementation of the transition process; support for conflict prevention and humanitarian assistance; support for the stabilization of the security situation; promotion and protection of human rights; and coordination of international actors involved in the implementation of those tasks."¹⁸⁶ It is important to note that UN also authorized a French operation in support of that mission with its Resolution 2127. In 2014, both MISCA and BINUCA have been replaced with MINUSCA, which differs from MISCA by having "more personnel on the ground, greater logistical capacity (helicopters, planes, etc.) and the support of its large civilian component."¹⁸⁷ thus it expanded the former operations. According to UN's official statement on MINUSCA; "...the protection of civilians as its utmost priority. Its other initial tasks included support for the transition process; facilitating humanitarian assistance; promotion and protection of human rights; support for justice and the rule of law; and disarmament, demobilization, reintegration and repatriation processes."

The process did not work as smoothly as it was written though, and the last thing the region needed has occurred: Another conflict. This time, the conflict was between the organizations which took place in the solution and peace processes between African Union, ECCAS and UN. African Union(AU) as an actor of the process had problematic relations with others, particularly with ECCAS. AU perceived ECCAS as a failure on handling the situation, and it had other actors that agreed with it such as US and European countries. Crucial amount of delays within the process have occurred due to these tight relations between organizations, for instance MICOPAX's transformation into MISCA delayed for four months due to the

¹⁸⁶ Gustavo De Carvalho, and Amanda Lucey, "Fractured Peacebuilding in the Central African Republic: Lessons for African Union Engagement." *Institute for Security Studies* 87 (2016): 4, <https://issafrica.s3.amazonaws.com/site/uploads/policybrief87.pdf>

¹⁸⁷ Barbelet, *Addressing the Protection Crisis*, 12.

situational traps which caused great dangers for civilians and death of non-combatants.¹⁸⁸

Even though the existing inter-organizational issues caused serious and irreversible results, due to its position in international system, UN was the body that actors and civilians hoped a remedy from. That is why, UN's faults were more lethal when compared to local NGO's or international regional organizations' mishaps. There are generally-accepted (by most scholars and international actors) accusations towards UN about fulfilling its responsibilities on peacebuilding and peacekeeping processes in the CAR. The first and foremost accusation is regarding with the timing and operational scheduling. When the deadliest attack was taking place between Seleka and anti-Balaka forces where thousands of civilians died, UN was neither paying attention nor making others realize the seriousness of the situation. The first legit attempt to be included in the process of peacebuilding was nine months after the coup, when the number of deaths and the severity of the civil war were too much to ignore. December 2013 was the date when UN re-classified the CAR and positioned it on the third level of the crisis which means the emergency situation that meant to "allow UN agencies to scale up their interventions by increasing the funds available, simplifying procedures and mobilizing senior experienced international staff from other missions."¹⁸⁹ but it was still too late for the ones who experienced forced exodus, rape, mutilation and everything in between until most of them died.

Despite having a not-so-realistic excuse for not intervening in time, UN could not escape from the harsh critiques on the timing issue as it was the case for Bosnia while everyone was watching silently including UN. To conceal the deficient strategy, they adopted and practices in Mali¹⁹⁰, the "widespread sense among senior

¹⁸⁸ Welz, *Crisis in the Central African Republic*, 607.

¹⁸⁹ Enrica Picca, "The Crisis in the Central African Republic." *Humanitarian Practice Network* 62, (2014): 4, http://odihpn.org/wp-content/uploads/2014/09/HE_62_web2_FINAL.pdf

¹⁹⁰ AU, EU, and UN officials agree that it was a mistake to 'rehat' the Mali operation after only six months under the AU's aegis. They disapprove of the AU not having been given a chance to prove itself as a capable security provider. For this reason, in early 2014 there was a widespread sense among senior officials of all the organizations involved that it was important to avoid making the same mistake in the CAR. See: Welz, Martin. "Briefing:

officials of all the organizations involved that it was important to avoid making the same mistake in the CAR."¹⁹¹ Waiting for AU to prove itself and save the reputation of the organization was not the best idea in an environment where genocide was a closer possibility than any other. When Chad, as a crucial actor for AU due to its large support of troops, decided to step back from the CAR and withdrew its troops, UN lost hopes on that plan.

On the other hand, other big gun of the CAR operations, France, left with an only choice of partner on exit from the way out when its proxy Chad let it down; which was UN.¹⁹² As it was unsurprisingly explicit, the international response towards deadly turmoil and crimes against humanity depended on the amount of possible benefits that intervention and aid would bring. Apparently, it was beneficial enough for France to get into the conflict region of the CAR, and costly enough for UN not to be included.

From the different perspective of view, it could be stated that while the CAR's low profile in international scene limited its accessibility from the outside and its access to aids, being off radar made international actors imply broader range of approaches on peacekeeping as well as peacebuilding on the case of the CAR.¹⁹³ However this advantage of the CAR could not outweigh the disadvantages thus by far the operation seems to be failed. Since the conflict's complexity was at the utmost level, there could be many reasons that led to this unfortunate results on the CAR but the core ones that were related to UN are clear. Briefly; UN's search for cheaper ways to quickly finalize the conflicts with the mentality of creating in-country peacebuilding rather than actually being involved in the solution was one of the worst ways that UN chose to walk through. "As a result, peacebuilding efforts came

Crisis in the Central African Republic and the International Response." *African Affairs* 113, no. 453 (September 2014): 601-10.

¹⁹¹ Welz, *Crisis in the Central African Republic*, 608.

¹⁹² Ibid.

¹⁹³ Nathaniel Olin. "Pathologies of Peacekeeping and Peacebuilding in CAR." in *Making Sense of the Central African Republic*, eds. Tatiana Carayannis, Lombard Lousia, (London: Zed Books, 2015): 195

to mirror the CAR's own government, existing more in name than in substance, and this problem became self-reinforcing."¹⁹⁴

In addition to that, UN's partnership with the former colonial master of the region and the allowance of France to interfere in the CAR's domestic politics received critiques in terms of ethics and reliability as a cause of failure in the CAR.¹⁹⁵ It could be easily perceived as a way for France to dominate the region again without labeling this as "colonialism", which is the most probable explanation of certain acts and pacts that the international actors got into. UN's shallow approach on the domestic conditions and the relations between the domestic aggressive actors was also problematic and one of the factors on the failure in the CAR. Because of the fact that the conflict could be classified as mostly both ethnic and religiously motivated, it is interesting to see any sub-body of UN that had responsibility within these operations have not been aware of the key religious personas within the framework of peaceful intentions. As the interviewees from the population of the CAR stated: "Faith-based actors played a number of roles during the crisis: they engaged in mediation with communities and armed groups and welcomed people into their compounds and provided them with assistance, as well as continuing to play their roles as religious leaders."¹⁹⁶ It was reported that these mediator figures could not reach to international organizations in times of any need related with peace operations, and if they received any response, they felt explicit mistrust towards their efforts by UN.¹⁹⁷

It is understandable for international organizations or NGOs to act reluctant about faith-based internal actors where the turmoil was directly related with this issue but it was obvious that the solution could not be achieved by the top-down complex organizations that had theoretical approaches towards near-genocide mass killings. In relation with that, scholars adopt this perspective on the issue finds three shortcomings of the CAR operations in general:

¹⁹⁴ Ibid.

¹⁹⁵ Ibid.

¹⁹⁶ Barbelet, *Addressing the Protection Crisis*, 9.

¹⁹⁷ Ibid.

At the global level, a protection gap resulted from the failure to implement the normative frameworks, tools and mechanisms to address the protection of civilians early enough in the crisis. At the operational level, a protection gap resulted from challenges in implementing protection tools in CAR. With respect to affected people, a protection gap resulted from the discrepancy between the perceptions, expectations and actions of affected communities regarding their protection and the interventions of external actors.¹⁹⁸

As I have examined the possible causes of the failure of UN in the CAR from the various perspectives, it is the necessity to focus on the gendered aspect of the whole situation and analyze the process from the feminist international relations approach. What has happened to women in the CAR whilst the conflict arose or what were the experiences that Central African women had different than Central African men? What were the motives of the rapes and who were the perpetrators specifically? How did religious roots of the conflict affect women from different religions or sects? Were women the only ones who suffered from the generic patriarchic structure of the civil war or did men also suffered from the incidents when we can see from the gendered perspective? These are the few questions that could be searched for the answer, and in the last part of the CAR case I will try to analyze the situation from this perspective.

3.2.5. Feminist Approach on the CAR

There should be no doubt that the sectarian conflicts that led country to a vicious civil war in the CAR had diverse yet extremely brutal impacts on the women of the area. Rape, sexual assault, misogyny, suicides, public shame and moral punishments, abuses and remaining attempts on women's physical and psychological integrity are not exclusive to wartime or specifically to the CAR at all; however augmentation of the intensity and invisibility of certain phenomena needs to be tracked in terms of its patterns in process and progress at the same time.

According to Human Rights Watch's documented information and UN-led interagency groups semi verified results, there have been over thousands of sexual

¹⁹⁸ Ibid., 23.

violence cases in the CAR in 2015¹⁹⁹ and these were the ones that have been reported without getting stuck to the barriers of shame and fear which is the main reason that numbers are constantly inaccurate and less than the true scale. The sexual abuse and violence cases in the CAR has some characteristics that directly related with the motives of the conflict, that is both ethnic and religious, and these are so hard but utterly important to detect and clarify. In terms of the latest reports that Human Rights Watch provided, nearly one third of the incidents took place in M'poko displacement camp where Christians live and anti-balaka militias have control. These distinctions on the geographical level with the purpose of isolation and recognition make the situation primitive enough to follow by the perpetrators of sexual violence by coding the zones as straight enemies or friends, and they find their own punishment systems in accordance with this basic understanding: "Victims said anti-balaka raped them as punishment because the anti-balaka believed they were buying from or selling to Muslims in the Kilomètre 5 enclave, the capital's last remaining Muslim neighborhood."²⁰⁰ *Kilometre 5* was a diverse Muslim neighborhood in Bangui before the violence with approximately 122,000 population, however after the turmoil a lot of fighters set themselves up there that created hostility in Bangui towards Muslims.²⁰¹ Similar incident had also occurred in another day in the same camp, where victims were told that the vegetables and the goods they sold would benefit Muslims which meant their physical empowerment, so the women were raped multiple times for hours as a punishment and warning by anti-balaka militias. It is vital to focus on the punishment system where obviously males punish women, but also groups (anti-balaka in this case) punish their own commune's female members rather than simply attacking the foe zones. Preventive means to cut off the communication between the two communities make the heads of the militias, the

¹⁹⁹ Human Rights Watch, "Central African Republic: Amid Conflict, Rape UN, Government Should Protect Women, Girls," <https://www.hrw.org/news/2015/12/17/central-african-republic-amid-conflict-rape>, December 17 2015, (Accessed December 10, 2016).

²⁰⁰ Ibid.

²⁰¹ International Business Times, "Pope Francis in Africa: 5 points to Understand the Violence in the Central African Republic," <http://www.ibtimes.co.uk/pope-francis-africa-5-points-understand-violence-central-african-republic-1530802>, November 27 2015, (Accessed December 10, 2016).

power and control owners within those areas, maintain their success that they built on fear and terror without leaving any blank spaces to find a way to peace or make their societies find civilian solutions themselves.

Not only Christian anti-Balaka but predominantly Muslim Seleka members were also following the same strategies on women, where they rape as a sign of punishment or alarm in certain cases. In January 2015, a group of women stripped naked on the bridge over Ouka River in Bambari, second largest city in the CAR, where they shouted " Seleka rape us, anti-Balaka rape us, it is too much, we are fed up." and " We take our clothes off because we have been raped too many times, we don't care anymore." in Sango language.²⁰² About that day, Lewis Mudge, Central African Republic analyst, stated: "Most women raped by both Seleka elements and anti-balaka are done so at gunpoint, often times after looting. The endless violence the population has endured throughout the country has broken down social norms, but women and girls who have been raped are perhaps the most affected."²⁰³ Rapes and abuse became ordinary and day-to-day incident for women which makes it more dangerous for the possible actions that these militias can gradually take in the future that will harm women more than their ordinary punishments. "In 2014 the International Rescue Committee reported more than two-thirds of 125 women surveyed in Bangui had been gang raped, primarily by armed groups. A legal aid center in Bimbo for sexual and gender-based crimes reported receiving approximately 10 cases a week."²⁰⁴ Also, a doctor from Friendship Hospital, Rock Mbedite provided accurate information about the rape cases with the involvement of

²⁰² The Sydney Morning Herald, "Rape widespread in Central African Republic Conflicts," <http://www.smh.com.au/world/rape-widespread-in-central-african-republic-conflicts-20150202-133umr.html>, 2 February 2015, (Accessed December 10, 2016).

²⁰³ Bloomberg, "Rape Victims Protest Abuses in Central African Republic War," <https://www.bloomberg.com/news/articles/2015-01-29/rape-victims-protest-shows-pain-of-central-african-republic-war>, January 29 2015, (Accessed December 10, 2016).

²⁰⁴ United States Department of State, "Central African Republic 2015 Human Rights Report," *Bureau of Democracy, Human Rights and Labor*, <http://www.state.gov/documents/organization/252875.pdf>, (Accessed December 10, 2016).

Seleka perpetrators, telling that there were 56 female rape victims who had consulted him between March 24 and April 21 2013.²⁰⁵

All the testaments from the victims and many more that could not be reported show us that a gendered lens should definitely be applied on the issue of the CAR and its analysis. As I have discussed before, the "born soldier" men of the societies are essential for the masculine legacy to be inherited. But for some cases, just like the CAR, the actual "soldiering for our nation" is not an option and the enemies are not the foreigners. As it is arbitrary, there needs to be something and someone to protect for these soldiers like their soil and their women. In the CAR case, though, there are more to destroy rather than to protect for militia members. With the motive of extreme hostility towards other religions in area, the militias who claimed to be soldiers do not fit into the classic patriotic soldier phenomenon used in the feminist analysis. Before-mentioned victims' claims are evidences of this, as they abuse their own groups' women. The only repetitive pattern that could be detected in their strategies of sexual violence and rape is binary religious marker which could not be directly related with the ethnicities of women within the area due to the fact that there have been countless ethnicities in the continent of Africa who travelled through in the past and some of them were not even settled but had some heritage through this day in the CAR. As of today's statistics, 84 ethnic groups exist in CAR where Christians are the majority with 73.9%²⁰⁶, however the groups and their religious dedications are not always clear to be spot-on linkage to the point of ethnic cleansing with the religious violence motives of the parties. There are strong evidences that certain clans or groups with monolithic ethnicities have overtly supporting Islam or Christianity, however this is not the case for every ethnic group in CAR. So, the direct and clean-cut causal relation between victim women's ethnicities and the perpetrators' motives could not be created.

²⁰⁵ Fédération internationale des droits de l'Homme, "Central African Republic: A country in the hands of Seleka war criminals," <https://www.fidh.org/IMG/pdf/rca616a2013basdef.pdf>, February 2014, (Accessed December 10, 2016).

²⁰⁶ "Central African Republic", *Joshua Project*, <https://joshuaproject.net/countries/CT>, (Accessed December 10, 2016).

In addition to that, while these women were constantly being raped by the militia members, at the same time they needed to look after their families and do the unpaid invisible "housewife stuff" to fulfill their husbands' and children's needs as being in a horrendous physical and mental state does not effect this list of duties for women within patriarchal social structures. While the economy is at its worst due to the ongoing turmoil for years, most of the women are even banned from selling goods in the markets as we know from the victims' experiences due to the possible exchange between enemies and themselves. As International Rescue Committee's country director in CAR states: "The severity of violence women and girls are experiencing is shocking. Yet as communities are being torn apart, women and girls are not only bearing the brunt of this conflict, they are also largely responsible for keeping their families together and providing stability in an environment that is increasingly chaotic."²⁰⁷

As a neglected and under-studied yet so important issue to address while adopting feminist perspective on ongoing turmoil in CAR is the practices and sanctions on traditional witchcraft followers. As I gave statistical data at the beginning of this chapter, most of the Christian majority have been under the influence of animistic practices which also include witchcraft. "In CAR, witchcraft is a criminal offense under the penal code, punishable by execution in cases where the 'witch' is accused of homicide. ...numerous individuals – mainly children and women – have been arrested for these practices. Many have become victims of community mob justice."²⁰⁸ It has always been a crime to practice sorcery, occultism and witchcraft in CAR, and women have always the section of the society that had been effected the most. There are no distinct indicators of the practice such as evidence on a ritual or witnesses which makes it much complicated to solve; that gives anyone a chance to be labeled as witch with no particular reason. And the most

²⁰⁷ International Rescue Committee, "Sexual violence biggest fear for women in Central African Republic, says International Rescue Committee," <https://www.rescue.org/press-release/sexual-violence-biggest-fear-women-central-african-republic-says-international-rescue>, March 6 2014, (Accessed December 10, 2016).

²⁰⁸ UNICEF West and Central Africa, "Central African Republic: Children, not witches," https://www.unicef.org/wcaro/4501_5144.html, April 2009, (Accessed December 10, 2016).

crucial side of the whole issue for us is the relation between existence of HIV/AIDS and witch accusations. According to the local sources and observers²⁰⁹, people who have been accused of being witch has one common feature that is being ill with exceptional symptoms-mainly HIV/AIDS. Due to the lack of health system in the country, especially in rural areas where the conflict is extreme, these people cannot be diagnosed as HIV/AIDS positive which makes them automatically witch in the eyes of the society.

How this relates to recent unrest of the country and women is that HIV/AIDS is obviously sexually transmitted disease and for this case they spread through rapes in the most incidents. As I have explained the severity of the rapes, it is so likely for a female rape victims to be accused of being witch and sentenced without any solid evidence required when their symptoms start to show up. As Kylie Alexandra states, "...deliberate HIV infection to 'contaminate' the enemy population"²¹⁰ is one of the techniques of wartime sexual violence. Moreover, if these women were impregnated by their perpetrators, then their children also become witches that leads to many problems including death by lynching. As local prosecutor states: "I find that sometimes sending an accused child or woman to prison offers the best solution in protecting the person from mob violence, which often leads to death".²¹¹ It is reported that in November 2015 anti-balaka militants kidnapped the people that they have accuse for witchcraft, and then burned them alive. It is stated: "Punishment (of those deemed witches) is used as a means by an armed group to impose its authority."²¹²

²⁰⁹ African Volunteers Network, Central African Republic Witchcraft, http://www.african-volunteer.net/central_african_republic_witchcraft.html, (Accessed December 10, 2016).

²¹⁰ Kylie Alexandra, "War, Society, and Sexual Violence: A Feminist Analysis of the Origin and Prevention of War Rape," *Hohonu* 8, (2010): 17.

²¹¹ Ibid.

²¹² The Telegraph, "Christian militias in Central African Republic 'burnt witches at stake', says UN report," <http://www.telegraph.co.uk/news/worldnews/africaandindianocean/centralafricanrepublic/12018588/Christian-militias-in-Central-African-Republic-burnt-witches-at-stake-says-UN-report.html>, November 2015, (Accessed December 10, 2016).

All in all, both anti-balaka and Seleka were involved in gender-based violence and crimes with the aims of destructive attack to the fragile spot of the enemy and punishment for their own disciplinary practices through women which made all women suffer more than they already beared through the turmoil. However, the possible salvation that UN expected to bring made the existing situation worse for women, not that UN watched in silence as it did in Bosnia, but by partaking in these crimes itself.

3.2.6. UN Peacekeepers' Sexual Abuse and Violence in CAR

Feminist international relations theorists have repeatedly and continuously argued that the decision of sending UN peacekeeping forces does not provide a security to the women who have been subjected to the events and violence, but it creates more of an insecurity due to the male-dominant gendered structure of the organization that covertly fosters and feeds any patriarchally proved action regardless their rank on crime or law. From that point of view, CAR has been no exception due to the numerous allegations of peacekeepers being into criminal actions including sexual abuse and violence. According to statistical data that UN officially provided²¹³, 22 out of 69 total sexual exploitation and abuse allegations in 2015 of UN peacekeeping operations belonged to MINUSCA itself. In 2016, the share is 47 out of 79, which is more than half of total number. Obviously, MINUSCA is not the first operation that UN personnel faced sexual abuse allegations. Apart from Bosnia as we discussed before, in early 2000s in the Democratic Republic of Congo surfaced more than 150 allegations in which most of the victims were orphans; in 2014 Tanzanian peacekeepers were accused of abuse in the Democratic Republic of Congo; in 2015 200 Haitian women were reported to be victims where some of them were minors; and same cycle happened in Kosovo and Liberia.

Although there are many cases in terms of MINUSCA peacekeepers' sexual abuse and violations, some of them were more detailed and highlighted due to the

²¹³ United Nations Conduct and Discipline Unit, “Allegations for All Categories of Personnel Per Year (Sexual Exploitation and Abuse),” <https://cdu.unlb.org/Statistics/AllegationsbyCategoryofPersonnelSexualExploitationandAbuse/AllegationsforAllCategoriesofPersonnelPerYearSexualExploitationandAbuse.aspx>, October 31 2016, (Accessed December 12, 2016).

accurate reports and testimonies of the victims; and some of them are non-existent in statistics due to victims not being complainant. One of these well-documented cases was the abuse of minor boys at a displaced camp by French, Chadian and Equatorial Guinean peacekeepers. Allegedly; the peacekeepers raped several displaced children in exchange for food.²¹⁴ Other cases involve 14-year-old girl as a victim who was raped by two peacekeepers at the airport. 30 year old woman who has been raped by a peacekeeper while she was cutting woods in a bush, 18-year-old woman who has been gang-raped in exchange of food and money, 14-year-old girl and 29-year-old woman who have been raped by peacekeepers from the DRC and many girls and women who got into sexual relations with peacekeepers in exchange with food supplies and money.²¹⁵ Although the sexual acts in return of supplies and needs do not seem like an actual rape incident that peacekeepers got involved due to the will of the subjected women; it still is a punishable act in terms of committee of UN Action against Sexual Violence in Conflict's guidelines.

It is also notable that the peacekeepers who were alleged with those accusations are mostly from the DCR and other neighboring African countries which contrasts with the approach that suggests peacekeeper rapes were a way of domination of colonial powers over host countries. As Simm explains: "Given that the preponderance of peacekeeping troops today is from South Asian and African countries, and that they are deployed primarily to Africa, a more nuanced analysis of the role of race in peacekeeping is required."²¹⁶ But, the fact that "...developing countries contribute the bulk of peacekeeping personnel... whereby sometimes dangerous but otherwise mundane work of military troops is directed by the developed countries that fund the operations."²¹⁷

²¹⁴ Code Blue, "The UN's Dirty Secret," <http://www.codebluecampaign.com/carstatement/>, May 29, 2015, (Accessed December 12, 2016).

²¹⁵ Human Rights Watch, "Central African Republic: Rape by Peacekeepers UN, Troop-Contributing Countries Should Hold Abusers Accountable," <https://www.hrw.org/news/2016/02/04/central-african-republic-rape-peacekeepers>, February 4 2016, (Accessed December 13, 2016).

²¹⁶ Simm, *Sex in Peace Operations*, 33.

²¹⁷ *Ibid.*, 32.

That is why, this could be an applicable case for Foucauldian power-knowledge nexus. Even if several offensive and degrading questions in terms of both epistemology and ontology of the concept of rape that Foucault raised through his works had frustrated feminists from various disciplines, his outstanding approach on body and power stands out in analyzing related issues from the feminist perspective. Foucault's straightforward skepticism on rape surfaced by simply asking "Why isn't rape the same as a punch in the face?"²¹⁸ which received many responds from feminist scholars by arguing the differences between the social meanings of women's genitalia and faces or hands, but this is quite off the topic that we need to step on. For the case of CAR, the sovereign's(peacekeeper's) sexual power is being fulfilled via bodies of the subjects within their understanding and conscious. It is not a discrete act that the subjects were not aware of but actually part of; rather they are in a silent contract to obey and refrain from sovereign's punishments. One of the victims stated that "It was always after sex that they gave us things."²¹⁹ which shows how important the order is as it was a rewards system; basic (for victims) and effective (for peacekeepers). Also, it reflects the periods that sovereign power performs the certain type of power it holds because "sovereign power is typified by the intermittency with which it is exercised."²²⁰ just like assessing taxes and exacting penalties. So, the sovereign power understanding of Foucault could easily be applied to specific and repetitive actions such as peacekeeper rapes that took place in CAR.

On the other hand, for the rape incidents, the relief that UN personnel have while being included into these type of acts is the serious block on dissuasive precautions. One of the serious allegations that had took place in CAR sexual exploitation and abuse series was the incident came out in spring 2014, where the troops get involved in sexual relations with young children in exchange with food.

²¹⁸ Henderson, Holly. "Feminism, Foucault, and Rape: A Theory and Politics of Rape Prevention", 22 *Berkeley J. Gender L. & Just.* 225 (2007)

²¹⁹ Human Rights Watch, "Central African Republic: Rape by Peacekeepers UN, Troop-Contributing Countries Should Hold Abusers Accountable," <https://www.hrw.org/news/2016/02/04/central-african-republic-rape-peacekeepers>, February 4 2016, (Accessed December 13, 2016).

²²⁰ "Sovereign and Disciplinary Power," <https://www.csudh.edu/dearhabermas/covalleski01.htm>, (Accessed February 9, 2017).

The troops were mostly French from Sangaris Forces under the authorization of Security Council. Afterwards; these happened:

...The Human Rights and Justice Section (“HRJS”) of the UN mission in CAR (“MINUSCA”) took steps to interview some of the children who had reported abuses, HRJS failed to conduct a sufficiently in-depth investigation of the Allegations. Given that the information reported by the children indicated the possibility of a broader pattern of sexual violence by some international peacekeeping troops, further investigation was warranted...HRJS made a deliberate decision not to report the Allegations with any urgency to the High Commissioner for Human Rights in Geneva.²²¹

As the report dictates, the first reactions of UN and its related units were openly hiding the details, held up the file instead of processing it and passing it along. As I mentioned above; due to the knowledge the perpetrators had in their minds (due to the former incidents that have been left unpunished), the crime does not qualify as crime for them which does not have any effect of the decision making on their actions. It is also shocking that the most ambitious power over CAR's domination, France's troops were largely involved without hesitating.

²²¹ UN, “Taking Action on Sexual Exploitation and Abuse by Peacekeepers- Report of an Independent Review on Sexual Exploitation and Abuse by International Peacekeeping Forces in the Central African Republic,” <http://www.un.org/News/dh/infocus/centafricrepub/Independent-Review-Report.pdf>, December 17, 2015, (Accessed December 13, 2016).

4. CONCLUSION

The main problematique of this thesis is to analyze to what extend the UN peacekeeping missions fulfilled their objectives from the feminist perspective in international relations. To achieve this aim, I focused on two cases, Bosnia and the Central African Republic, and examined the peacekeeping operations that took place in those specific places, UNPROFOR and MINUSCA respectively, within the framework of gendered lens. This thesis includes three main areas of debates: The international relations theories and the role that feminist theory plays in the discipline, the interventions and how the peacekeeping operations are problematic at the core, and the cases in which feminist international relations theories have been applied in terms of peacekeeping operations.

Theory-wise, it was not a complete ease to adopt feminist approach to analyze the past and ongoing events within a discipline where there were hard-rock, solid and orthodox perceptions on which are the right ways to "do IR". Even though this mostly-static nature of the field used to constrain non-conventional approaches to take place in production process of knowledge and analysis, changes in dynamics and balances in international agenda, mainly as a result of the collapse of the Soviet Union and end of the bipolar system and Cold-War period, created a need for alternative approaches to the world politics besides the existing ones. As the issues shift from state and power politics to the more diverse area that includes elements of human rights, ethnicity, race, religion, environment topics, the occurrence of empty slots for the non-traditional perspectives to settle into the area was a great chance to take advantage of. Gender was also one of these newly introduced concepts to international relations discipline, achieved as a result of the efforts of pioneer feminist international relations theorists.

The critiques followed the introduction of the feminism to the field in 1960s, which questioned feminist methodology and epistemology as well as feminist agenda, and targeted gender as incapable unit of analysis. In response, feminists criticized mainstream theories' masculine nature with gender-blind perceptions on their "prioritized topics" such as war, security, states, international organizations, nationalism and the others. As feminist literature expanded in time, their critiques on the traditional approaches became stronger and theorists of feminist international relations applied gendered lens to any case that exists within the borders of international relations, just as other theorists did.

Peace and women's security were the issues that feminists heavily focused on, and targeted "malestream" approaches with the question of "Peace for whom?". They stressed that the state security by no means equals to women's security, and even state security most commonly means the insecurity for women and their lives due to its male-dominant characteristic with militarized masculinity practices. While states pose certain threats to women, the organizations that have been formed with the states as members are also in a position to be skeptic about from the feminist perspective. From this point of view, the United Nations has also been criticized for the very same reasons. The already-exposed contradictions about peacekeeping as a concept within the international relations discipline have been strong bases for feminists to build up on, and following that line they reinforced the existence of the cracks within the mentality of the operations with the gender-sensitive perspective where they focused on the experiences of women under the circumstances of these operations. While this subject matter was already problematic from gendered lens, the slowly-surfacing but shocking incidents that UN personnel and peacekeeping forces got into have taken the situation to whole another level. The alleged crimes that UN personnel have involved were the cases of sexual abuses, rapes, intimate relations with minors and sexual relationship with local women and girls as well as minor boys in return of money and food.

Within this framework, I focused on two cases, Bosnia and the Central African Republic, that experienced both UN peacekeeping operations and UN peacekeeping force/personnel scandals in terms of sexual abuse and rape allegations.

The reason that I specifically chose these two cases is as follows: Bosnia has been a breaking point for feminists for its severe genocidal rape incidents in the middle of Europe and in front of the UN's eyes combined with scandalous rape and sexual abuse crimes attended by UN's own peacekeeping personnel. Considering the date that the incidents took place in Bosnia, there has been enough time for feminist international relations theorists to analyze the Bosnian Case from every angle in detail with expanded literature, and it gained an anchor case characteristic in time for the future comparisons regarding the same concerns. On the other hand, the Central African Republic and its UN peacekeeping operation, MINUSCA, are relatively new and still active areas both in terms of conflict and the peacekeeping operation. Being the understudied case from the feminist perspective and UN relation, the Central Africa became a suitable comparison and up-to-date issue for my thesis to analyze in terms of similarities and differences with Bosnia, and the process eventually led to the same result of shocking UN blue beret crimes.

Table 1.1. Findings and Comparisons

BOSNIA, UNPROFOR	CAR, MINUSCA
Pioneer case for feminist IR	New, understudied case in the field
Ethno-religious reasons of the conflict (Orthodox Serbs, Muslim Bosnians, Catholic Croats etc.)	North(Muslim)-South(Christian) problem on distribution of economic and political powers + ethnic favouritism
Post-Yugoslavian effect on dissolved nations (Croats, Serbs, Slovaks, Bosnians)	Post-colonial (France) effect on 80+ different ethnic groups
External powers were included after the breakout of the conflict	External powers were always existent in the conflict
Inexperienced, UN with blur objectives, failed timing and ambiguous title of the operation	UN working with regional organizations (African Union) and other states (mainly France and EU in general), more planned and cooperative
Took place before gender-related resolutions of UNSC	Took place after all of the existing gender-related resolutions of UNSC
The sexual crimes of peacekeepers were not publicized or officially recognized	The sexual crimes of peacekeepers were gained so much attention in media and have officially been recognized
UN personnel/peacekeepers got in sexual crimes during operations.	

These two cases differ enormously in terms of the historical backgrounds and the progress of the conflicts, the actors involved, the geographical factors, the nature of UN operations and scope of duties; however the results from the feminist perspective are the same. To briefly sum up the conditions that creates the differences between these two cases, we can say that the first and foremost element is countries' political background. In Bosnia, we see that the collapse of former Yugoslavia created an arena for the countries within the dissolved state, whose people lived together for years under Tito regime without questioning the religious and nation-wise disparities between. When everything fell down, these were the first themes that came up to the agenda after a long-term suppression on these topics to stabilize the unification. Conflict's roots lie at the heart of the ethno-religious motives that were hidden for a long time under a communist regime for Bosnian War. For the Central African Republic, on the other hand, there are no multiple countries within a greater entity that hold them together despite their differences. Rather, there are more than 80 ethnic groups within the same country with Christian majority and Muslim minorities as well as believers of other indigenous beliefs. However, these ethnicities and variations on religion are not the cores of the conflict at the first place. For the Central African Republic, unevenness of the distribution of economic resources and strains on the equal access to political power are the main problems that lead people to uprising against each other's powers and control areas. While the Southern part of the country is relatively wealthy and have uninterrupted access to the natural resources of the country via privileged governmental connections that the area had, northern part of the country where mostly Muslims live is severely poor and the people can barely fulfill their basic needs such as food and clean water as well as accommodation. When they became more marginalized in time and had no way to gain legitimate power to represent themselves in the government, they have been forced to form their own paramilitary forces to defend their communities which evolved into a brutal religious civil war in no time.

In Bosnian case, the fighting actors were the ones who dissolved from the former Yugoslavia, Croats, Serbs, Slovaks and Bosnians without the intervention of a greater power in charge with the countries themselves, such as a colonial power. In contrast, we see the strong influence of France as the Central African Republic's

former colonial power on the country's political affairs as well as conflict-time critical conditions. Also, the supporting countries in Bosnia-Serb conflict were involved *after* the conflict arose, such as Sunni volunteers to fight in Bosnian Army from all around the world-mainly from the Middle East and North Africa, called *mujahideen* and Christian supporters from Greece, Romania, Russia and others for Serbian side. In contrast, for the Central African Republic, the foreign actors were involved even *before* the conflict surfaced; the neighboring countries such as Chad, Cameroon, Sudan, Congo were present as fighters before the conflict legitimately started.

Apart from the political and historical dissimilarities in terms of conflicts, the UN's attitude and intervention also varies from Bosnia to the CAR. Peacekeeping operation in Bosnia, UNPROFOR, was the solid evidence of UN's inexperience on handling post-Cold War conflicts with its peacekeeping forces. Due to the ambiguities between the terms of UN operations in times of Bosnian conflict, such as peace-enforcement or peacekeeping, the responsibilities and scope of duties were unclear. UN clearly could not respond to the changing dynamics of the world system and could not evolve their mentality on peacekeeping in the light of the needs of the base countries and Bosnia was a clear example of this failure. The reluctance of the Western powers to be included into the too-complicated conflict in Bosnia also added another layer to the ineffectiveness of international response which resulted with a manslaughter and genocide in front of all the international actors and states. Besides, there were no official recognition of the UN personnel who committed to the sexual crimes while they were in duty of peacekeeping; only after 2000 UN could officially recognized the crimes in Bosnia.

On the other side, MINUSCA in the Central African Republic was a finalized version of the previous attempts of both UN and regional peace organizations that had been planned in detailed. Being different from Bosnia, this time UN gave priority to the regional organizations for the peace process, mainly the African Union, who could not solve the increasing turmoil and then UN got included short after. Due to the fact that the illegal armed forces that had been transferred to the Central African Republic militia and paramilitary forces from the neighboring

countries (Sudan, Chad, Cameroon etc.), the effectiveness and reliability of the African Union, who have been formed by the same neighboring countries in general, were not to rely on. However, UN's strategies could not fully cease the civil war and by the time of this thesis' writing process, the peace in the region was still pretty intangible. But more importantly, there have been countless commitments of UN personnel/peacekeeping force to the sexual abuse and rape incidents in the time period of the peacekeeping operation. The illegal deals with the local women and minor girls for sex in return of food and money and non-consensual intimate relations of UN peacekeeping forces were so profound that they have been periodically took place in the world news and media within just days that they have been exposed in contrast with Bosnia where they were non-existent in mainstream media for years.

At this point, the most vital fact that needs to be stressed for the purpose of this thesis is that the Central African Republic's MINUSCA was an operation took place after all the resolutions that UN adopted in relation with women's wartime experiences, criminal status of wartime rapes by both civilians and UN personnel/forces and need for women's presence as actors in the peace processes. Starting with UNSCR 1325 back in 2000, the recognition of peacekeeper/UN personnel rapes and sexual abuses as crimes in full legitimacy sparked heightening hopes on the solution of these incidents in operations. It has been followed by UNSCR 1820, 1888, 1889 and finally 2122 in 2013, which apparently had the most recognition of women's agencies as actors in peace processes as well as strong condemnation of the sexual crimes of UN personnel/peacekeeping forces and planning of the implementation of gender-sensitive trainings on the possible peacekeeping forces to take place in the existing and the future operations of UN. While in Bosnian case, there were no official recognitions or adoptions of any resolutions regarding women's rights and sexual crimes within and outside of the UN towards local women of the base countries, the Central African Republic was a perfect opportunity to prove that UN was genuinely trying to improve its capability for the issues of personnel-related sexual crimes as well as women's agency in peace processes. Although it is debatable to hold up to harsh and ruthless claim that the UN was not trying for the better conditions for women at all, it is also not concrete to be excessively optimistic about the success of the steps that UN took which they could

be shown in MINUSCA. In contrast, the statistics and the alleged criminal offences proves the quite opposite of what has been expected.

For the resolutions and the process of adoption, it is important to recall and acknowledge the efforts and the lobbying activities of the international women's rights groups, local women's organizations, activists and feminists inside and outside of the academy for making the adoption of these resolutions possible. These were the groundbreaking attempts for gender to be included in UN's most official resolutions for the peacekeeping operations. The scope and the wording as well as the attitude of the resolutions have successfully evolved in time for a better vision on gender from the UN's point of view. Anyone who is familiar with the resistant structure of UN to change would appreciate how big the deal is to make gender visible in these documents.

In this thesis, these two differentiating conclusions are acknowledged at the same time: First; no matter how extreme and over-reacted it sounds for standard understanding to say out loud that the peace building and peacekeeping could be interpreted as the reproduction of the militarized masculinities in a different uniform and infamous blue berets, it is a reality of the United Nations from the feminist international relations perspective. It is beyond doubt that any intention including armed forces or military serves to the empowerment of the existing masculinities and degradation of the femininities that patriarchy attributed to certain elements within power relations. Second; the UN's efforts on women's rights and protection(which in time turned into more promising form in following resolutions that is "women's agency) as well as strategic pushes for realization on the issue of wartime/conflict-time sexual crimes as abnormal in contrast to traditional masculine perception of them being normal for the times of tensions, and remaining improvements carry great importance for the future peacekeeping operations that will benefit both the peace process for civilians as well as states and also women in terms of their positions and integrity under these tough conditions. While the previous statement represents the ideal system that feminists would envisage where there are no armed forces or military intervention at all due to the peaceful and non-masculine dominated settings of the world in total, the latter conclusion that we have reached reflects the realities

of the certain dynamics that the UN tries to get integrated via changing existing mentalities and adopting new resolutions targeting women's benefits and improving existence in peace processes.

It is also useful for both feminists and other theorists of international relations which are critical about the UN's efforts on this issue that the UN as an organization is a part of the whole working system that feeds its components with both good and bad intentions to survive, that is why it would be completely superficial and useless to assume that the UN as an actor which can bare every burden that any existing corrupt system creates and pushes towards the international organizations. While UN is being presented as an organization as a whole, it is certainly neither a homogenous structure nor a place where states could freely act upon their own interests. Existence of the powerful bureaucracy that holds the hierarchical autonomous power of authority limits the states' and other actors' willpowers, where they meant to have a space to change or to decide. So, while criticizing and judging the decision and tendencies of UN on any subject, it is healthier to involve these dynamics within analysis to find more efficient solutions and promising paths towards a better UN in the future.

For the resolutions and peacekeeping operations from the women's security and peace perspective, keeping the above-mentioned factors in mind, the seriously discussed and adopted form of gendered lens for the UN is still required. Certainly, gender trainings of the peacekeeping troops and personnel for the recent peacekeeping operations are the most promising steps that Gender Unit within UN takes, however they are still problematic. This is not a solution that would be a fit for all the cases as well as every single individual that has been targeted with these educations. Peacekeepers' levels of general knowledge on the related issues such as women's everyday life struggles or so-called peace-time challenges rather than sole operation-based gender training might be increased for the purpose of overall understanding. Obviously, the selection of the troops and attained high-ranked personnel is crucial to achieve the goals that have been set by gender-related resolutions of the Security Council. It is a known fact that the troops in peacekeeping operations are mostly from developing countries where gender is still a taboo or non-

existent topic to be aware of, let alone the gender-sensitivity of these people under the conditions of the conflict. That is why, more eagerness of the member states, which are champions of gender equality and sensitivity both in practice and theory, is urgently needed in terms of troop contribution to the operations.

At the end of this thesis, it would fit perfectly to ask "Have the UN taken any lessons from its previous mistakes?" since we already analyzed two cases that belong to both old traditional understanding of the UN and the renewed, dynamic, up-to-date one. The answers would obviously vary; but for the feminist perspective it is safe to say that although there have been numerous steps that have been taken to the success, the UN is unfortunately still in need of greater resolutions, sanctions towards criminals if needed, and better understanding of gender as a whole that would be evolved into educational means and constructive strategies that will finally take the organization to the point of full-accomplishment.

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APPENDICES

APPENDIX A: TURKISH SUMMARY

FEMİNİST PERSPEKTİFTEN BİRLEŞMİŞ MİLLETLER BARİŞ OPERASYONLARININ ANALİZİ: BOSNA VE ORTA AFRIKA CUMHURİYETİ

Bu tezde, Birleşmiş Milletler Barış Operasyonları'nın kadınlar üzerindeki etkileri feminist uluslararası ilişkiler teorisi çerçevesinde ele alınmış, hakkında sayısız makale yazılmış olan Bosna ve görece yeni, üzerinde çalışılmamış bir örneklem olan Orta Afrika Cumhuriyeti vakaları bu bağlamda analiz edilmiştir. Bu tez; teori, vaka analizi ve sonuç olmak üzere üç ana bölümden oluşmaktadır. Teori kısmının başında, feminizmin uluslararası ilişkiler disiplinine girişi, Soğuk Savaş sonrası değişen dengelerin iyi değerlendirilmesi ve feminist teorinin ana akım uluslararası ilişkiler teorilerin yanında yerini bulmasını içeren bir tarihsel süreç anlatılmıştır. Devamında, femin

ist uluslararası ilişkiler teorisinin belli başlı kavramları olan toplumsal cinsiyet, güvenlik, savaş, çatışma, egemenlik, ekonomi gibi konseptler, literatürdeki tartışmalarla beraber açıklanmış ve feminist yaklaşım için neden önemli oldukları vurgulanmıştır. Bu bölümde ayrıca Birleşmiş Milletler'e teorik yaklaşımlar, feminist bakış açısından Birleşmiş Milletler, organizasyonun günümüze kadar geçirdiği değişimler ve karşılaştığı eleştiriler de tartışılmıştır. Vaka analizi bölümünde, Bosna örneğiyle başlanmış, çatışmanın tarihsel gelişimi, kökenleri ve ana sebepleri açıklanarak Birleşmiş Milletler'in Barış Operasyonu kararını vermesiyle birlikte bölgede yaşananlara eleştirel bir bakışla değinilmiştir. Operasyonun Bosnalı kadınlar üzerindeki etkisi, beklentiler ve gerçekleşenler detaylı bir şekilde ele alınmış ve bu bilgilerden yola çıkarak feminist bakış açısından ulaşılan sonuçlar değerlendirilmiştir. Bosna'dan sonra ikinci vaka olan Orta Afrika Cumhuriyeti için de tamamen aynı yol izlenmiştir. Sonuç kısmındaysa, bu iki örnekten elde edilen

sonuçların aralarındaki benzerlik ve farklılıklar göz önünde bulundurularak Birleşmiş Milletler Barış Operasyonları'nın etkilerine feminist bir perspektiften yaklaşılmıştır.

Sovyetler Birliği'nin yıkılması ve Soğuk Savaş döneminin sona ermesi, uluslararası ilişkiler disiplininde bir milat niteliğinde olmuştur. Bu zamana kadar öne çıkan, ve süregelen olayları açıklamak için kullanılan devlet odaklı teoriler, değişen ve önem kazanmaya başlayan yeni kavramların ortaya çıkmasıyla, tekel olarak domine ettikleri alana yeni teorilerin girişine tanıklık etmiştir. İki kutuplu Soğuk Savaş yıllarının temel aktörleri olan devletler, artık uluslararası arenada yalnız olmamakla beraber, toplumsal cinsiyet, kimlik, etnisite gibi konuları ele alan yeni teoriler tarafından tekrar tanımlanmıştır. Realizm, liberalizm, yenilenmiş neo-versiyonları, Marksizm ve İngiliz Okulu gibi geleneksel uluslararası ilişkiler teorilerini oluşturan topluluğa ek olarak yeni gelen eleştirel (kritik) teoriler, içerisinde farklı yaklaşımları barındırarak var olan hegemonya, hiyerarşi, gücü oluşturan sosyal süreçler, kültür, kimlik ve söylem gibi konuları tekrar analiz etmiş ve farklı perspektiflerden incelemişlerdir. Feminizm de bu şekilde uluslararası ilişkiler disiplinine girmiş ve kendine yer edinmiştir.

Feminist uluslararası ilişkiler teorisi tekil ve bütünsel bir teori olmamakta; liberal feminizm, Marksist feminizm, post-kolonyal feminizm, post-yapısalcı feminizm gibi alt kategorileri bulunan geniş bir teorik yapılanmayı teşkil etmektedir. Ancak alt kategorilerin arasındaki fikişel farklılıklar, feminizmin temelindeki belli başlı konular üzerinde ortak noktada buluştukları gerçeğini değıştirmemektedir. Bunlardan ilki ve en önemlisi, toplumsal cinsiyet kavramıdır. Doğumla gelen biyolojik cinsiyetten farklı olarak toplumsal cinsiyet sosyal olarak yapılandırılmış, kadınlara ve erkeklere ayrı olarak ithaf edilmiş, uygun görülmüş davranış ve rolleri ifade eder. Feminist teoriler de bu ayrımın net bir şekilde yapılmadığı yıllarda uluslararası ilişkiler içerisindeki yerlerini aldıkları için, feminist literatürün ilk örneklerinde çoğunlukla biyolojik cinsiyet ve toplumsal cinsiyet farkı ve sebepleri işlenmiş, teorinin temeli bunun üzerine kurulmuştur.

Toplumsal cinsiyet kavramının bu denli önemli olmasının nedeni, feministlerin sıklıkla tartıştıkları konularla doğrudan sebep-sonuç ilişkisi içerisinde olmasıdır. Bu konuların başında güvenlik gelmektedir. Geleneksel ana akım teoriler güvenliği devlet düzeyine indirgeyip devletin güvenliğini tüm aktörlerin güvenliğiyle

eşdeğer tutarken, feminist uluslararası ilişkiler teorisyenleri devlet güvenliğinin ve ona ulaşmakta kullanılan meşru ve gayrimeşru yolların direkt olarak kadınların güvenliğine tehdit oluşturduğunu, savaşın ya da çatışmanın yokluğunun doğrudan güvenlik olarak algılanmasının sorunlu bir yaklaşım olduğunu savunmaktadırlar. Feministlere göre kadınlar için barış dönemi de en az savaş dönemi kadar büyük tehlikelere gebe dir. Toplumsal cinsiyetin dikte ettiğ i rollerin hem erkekler hem kadınlar tarafından benimsenmesi sonucunda savaş alanında olup ülkeyi, kadınları ve çocukları korumak erkeklerin göreviyken evde kalıp çocuklara bakmak ve savaş zamanında dahi yapılması gereken ev işlerini üstlenmek kadınların sorumluluğ u haline gelmiştir. Kadınların korunmaya muhtaç olan hassas grup olarak belirlenmesi, erkeklerin doğuştan asker olduğ una inanılması ve bu yönde beklentilerle her birinin savaşçı özellik göstermesinin gerekliliğ ine yapılan atıflar, anavatan şeklinde tabir edilen vatan topraklarının korunmasının ülkenin kadınlarını korumakla aynı anlama gelmesi ve buna yapılan güzellmelerin hepsi yerleşmiş toplumsal cinsiyet anlayışının savaş ve güvenlik eksenindeki yansımalarıdır.

Toplumsal cinsiyetin bu bağlamdaki etkilerini militarizasyon ve dominant erkek egemenliğ i ilişkisinde de görmek mümkündür. Savaşın ve militarize sistemlerin içerisindeki erkeklik algılarının yüceltilmesi ve güç, saygınlık, yıkılmazlık, savaşçılık gibi kavramların erkeklikle bağdaştırılması, iki seçenekli kadın-erkek tamamlamasındaki zayıf tarafın doğrudan kadınlar olarak etiketlenmesine yol açmakta ve naif, sakın, güçsüz, kırılgan gibi aşağı derecedeki tanımlamaların bu kesimde yer bulmasına sebep olmaktadır. Aynı şekilde, düşman askerler bu değ ersiz ve düşük görülen betimlemelerle aşağılanmakta, kadın gibi davranıp savaşmaya yetersiz olmakla itham edilerek güç dengesizliğ i özellikle vurgulanmaya çalışılmaktadır.

Her ne kadar bu militarize edilmiş maskülen sistemlerin asıl aktörleri erkeklermiş gibi gözüксе de sistemin devamlılığ ını sağlayan birbirinden farklı pozisyonlardaki kadınlardır. Öncü feminist uluslararası ilişkiler teorisyenlerinden Cynthia Enloe'nun devrim niteliğindeki *Muzlar, Plajlar ve Askeri Üsler: Feminist Bakış Açısından Uluslararası Siyaset* kitabında anlattığı gibi askerlerin eşleri, diplomatların eşleri ve yerel seks turizminde çalışan kadınlar farkında olarak ya da olmayarak bu militarize edilmiş maskülenliğ e katkıda bulunurlar. Askeri üslere

atanan askerlerin yerel kadınlarla ilişki yaşaması ve belirli ihtiyaçlar karşılığında anlaşmaları, diplomatların eşlerinin her ortamda onları ve ülkelerini kusursuz bir şekilde temsil etmek adına eğitilmiş, görgülü ve takdim edilebilir bir formda her etkinliğe eşlerinin yanında katılmaları gibi görünmez olarak nitelendirilen ancak sistemin devamlılığına direkt katkısı olan faktörler feministler tarafından detaylı bir biçimde analiz edilmiştir.

Toplumsal cinsiyetle ilişkilendirilen bir diğer konu da milliyetçiliktir. Daha önce bahsedildiği gibi, ülkelerin ve toprakların anavatan olarak değerlendirilmesi dahi cinsiyetçi ve rol belirleyici bir örnek teşkil etmektedir. O millete ait, evli ve çocuklu kadınların bir anavatan edasıyla korunması, bu kümenin dışında kalan kadınların ötekileştirilmesi ve milliyetçiliğin sağladığı sözde yararlarından faydalanamaması gibi konulara odaklanıldıkça, toplumsal cinsiyetin milliyet ve milliyetçilik kavramlarıyla nasıl bir ilişki içerisinde olduğuna dair fikirler literatürde daha geniş yer kaplamaya ve argümanlara konu olmaya başlamıştır. Ataerkil düzenin hiçbir kısmında olmadığı gibi milliyetçilik kısmında da devletin ya da erkeklerin kadınlara bahsettiği yarar ve rahatlıklar karşılıksız olmamaktadır. Hali hazırda sadece belirli bir kadın profiline (evli, çocuklu, aynı milletten) sağlanan erkekler ve devlet tarafından korunma durumu, karşılığında korunan kadınların hayat tarzlarını şekillendirme ve kısıtlama, sosyal yaşamdaki pozisyonlarını değiştirmemek üzere sabitleme ve önceden biçilen rolleri güçlendirme gibi söze dökülmemiş ama güçlü bir şekilde var olan bedelleri içermektedir. Ötekileştirilen kadınlar ise zaten bu denge içerisinde doğrudan polarize edilmiş oldukları ve milletin var olan değerlerine uygun olmadıkları önceden belirlendiği için, fayda sağlamaları karşılığında bedel ödemeye bile razı olmalarına fırsat verilmeden dışlanmışlardır.

Savaş ve çatışma zamanlarının dışındaki dönemler de kadınlar için güvenli ve barışçıl kabul edilmemektedir. Günlük hayatta da var olan erkek egemen yapılanmalar sebebiyle tecavüz, taciz gibi ekstrem kabul edilebilecek (ama çatışma şartlarında bir anda normalleştirilebilecek) güç gösterileri, savaş zamanında olduğu gibi barış zamanında da kadınların sürekli tetikte olmasına neden olan tehditleri oluşturur. Var olduğu iddia edilen kamusal alan ve özel alan ayrımı sorunsalından yola çıkan feministler, bu iddiaların kadınların ev içinde yaşadıkları cinsel istismar, şiddet, taciz, tecavüz ve benzeri suçların üzerinin örtülmesine ve gizli kalmasına

zemin hazırladığını, kadınlarının yerinin özel alanken erkeklerin yerinin kamusal alan olduğu şeklindeki cinsiyetçi rol dağılımını pekiştirdiğini öne sürmektedirler.

Bunun en önemli etkisi kadınların çalışma hayatında var olma konusunda karşılaştıkları zorluklar ve kariyer hususunda önlerine çıkartılan engellerdir. Hali hazırda yeri belirlenmiş ve evde temizlik ve yemek yaparak çocuk bakması gerektiğine inanılan kesim olan kadınların çalışmaya yeltenmesi durumlarında karşılaştıkları aile içi ve dışı toplumsal baskılar bir yana, yüklenen rolleri tamamlamak için hayatları boyunca bu duruma göre yönlendirilmiş olan kadınların eğitim ve birikim konusundaki eksikliklerinin giderilememesi sebebiyle de birçok iş fırsatını kaçırmakta ve tekrar ait olduğuna inanılan özel alana dönmek durumunda bırakılmaktadır. Öte yandan, eğitilmiş ve entelektüel birikim oluşturabilmiş olan kadınlar da cinsiyetçi bir iş kolu ayrılığına tabi tutulmakta, açıkça dile getirilmeden de olsa kadınlar için uygun görülen sektörlere yönlendirilmektedirler. Dahası, aynı pozisyonda çalışan erkeklere göre çok daha az ücret almakta ve yüksek performans göstermelerine rağmen görünmez cam tavanlar sebebiyle terfi alamamaktadırlar.

Bahsedilen toplumsal cinsiyet, ataerkillik ve otorite üçgeninin analizinden sonra tezin Birleşmiş Milletler ile ilgili detayların olduğu kısmına geçilmektedir. Birleşmiş Milletler'in Soğuk Savaş sonrası dönemde geçirdiği köklü değişimler ve organizasyonun genel dünya görüşündeki genişlemeler dikkate alınarak, uluslararası arenaya yeni katılan aktörlerin Birleşmiş Milletler'i ve operasyonlarını nasıl etkilediği açıklanmıştır. Soğuk Savaş'ın bitmesiyle beraber devletlerarası savaş ihtimalinden çok devlet dışı aktörlerin ve toplulukların belirli amaçlar uğruna üstlenecekleri misyonlar ve olası çatışmaları uluslararası ajandaya girmiştir. Devlet dışı aktörlerin çoğalmasıyla artan iç savaşlar, Birleşmiş Milletler'in barış sağlama konusundaki görüşünü yenilemesine ve insani müdahalelere dahil olmasına yol açmıştır. Literatürde, insani müdahalelerle ilgili hem teorideki hem de pratikteki sorunlarla ilgili birçok çalışma olmasının yanı sıra, en temel tezatlıklardan birinin Birleşmiş Milletler Antlaşmasının maddeleri arasındaki tutarsızlığın insani müdahale konusuna tezahürü hususunda olduğunu söylemek gerekmektedir. Antlaşmanın ilk maddesi üye devletlerin barışı sağlama ve koruma konusundaki sorumluluklarına değinirken takip eden ikinci madde devletlerin toprak bütünlüğünün önemine işaret etmektedir. Devletlerin toprak bütünlüğüne kastetme pahasına da olsa süregelen

insan haklarını korumak ve adaleti sağlamak için askeri müdahale kararı alınmasının meşruiyeti hala tartışma konusudur. Ayrıca, operasyonlara katılan ülkelerin gerçek amaçları ve etik kaygı güdüp gütmedikleri de hala cevaplanmamış sorular arasındadır.

Feministler için ise bu değişimler, Birleşmiş Milletler'in toplumsal cinsiyet ve kadın konusunda bir değişime ya da düzenlemeye maruz kalmaması nedeniyle tatmin edici bir sonuç getirmemektedir. Birleşmiş Milletler barış operasyonlarında hala cinsiyetçilik sorunlarında sağır ve dilsizdir; operasyonların gerçekleştirildiği ülkelerin yerel halkının sosyal gerçeklikleri ve iç dinamikleri üzerine kapsamlı çalışmalar yapılmadan operasyonlar sürdürülmektedir. Bunların ötesinde, barış gücü askerlerinin kuralsız ve yasadışı yollarla yerel halktan kadınlarla rıza dışı ilişkiye girmeleri ya da karşılıklı mecburi anlaşmalar sonucunda istismarcı cinsel ilişkiler içinde olmaları feminist uluslararası ilişkiler teorilerinin barış operasyonlarına bakış açısını şekillendirmiştir. Bu problem üzerinde; devlet dışı organizasyonların, kadın örgütlerinin ve önemli feminist figürlerin lobicilik aktiviteleri ve bölgesel organizasyonların baskıları etkili olmuş, 2000 yılında Birleşmiş Milletler Güvenlik Konseyi barış operasyonları ve çatışmalarda yaşanan kadına yönelik şiddet, tecavüz, taciz ve benzeri cinsel içerikli suçlarla ilgili 1325 sayılı bir çözüm önerisi kabul etmiş ve bu karar Birleşmiş Milletler tarihindeki ilk cinsiyet ve kadın temelli karar olarak tarihe geçmiştir.

1325'in genel tutumu kadınların barış operasyonları ve çatışma şartları altındaki durumlarını iyileştirmek, fiziksel ve ruhsal bütünlüklerini korumak, özel ihtiyaçlarını karşılamak, mülteci kadınların yaşadıkları kamplardaki imkanlarını iyileştirmek ya da tekrar yerleşimlerini sağlamak, kadınların barış görüşmelerinde yer almalarını sağlayıp hali hazırda var olan kadınların sayısını arttırmak, Birleşmiş Milletler'e her anlamda cinsiyet perspektifini yerleştirmek ve bunu uygulamak, ve toplumsal cinsiyet eşitliğini ana akımlaştırmak üzerinedir. Bu sebeple, barış gücü askerlerinin ve kıdemli personelin cinsel içerikli suçları da mercek altına alınmış, resmi olarak varlıkları tanınmış ve önüne geçme yolları aranmaya başlanmıştır. Öte yandan, 1325'in önemi tüm feministler tarafından kabul edilmiş olsa da eleştiriler hızla yayılmaya başlamıştır. Bu çözüm önerilerinde, kadınların değiştirilemez şekilde mağdur pozisyonuna sokulup korunmaya muhtaç olduklarının altının çizilmesi,

onların barışa giden yolda aktör olma imkanlarının önünün kesilmesine sebep olmakla itham edilmiş ve feminist çevrelerden tepki almıştır. Yıllar içinde, 1325'i takip eden 1820, 1888, 1889 ve 2122 sayılı çözüm önerileri kademeli olarak kadının yerini mağdurdan aktöre çevirme konusunda göreceli olarak bir ilerleme kaydetmiştir.

Bu çözümlerin gerçekten işe yarayıp yaramadığıysa ancak barış operasyonlarındaki verilerle ölçülebileceği için bu tezde vaka analizinde kullanılan iki örneğin birinin (Bosna) çözüm önerilerinin kabulünden önce, diğlerinin ise (Orta Afrika Cumhuriyeti) çözüm önerilerinden sonra barış operasyonunu deneyimlemiş olmalarına dikkat edilmiştir. İlk örnek olarak Bosna'daki durumun sebeplerinin analiziyle başlanmış, sonuçları ve barış operasyonunun başarısı tartışılmıştır. Bosna'daki iç savaşın temelinde, içerisinde birçok milleti bulunduran Yugoslavya'nın yıkılması yatmaktadır. Uzun yıllar boyunca otoriter komünist bir rejimle Tito tarafından yönetilmiş olan halkın, milliyetlerine ve kökenlerine ayrıştırıcı derecede bağlı olmaması ve bunları sorgulayamaması, yıkıma kadar onları bir arada tutmuştur. Yıkılıştan sonra ise bu milletler, etnisite ve dini eğilimler ayracında ayaklanmaya başlamış, bağımsızlık talepleri arka arkaya gelmiştir. 1990 yılından başlayarak, Bosnalılar, Sırlar, Hırvatlar, Makedonlar, Slovenyalılar ve Kosovalılar gibi Yugoslavya'ya bağlı olan milletler arasındaki en çetin savaşlar Müslüman Bosnalılar ve Hristiyan Sırlar arasında yaşanmış, Avrupa'nın yakın tarihinde tanıklık ettiği en kanlı olaylar Srebrenica ve Saraybosna'da meydana gelmiş, yaşananlar yıllar içinde soykırım adıyla resmi olarak tanınmıştır.

Birleşmiş Milletler 1993 yılında olaya müdahil olmaya karar vermiş ancak sayısız sorunla karşılaşmıştır. Zamanlama olarak çok geç kalması, Birleşmiş Milletler'in normal şartlarda önleyebilme ihtimalinin olduğu birçok durumu, özellikle soykırımı, önleyemeden izlemesine sebep olmuştur. Ayrıca barış operasyonunun tanımı, çerçevesi ve sorumluluk alanı net olarak belirlenemediği için duruma bağlı gelişen, prensipsiz bir operasyona imza atılmıştır. Ek olarak, var olan karışıklığın sebeplerinin çok derin geçmişe sahip ve karmaşık olması Birleşmiş Milletler'i ve karar verme konusunda üye ülkeleri telaşlandırmış, pasif bir rol izlemelerine yol açmıştır. Birleşmiş Milletler'in barış operasyonları arasındaki en büyük başarısızlık Bosna operasyonu olarak tarihe geçmiştir.

Feminist perspektiften bakıldığında ise Bosna'daki olayların en dikkat çekicisi Sırp'lar tarafından gerçekleştirilen toplu tecavüzler ve rıza dışı hamile bırakma vakalarıdır. Bosnalı Müslüman kadınlara sistematik bir şekilde tecavüz edilmesindeki amaç hamile kalmalarını sağlayarak "içlerine düşman tohumu ekmek" suretiyle soylarını kırmak olmakla birlikte, tecavüzün bir savaş taktiği ve ceza uygulaması olduğu gerçeği de yadsınmamalıdır. Açıkça görülen odur ki Sırp erkeklerinin Bosnalı erkeklerle vahşi bir iletişim kurmalarının yolu kadınların bedenleri üzerinde güç uygulamak ve egemenlik kurmaktan geçmektedir. Toplumun içerisindeki en hassas ve güvenliği olmayan grubun özellikle seçildiğini belli ederek bir nevi mesaj göndermek de buna dahildir. Ancak, Bosna'da yapılanlar Sırp'larla ve onların stratejik hamleleriyle sınırlı değildir.

Birleşmiş Milletler'in Bosna'da barış operasyonunu başlattığı andan çekilmesine kadar geçen süreçte, Birleşmiş Milletler barış gücü askerlerinin ve kıdemli personelinin işlediği ve resmi belgelerde 792 vakayla kayıtlara geçen cinsel istismar, tecavüz ve fuhuşa zorlama suçları bulunmakta, yüzlercesinin de korku ve utanma sebeplerinden ötürü ihbar edilmemiş olma ihtimalinin güçlülüğü üzerinde durulmaktadır. Birleşmiş Milletler askerlerinin ve personelinin yasadışı seks ticareti organizasyonları içerisinde bulundukları, bireysel ve toplu olarak mağdur olan kadınlara tecavüz ettikleri ve onları fuhuşa zorladıkları belirlenmiş ancak 2000 yılındaki 1325 çözüm önerilerinden bir süre öncesine kadar üstleri örtülmüştür. Resmi olarak suçların kabul edilmesinin yıllar almasının yanı sıra, hiç bir asker ya da personelin cezai işleme tabi tutulmamış olması da feminist analizler açısından önem teşkil etmektedir. Bosna olaylarının bu denli vahşi ve acımasız olması, onu uluslararası ilişkiler disiplini üzerinde çalışılmaya müsait bir örnek haline getirmiş ve feministler için öncül bir tartışma alanı olmuştur.

Tezin Bosna'dan sonraki örneği olan Orta Afrika Cumhuriyeti ise oldukça yeni bir vaka olması ve coğrafik olarak daha az ilgilenilen bir pozisyonda bulunması sebebiyle literatüre feminist analiz perspektifinden bakılan çalışmalarla girme imkanı bulamamıştır. Sadece feministler tarafından değil, diğer teoriler tarafından da göz ardı edilen bu bölgeyle ilgili ulaşılabilen bilgiler oldukça kısıtlı olmakla birlikte var olanlardan yola çıkılarak inceleme yapılmış ve belirli sonuçlara ulaşılmıştır. Orta Afrika Cumhuriyeti'ndeki karışıklık ve çatışmanın sebepleri birden fazla olmakla

birlikte, bu tezde bağımsızlık öncesi ve bağımsızlık sonrası olarak ikiye ayrılarak incelenmiştir. 1960 yılında Fransa'dan bağımsızlığını almasından önce koloni olarak var olan Orta Afrika Cumhuriyeti'nde nüfusun çoğunluğu Hristiyan ve yerel dinlerin mensuplarından oluşmakta, 80'den fazla etnik grup bulunmaktadır. Müslümanların tüm nüfusa oranı yalnızca 15% olmakla birlikte, ülkenin kuzeyinde yaşamaktadırlar. Ülkenin kuzeyi ve güneyi arasındaki gözle görülür ekonomik, sosyal ve politik farklar bu dönemdeki çatışmaların temelini oluşturmaktadır. Hali hazırda ekonomik açıdan oldukça kötü durumda olan Orta Afrika Cumhuriyeti, var olan kaynakların eşit dağıtılamaması ve güney kısmında yaşayan Hristiyan halkın daha rahat geçinebilmesi sebebiyle ikiye bölünmüştür. Aynı zamanda güneye tanınmış olan bu gayriresmi ayrıcalık, sadece ekonomik fırsatlar konusunda değil politik güce ve iktidara ulaşma noktalarında da kendini belli etmiştir.

Bağımsızlıktan sonra ise iktidar savaşları iç karışıklığın temelini oluşturmuş, devlet kademesinde başa geçenlerin önemli pozisyonlara kendi etnik gruplarından insanları atamaları ve bu yolla etnik kayırma yapmaları huzursuzluğu arttırmıştır. Sürekli darbelerle el değiştiren iktidar, aynı hızda etnik grupları da değiştirmiş ve siyasi istikrarsızlık bir gelenek haline gelmiştir. 2013 yılında Müslüman halkın milis güçleri olan Seleka ve karşılarındaki Hristiyan halkın silahlı sivilleri anti-Balaka örgütleri kurulmuş, birbiri ardına gelen saldırılarda binlerce insan hayatını kaybetmiştir. Olayın vehametinin ve uluslararası baskının artması sonucunda aynı yıl içinde Birleşmiş Milletler ülkede barış operasyonu başlatmıştır.

Feminist uluslararası ilişkiler yaklaşımından Orta Afrika Cumhuriyeti olayı ele alındığında, iç dinamiklerin kadınlar açısından oldukça yıpratıcı olduğu gözlemlenmektedir. Tecavüz yalnızca düşmanın kadınlarına bir ceza ve erkeklerine mesaj olarak kullanılmamakta, erkekler kendi gruplarının içindeki kadınlara da gözdağı vermek ve baskı altında tutup gerektiğinde cezalandırmak amacıyla tecavüz etmektedirler. Kadınlar, tüm bunlar olurken rutin ve yapılması gereken toplumsal cinsiyet kaynaklı işlerini (temizlik, çocuk bakımı, yemek) yapmak zorunda olmanın yanı sıra, ülke ekonomisinin neredeyse çökmüş olması yüzünden meyve-sebze satarak para kazanmaya devam etmek durumundadırlar. Ek olarak, oldukça yaygın olan yerel dinler içerisindeki cadı inanışından kaynaklanan ve belirli kuralları olmayan cadılık ithamları, ülke yasalarına göre cezai işlem gerektiren durumlar olup

çoğunlukla kadınlara yönelik uygulanmaktadır. Sürekli olarak devam eden tecavüzler sonucunda cinsel yolla bulaşan hastalıklarla mücadele etmek zorunda kalan kadınlar, bu hastalıkların semptomlarını göstermeye başladıklarında sağlık sisteminin yetersizliği nedeniyle doğrudan cadılıkla suçlanıp cezalandırılmaktadırlar.

Tüm bunların dışında, Bosna’da olduğu gibi Orta Afrika Cumhuriyeti’nde de Birleşmiş Milletler barış gücü askerlerinin ve personelinin cinsel suçlara karıştığı, reşit olmayan kız ve erkek çocukları istismar ettikleri, kadınları seks ticaretine zorladıkları, para ve yemek karşılığı kadınlarla ilişkiye girdikleri ve rutin olarak kadınlara tecavüz ettikleri ortaya çıkmıştır. Bosna’dan farklı olarak Orta Afrika Cumhuriyeti’ndeki Birleşmiş Milletler barış gücü askerlerinin seks skandalları uluslararası medyada geniş yer bulmuş, organizasyona direkt baskı yapacak ölçekte tepki almıştır. Ancak önceki örneklerde cezasız kalan ve önlemlerin yetersiz kaldığı vakaların verdiği güvenin, bu asker ve personelin davranışları üzerinde etkili olduğu düşünülmekte ve çözüm önerilerinin etkinliği sorgulanmaktadır. 1325 ve devamındaki çözüm önerilerinin teorideki başarıyı uygulamada yakalayamadığı, ülkelerin ayrı ayrı milli aksiyon planları almasına rağmen bir bütün olarak önlem alma konusunda başarısız oldukları, uygulanan cinsiyet temelli eğitimlerin yeterince etkili olmadığı ve kadınların barışa giden yolda hala yok sayıldıkları gözlemlenmiştir.

Sonuç olarak, Birleşmiş Milletler’in 2000 yılından beri çözme vaadettiği ve ajandasındaki en büyük problemlerden biri olarak görülen, bünyesindeki asker ve personelin içinde olduğu cinsel suçlar konusu hala çözülebilmemiş değildir. Bosna ve Orta Afrika Cumhuriyeti vakalarında incelendiği gibi, Birleşmiş Milletler hem barış operasyonunun amacı çerçevesinde kadınları koruma ve barışı sağlama konusunda başarısız olmuş, hem de cinsel istismar, tecavüz ve seks ticareti gibi suçlara kendi askerleri ortak olmuştur. Bu sonucu analiz ederken, Birleşmiş Milletler’in bir organizasyon olarak heterojen yapısındaki bürokratik kısıtlamaların ve parçaları arasındaki hiyerarşinin önemi gözardı edilmemiş, üye devletlerin söz sahibi olabildiği Güvenlik Konseyi gibi yerlerdeki sorunlara dikkat çekilmiştir. Tamamen farklı sosyo-ekonomik yapı ve coğrafi konumlanma içerisinde, aynı derecede farklı çatışma sebepleriyle öne çıkan iki örneğin, Birleşmiş Milletler barış gücü asker ve personelinin seks skandalları açısından aynı sonuca çıkmış olması, Birleşmiş

Milletler'in yapısal bir yozlaşma içerisinde olduğunu ve kendi hazırladığı sistemsel değişikliklere adapte olma konusundaki başarısızlığını göstermekte, ve çözüm önerilerinin umut vaadedici olmasına rağmen beklentileri karşılayamadığını ortaya koymaktadır. İlerisi için, yapılması öngörülen ama etkisiz kalan toplumsal cinsiyet eğitimlerinin üzerine gidilerek söz konusu operasyona göre değişen temalarla işlenmesinin gerekliliğinin anlaşılması, cinsiyet perspektifinin Birleşmiş Milletler'in tüm kademelerine yerleştirilmesi, özellikle barış operasyonlarında yüksek rütbeli, karar verme ve değiştirme yetkisindeki kadınların sayısının arttırılması ve operasyon bölgelerinin iç dinamikleri konusunda oldukça detaylı çalışmalar yapılmasının önemi vurgulanmaktadır.

APPENDIX B: TEZ FOTOKOPİSİ İZİN FORMU

ENSTİTÜ

Fen Bilimleri Enstitüsü	<input type="checkbox"/>
Sosyal Bilimler Enstitüsü	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
Uygulamalı Matematik Enstitüsü	<input type="checkbox"/>
Enformatik Enstitüsü	<input type="checkbox"/>
Deniz Bilimleri Enstitüsü	<input type="checkbox"/>

YAZARIN

Soyadı : Altınay Ünsal
Adı : Pelinsu
Bölümü : Uluslararası İlişkiler

TEZİN ADI (İngilizce) : ANALYZING THE UNITED NATIONS
PEACEKEEPING OPERATIONS FROM FEMINIST PERSPECTIVE:
CASES OF BOSNIA AND THE CENTRAL AFRICAN REPUBLIC

TEZİN TÜRÜ : Yüksek Lisans ☒ Doktora ☐

1. Tezimin tamamından kaynak gösterilmek şartıyla fotokopi alınabilir. ☒
2. Tezimin içindekiler sayfası, özet, indeks sayfalarından ve/veya bir bölümünden kaynak gösterilmek şartıyla fotokopi alınabilir. ☐
3. Tezimden bir bir (1) yıl süreyle fotokopi alınamaz. ☐

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