



## ENHANCING WOMEN CONTRIBUTION IN PEACE, CONFLICT RESOLUTION AND SECURITY AGENDA: INDONESIAN FEMALE PEACEKEEPERS IN THE UNITED NATIONS PEACEKEEPING OPERATIONS (GARUDA CONTINGENT-KONGA)

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### Abstract:

Many scholars have argued that security, peace and conflict are gender neutral. However, studies have shown that women and men experience conflict differently. This article analyses the need to increase women's role in peace and conflict resolution agenda, particularly based on the experience of the Indonesian Female Peacekeepers in the United Nations Peacekeeping Operation. Feminist theoretical framework and gender analysis were used to look at the impact experienced by men and women during wartime, and women's role in peace and conflict resolution agenda. It is argued that the change of warfare characteristics from interstate to intrastate conflict, and the new human security framework require the ability of peacekeepers to move closer to communities. In this regard, in line with the United Nations Security Council Resolution 1325 on Women, Peace and Security, Indonesia has committed to increase its female peacekeepers. The participation of women peacekeepers increases community acceptance, and optimize the capability of the military to fulfil its role in protecting democratic societies.

**Keywords:** Women, Peace Agenda, Conflict Resolution, Female Peacekeepers, Indonesia

**Título en Castellano:** *Fomentando la Contribución de las Mujeres en la Agenda de Paz, Resolución de Conflicto y Seguridad: Mujeres indonesias en las Operaciones de Mantenimiento de la Paz de las Naciones Unidas (Contingente de Garuda – KONGA)*

### Resumen:

Muchos investigadores alegan que las cuestiones de seguridad, paz y resolución de conflictos son neutrales en cuestiones de género. No obstante, se ha reconocido que los conflictos impactan a las mujeres y a los hombres de manera diferente. Este artículo estudia la necesidad de reforzar el papel de las mujeres en los programas de paz y resolución de conflictos, explicando la contribución de la Mujeres Indonesias en las Operaciones de Mantenimiento de la Paz de las Naciones Unidas. El marco teórico feminista y el análisis de género se utilizan para examinar el impacto experimentado por hombres y mujeres durante la guerra, y el papel de las mujeres en la agenda de paz y resolución de conflictos. Se explica que los cambios en las características de las guerras, pasando de guerras entre Estados a conflictos internos, así como la evolución del concepto de seguridad desde una perspectiva de seguridad nacional a una perspectiva de seguridad humana requieren por parte del personal del mantenimiento de la paz una capacidad de acercamiento a las comunidades. A este respecto, de conformidad con la Resolución 1325 del Consejo de Seguridad de las Naciones Unidas sobre la Mujer, la Paz y la Seguridad, Indonesia se ha comprometido a aumentar el contingente de mujeres en operaciones de mantenimiento de la paz. Su participación incrementa la aceptación de la comunidad y optimiza la capacidad de los militares para cumplir su papel en la protección de las sociedades democráticas.

**Palabras Clave:** *Mujeres, Paz, Agenda, Resolución de conflicto, Mujeres en el Mantenimiento de la Paz, Indonesia*

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## 1. Introduction

Many scholars have argued that security, peace and conflict are gender neutral. However, studies have shown that women and men experience conflict differently. Women and children tend to be victims in warfare. Some militias allow their troops to rape women in compensation for wages against their enemies. Other militias use rape as a weapon of war. These terrible phenomena made women aware that they have to move, to change their own destiny, from victims to agents of change; as peacebuilders, peacekeepers, and participating in peace negotiations. In 1995, a coalition of feminists, human right activists and humanitarian NGOs worldwide which was inspired by the success of the Women's International League for Peace and Freedom (WILPF) – one of the most significant women's organizations campaigning for peace – and the persistence of Jane Addams – an American peace activist and the Nobel Prize winner for peace in 1931 – proposed a draft resolution to the United Nations Security Council (UNSC). The draft resolution has an objective to transform the gender assumptions related to the concept of security that assumes military men are the primary actors, and women are the vulnerable victims in peacemaking, peacekeeping, peacebuilding and conflict resolution process.

The advocacy towards this issue was highly appropriate at that time because the international community –United Nations was getting more concern towards this issue. In 1995 the United Nations held the fourth World Conference on Women in Beijing which resulted in the Beijing Declaration and Platform for Action (BPfA) that aimed to eliminate all forms of violence against women particularly in twelve critical areas. The concern for women and armed conflict is among the twelve critical concerns when dealing with the high number of women victims in conflict zones, and the opportunities and roles that women can play in building peace. Thus, the BPfA provided a strong foundation for the birth of the UNSC Resolution 1325 on Women, Peace and Security in October 2000.<sup>2</sup>

Antonio Guterres, the United Nations Secretary General, enthusiastically welcomed the Resolution 1325 as reflected in his statement in the 2017 Gender Parity Strategy:

“Peacekeeping is the most visible face of the United Nations... The fact that only 3% of UN peacekeepers and 10% of police are women hampers our protection reach and operational effectiveness and sends the wrong message about who the UN serves and represents.”<sup>3</sup>

For these reasons, the UN is committed to increase the number of female military personnel in peacekeeping operations as the UN's top priority, including the increase in the rate of women staff officers and military observers in order to reach 15% by the end of 2018.

The UNSC called for the implementation of Resolution 1325 (2000) through the implementation of national action plans at the national level, and also launched “the Global Effort” to recruit more female police officers into the National Police and UN police operations worldwide.<sup>4</sup> After the adoption of Resolution 1325, the UN Headquarters, the peacekeeping operations and UN Member States have been working together to meet these goals, but progress is far from satisfactory.

In the period from 1990 to 2017, women only accounted for 2% of all mediators, 8% of negotiators, and 5% of witnesses and signatories in prominent peace process at large. Ironically,

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<sup>2</sup> Sharp, Ingrid: “Feminist peace activism 1915 and 2010: are we nearly there yet?”, *Peace and Change*, Vol. 38, No. (2013), pp. 155–181.

<sup>3</sup> United Nations: “System-wide strategy on gender parity”, *United Nations* (2017), at <https://www.unwomen.org/en/how-we-work/gender-parity-in-the-united-nations/system-wide-strategy>

<sup>4</sup> Data of the United Nations Peacekeeping Operation can be accessed at <https://peacekeeping.un.org/en/our-peacekeepers>



there is no woman in history who has been appointed as a female chief mediator by the UN. Furthermore, the lack of a gender perspective in most peace agreement becomes a new obstacle. Less than one third (27%) of peace agreement which was signed in 2017 had provisioned the gender-responsive chapter. A trend analysis on the 1,500 peace and political agreements adopted during 2000-2016 (140 processes) shows that there were only 25 agreements which discussed the role of women.<sup>5</sup>

These data indicate that the implementation of the Resolution 1325 still reaped high resistance. The pros and cons towards the issues related to the involvement of women in the security, defence and military sectors are unneglectable. Although the inclusion of women is being promoted worldwide at the present time, women are still unexceptionally excluded. Therefore, considering its urgency, this article has a novelty aim to critically examine the several questions, should women join in the combatting activities? Why is it important to increase the role of women in the peace and conflict resolution agenda? On top of that, Indonesia as a non-permanent member state of UNSC has always emphasized women's participation in peace processes. How is the contribution of Indonesian Female Peacekeeper in United Nations Peacekeeping Operation (UN PKO)? Through using the feminist framework, this article will try to contribute to the current feminist debate on this issue.

## **2. Literature Review and Theoretical Framework**

### **2.1 Feminist Debates on Women's Participation in Military**

Since the 1970s there has been debate between groups that are pro and con on the question of whether or not women should join in combatting activities and be involved in military forces. The pro groups or 'Right to fight' groups, come from liberal – republican feminist, argue that on equality grounds, women should have rights of access to military participation equal to those of men. As citizen, women have an equal duty and equal right to military service. From this viewpoint, the military participation of women is about the democratic participation and responsibility that is equally important as gender equality.<sup>6</sup> Moreover, Stiehm has argued that the presence of women in military can change the institution to be more democratic, less hierarchical, more humane and more appropriate to the modern world; as such, military participation of women enables the disruption, subversion, and even transformation of the military, and international relations.<sup>7</sup>

In opposite manner, the contra groups or 'anti-militarist' feminists are more sceptical. They argue that the military is the institution, which is by definition masculinist and violent, which implement a lot of misogyny, think that feminine norms are inferior, and execute state-legitimized violence. The central disagreement of 'anti-militarist' feminist towards military is that the huge allocation of public funding for military spending than social expenditure only resulted in structural violence.<sup>8</sup> They argue that military participation of women is a clear legitimation for the military institution and power which has a completely opposite goal of 'anti-militarist' feminism that is to eliminate militarism in society.<sup>9</sup> Increasing female military participation is not progressive for women, and neither for a more peaceful international order.<sup>10</sup>

<sup>5</sup> Selimovic, Johanna M. (2018): *Equal power – lasting peace*, Sweden, The Kvinna till Kvinna Foundation.

<sup>6</sup> Mazur, Amy: "Feminist comparative policy: a new field of study", *European Journal of Political Research*, Vol. 35, No. 4 (1999), pp. 483–506. Duncanson, Claire; Woodward, Rachel: "Regendering the military: Theorizing women's military participation", *Security Dialogue*, Vol. 47, n° 1 (2016), pp. 3–21.

<sup>7</sup> See Duncanson and Woodward, *op. cit.*, p. 5.

<sup>8</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>9</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 5-6.

<sup>10</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 5.



Related to the role of women in peacekeeping operations, the liberal feminists think that women should play an equal part in maintaining peacekeeping and peacebuilding at the international level. In contrast, the critical feminists disapprove the idea of peacekeeping operations because “within the international system, peacemaking and peacekeeping are viewed as short-term activities”.<sup>11</sup>

The scholarship on the monitoring of the Resolution 1325 implementation in peacekeeping operations in countries such as Cambodia, Kosovo, Timor-Leste, Afghanistan, Liberia, and the Democratic Republic of Congo, has been used to show that the integration of gender perspective has improved peace and security. The critical argument to increase the presence of women in peacekeeping operation is because women are able to access local spaces where men cannot enter, and to gather important information to make better assessments of the security condition in conflict settings. The experience of the United States Marine Corps for using women elite in Iraq and Afghanistan respectively demonstrates this particular goal.<sup>12</sup> In the case of Afghanistan, the provisional Female Engagement Teams (FET) backed up the Operation Enduring Freedom (OEF) since March 2010. In order to ensure that the female military is able to interact with the Afghan women to gather information through regular patrols, clearing operations, security checks, gathering census information and engaging key leaders, they were trained to have a deeper and better understanding of Afghan culture. Dharmapuri (2011) claimed that the likelihood to promote the status of women at the local level can be improved and the long-term stabilization efforts can be realized by using the FET and strategic approach to gender sensitive operations as it is a component of a comprehensive gender strategy.<sup>13</sup>

## **2.2 The Importance of Increasing Role of Women in the Peace and Conflict Resolution Agenda**

De Groot published a research article entitled “A few good women: gender stereotypes, the military and peacekeeping,” which argued that women have a civilizing effect on their male partner. Additionally, the operational effectiveness of the mission can be enhanced, and the human security of host citizenry can be improved by increasing the number of women in peacekeeping operations<sup>14</sup>.

The differential claims towards the unique contribution of women’s military become the basis of the advocacy of women’s military participation. There are four main arguments to support the different major contributions between women and men towards peacekeeping operations. Firstly, women have a civilizing impact on men that will reduce the male soldier’s misconduct. Secondly, women are considered to be more sympathetic and thus more ready and capable of interacting with the community. Thirdly, women respond better and more proper than men in engaging the Sexual and Gender-Based Violence (SGBV) victims. Lastly, women’s participation inspires local women to be involved in peace process and to actively participate in politics and thus helps to guarantee the perpetual peace and stability.<sup>15</sup>

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<sup>11</sup> Noma, Emiko; Aker, Dee and Freeman, Jennifer: “Heeding women’s voices: breaking cycles of conflict and deepening the concept of peacebuilding”, *Journal of Peacebuilding & Development*, Vol. 7, n° 1 (2012), pp. 7–32.

<sup>12</sup> Szymanski, Aniela K: “A women in a charge: a civil affairs marine team leader in Afghanistan”, in Tripodi, Paolo G.; Frushour, Kelly (eds.) (2016): *Marines at war: stories from Afghanistan and Iraq*, Quantico, Marine Corps University Press, pp. 134–150.

<sup>13</sup> Dharmapuri, Sahana: “Just add women and stir?”, *Parameters*, Spring (2011), pp. 56–70.

<sup>14</sup> DeGroot, Gerard J.: “A few good women: Gender stereotypes, the military and peacekeeping”, *International Peacekeeping*, Vol. 8, n° 2 (2001), pp. 23–38.

<sup>15</sup> Alchin, Angela N. (2015): *Making a difference in peacekeeping operations: voices of South African women peacekeepers*, Stellenbosch, Stellenbosch University, pp. 25-27.



The advantages of increasing women's involvement in police departments are well-documented. The study on women police officers undertaken in the United States and even worldwide has found that woman officers use less physical force which is better in reducing the potential violent confrontation from citizens and is less likely to result in the problem caused by the excessive utilization of force. Moreover, women officers often have a better skill in communication than their male colleague and are better prepared to promote the collaboration and trust needed to realize a community policing model. More importantly, alongside the beneficial skill set that female officers have, their desirable inclusion has a pivotal role in operational matter, as they can shoulder the crucial responsibility that men always find challenging.

In supporting the previous theory, Roohia S. Klein (2012) also reaffirmed that women have positive and supportive role in conflict resolution and peace process. Her journal article entitled "*The Role of Women in Mediation and Conflict Resolution*" provides a comprehensive explanation about the different style of conflict management between men and women.<sup>16</sup> According to the existing literature on peace and conflict studies, there are five prominent conflict management styles. First is competing which is to satisfy one's own interest at the cost of others. Second is accommodating which is to sacrifice one's own interest for another's sake. Third is avoiding which is to abandon the interests of both parties by delaying the conflict issue. Fourth is collaborating which is to satisfy both parties' interests by figuring out particular attempt. Last is compromising which is to fulfil partial interest of both conflicting parties by finding out the common sense. By referring to Klein's work, women typically tend to utilize a cooperative conflict management styles such as collaborating, compromising, or accommodating, while men tend to use competing or avoiding strategies in situations of conflict.<sup>17</sup>

### **3. Discussions and Results**

This article argues that the change of warfare characteristics, from primarily between states to predominantly within states, and the new human security framework require the ability of peacekeepers to get closer to the community, therefore women need to participate more in the peacekeeping process.

#### **3.1 The Change of Warfare Characteristic: From Inter-state to Intra-state Conflict**

After the world was struck by China – United States trade war in the last two years, the world is shocked by the escalating tension between Iran and the United States after a controversial killing of a top Iranian military commander in the early 2020. The notion of "World War III" was used by many international media to predict whether or not the tension will be escalated to a worldwide conflict. This present situation is very conflictual. On one hand, armed conflicts represented by realists are still up in the agenda. On the other hand, the concept of war has been expanded not only to capture armed conflicts, but also the competition over economic influence. Given this circumstance, the authors realize that the characteristics of warfare has broadened dramatically. However, for the purpose of this article, to understand the change of war characteristics, the authors limit the conflicts to armed conflicts and put an emphasis on the actors that are involved in the conflict itself. By focusing on these types of conflicts, it is expected that the role of UN PKO can be better understood.

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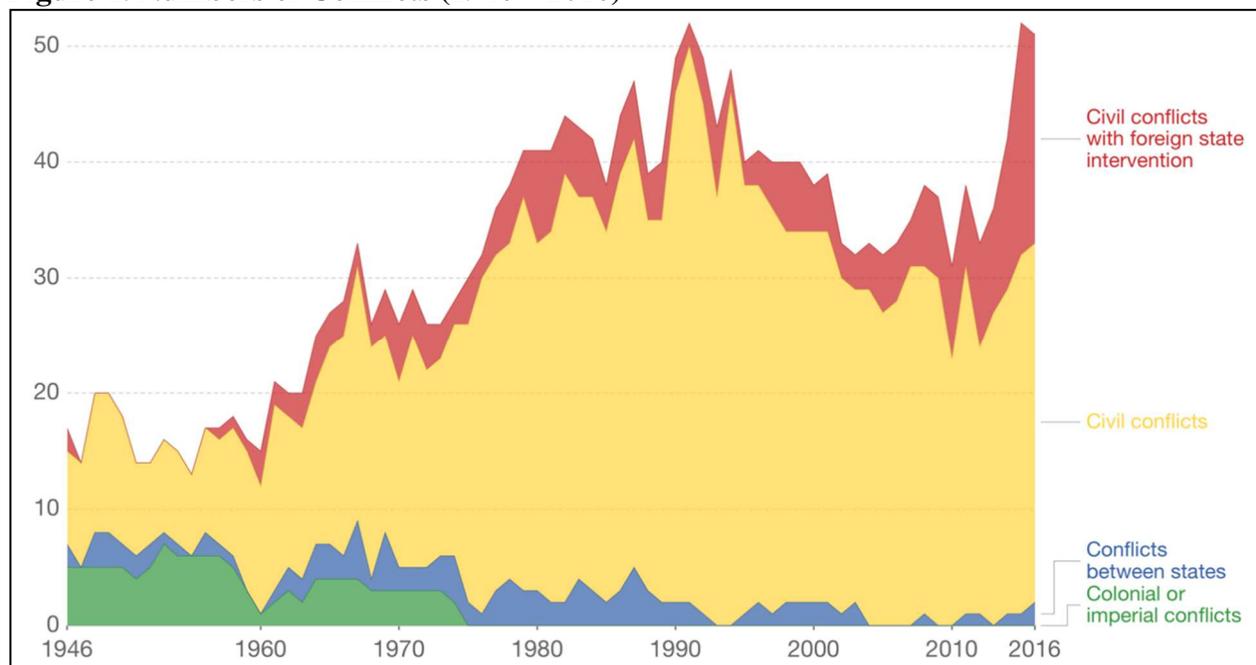
<sup>16</sup> Klein, Roohia S.: "The role of women in mediation and conflict resolution: lessons for UN Security Council Resolution 1325", *Washington and Lee Journal of Civil Rights and Social Justice*, Vol. 18, n° 2 (2012), pp. 277–313.

<sup>17</sup> Shepherd, Cassandra K.: "The role of women in international conflict resolution", *Hamline University's School of Law's Journal of Public Law and Policy*, Vol. 36, n° 2 (2015), pp. 53–67.



The change of warfare characteristics in the last few decades, moving from interstate conflict to intrastate conflict, has turned the image of war. While interstate conflicts occur between states motivated by competing national interests, intrastate conflicts occur between police and armed forces of the government and irregular armed groups, caused by conflicting political, cultural or religious beliefs and exclusionary ideologies. The advances in weapons systems technologies also has made conflicts more feasible. A study conducted by Roser reveals that civil conflicts within states have become more apparent and the number of conflicts between states has almost ceased to exist (see figure 1)<sup>18</sup>. However, the deadly armed conflicts both interstate and intrastate have declined statistically, except civil conflicts with foreign state intervention.<sup>19</sup> Consequently, the number of civilian victims of armed conflict has considerably decreased since 1945. In the period of World War I and World War II, the total death increased from 15% during the WW I mainly due to hunger and disease to 65% during the WW II, partially due to hunger, disease and the bombing of cities. Since then, battle-related deaths have gradually decreased despite the increasing number of intrastate conflicts<sup>20</sup>. According to this, it is important to understand why the characteristics of war have changed, and more importantly to question why the trend of armed conflicts is declining over time.

**Figure 1. Numbers of Conflicts (1946 – 2016)**



Source: UCDP/PRIO Armed Conflict Dataset (2020)<sup>21</sup>

In order to understand the change in the warfare characteristics and its declining trend we can mention several reasons which we consider theoretically and empirically relevant: Firstly, after the World War II in 1945, the United Nations (UN) established a commitment to cooperate internationally to end destructive wars between major powers. The purpose made clear that the aim of the organization is to maintain international peace and security, acknowledging the devastating impacts of World War I and II not only for states, but also for their people.<sup>22</sup> Although some interstate conflicts occurred during the Cold War, the change of interstate

<sup>18</sup> Roser, Max: "War and Peace". *Our World in Data* (2020), at <https://ourworldindata.org/war-and-peace>

<sup>19</sup> *Ibid*, see also Szayna, Thomas; Watts, Stephen; O'Mahony, Angela; Frederick, Bryan and Kavanagh, Jennifer (2017): *What Are the Trends in Armed Conflicts, and What Do They Mean for U.S. Defense Policy?*, Santa Monica, California, Rand Corporation, p. 3

<sup>20</sup> See Roser, *op. cit.*

<sup>21</sup> *Ibid*

<sup>22</sup> Charter of the United Nations, at <https://www.un.org/en/charter-united-nations/>



relations becoming more friendly, cooperative and peaceful has reduced the likelihood of interstate conflict in general. Secondly, as the world is globalized and becoming economically interdependent it provides another dimension to international cooperation, going beyond maintaining peace and security. The promotion of economic cooperation is now fundamental.<sup>23</sup> Thirdly, it is believed that the declining trend of wars is caused by the increasing number of democracies worldwide after the end of the Cold War. This statistical analysis then becomes a basis for a theory called democratic peace theory which argues that democratic countries are much less likely to engage in wars with each other.<sup>24</sup> These reasons appear to be adequate to understand why interstate conflicts have declined, but it is inadequate to explain why intrastate conflicts is becoming more apparent than interstate ones. However, because of these three reasons, another three sources - post-colonialism, capitalism, and authoritarian regimes- are increasing the likelihood of internal conflicts. First, the exclusion of rival ethnic groups from government in the postcolonial world due to a fear of internal coups increase the possibility of civil war.<sup>25</sup> Secondly, the capitalist system which favours the group of people who have extensive economic means and greedily exploit existing resources increases the gap between the poor and the rich. Although the economic inequality is unlikely to result in armed conflicts, in developing countries where this inequality is intersected with ethnicities, religions, and regional identities will subsequently increase the likelihood of armed conflict.<sup>26</sup> Thirdly, as the world is becoming more democratic, some authoritarian governments consider democracy as a potential threat and fear to lose their power. The intrastate conflict is more likely to occur in circumstances in which citizens demand a democratic government when they live under authoritarian or totalitarian regimes. For example, in the post-Arab Spring.

Although intrastate conflicts have replaced the incidence of interstate conflicts and at the same time these armed conflicts have decreased in numbers, women and children are still the majority of civilian victims in interstate and intrastate conflicts which accounted as much as 75%-90% of the total victims.<sup>27</sup> The use of sexual violence and gender-based violence against women and girls in all recent conflicts has become more common, it was the case in the former Yugoslavia, Sierra Leone, India (Kashmir), Rwanda, Sri Lanka, the Democratic Republic of Congo (DRC), Angola, Sudan, Côte d'Ivoire, Timor-Leste, Liberia, Algeria, the Russian Federation (Chechnya), and northern Uganda. Sexual violence describes the deliberate use of sex as a weapon to demonstrate power over, and to inflict pain and humiliation upon, another human being.<sup>28</sup> The abduction, sexual exploitation and abuse, mutilation, slavery and bargaining chips targeting women by the rebel groups still continue. For instance, the kidnapping case of 276 female students from the public middle school in Chibok Town in Borno State, Nigeria in 14–15 April 2014 by Boko Haram, an extremist terrorist organization based in North-Eastern part of Nigeria. This kind of event can occur again because it was intentionally carried out as a war strategy. After kidnapping girls, the Boko Haram militia used the girls to bargain with the government to release some Boko Haram members who were detained.<sup>29</sup>

<sup>23</sup> See Szayna, et al., *op. cit.* p. 1

<sup>24</sup> Roser, Max: "The Virtual History of Decreasing War and Violence". *Our World in Data*, at <https://slides.ourworldindata.org/war-and-violence/#/title-slide>

<sup>25</sup> Lee, Alexander and Paine, Jack: "What Were the Consequences of Decolonization?", *International Studies Quarterly*, Vol. 63, nº 2 (2019), pp. 406–416.

<sup>26</sup> Nygård, Håvard Mokleiv: "Inequality and Conflict – Some Good News", *Development for Peace* (2018), at <https://blogs.worldbank.org/dev4peace/inequality-and-conflict-some-good-news>

<sup>27</sup> Ximena, Jiménez. (2018): *Gender perspectives in United Nations Peacekeeping Operations*, 3<sup>rd</sup> ed., Williamsburg, Peace Operations Training Institute (POTI).

<sup>28</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>29</sup> "Boko Haram offers to trade kidnapped Chibok girls for militants", *New York Post*, 8 July 2015, at <https://nypost.com/2015/07/08/boko-haram-offers-to-trade-kidnapped-chibok-girls-for-militants/>



### **3.2 From National Security to a descriptive concept: Human Security**

As mentioned earlier, after the end of WW II, world peace and security has become the priority of global agenda. In line with that, the international community began to reaffirm human rights with the equal recognition between men and women. The international relations are governed by international law in the respect of national sovereignty on one hand, and human rights on the other. Despite the establishment of the UN that was rooted in liberalists' belief, the traditional theoretical approach to war and peace, and the security concept was dominated by realist thinking until the Cold War. National security continues to be a fundamental national interest. A series of proxy wars – the Korean War, the Vietnam War, the Yom Kippur War, among others – backed up by conflicting two superpowers during the Cold War was an evident realists' manifestation. The implementation of national interests often means human rights violations. After the Cold War ended, the occurrence of intrastate conflict worldwide accompanied by the violation of human rights become more frequent being the governments of different states the prominent actors.

In 1994, the UN published a Human Development Report where a new broad concept, the concept of human security was introduced. The new concept suggested that security should no longer be the state security, instead it should emphasize the security of people.<sup>30</sup> According to the notion of individual security, security should be attained through the process of expanding people's choices not through the enforcement of military force and armament. This concept puts human beings at the centre of attention of global security. However, human security as a concept, because of its diverse and no agreed definition, still needs to be adequately addressed. In general, human security consists of three tenets, namely freedom from fear, freedom from want, and freedom to live with dignity<sup>31</sup>.

In this article, human security is used as a framework to understand security without diminishing the importance of national and international security. Human security is not aimed to displace national or international security given its lack of theoretical consistency and diverse focus. Indeed, human security and national and international security should be understood as mutually reinforcing concepts, even taking into consideration the weaknesses and flaws existing in the conceptualization of human security. At the peak of the rising intrastate conflicts, the security of people in the violent conflict areas is imperative to the attainment of state security. As such, states need to reframe its security policies' objectives, not only to maintain its national security, but also to ensure the security of their people. In order to discuss how human security can be attained while national security is pursued by states, this article will constructively address these following questions; how do military forces undertake the role to realize human security? Should military forces be disarmed to ensure human security? In answering these questions, the utilization of more humanitarian approach plays an essential role in filling the gap on how military forces should engage with human security issues.

In violent conflict areas, women experience human insecurity differently because the existing gender roles is more disadvantaging for women than men. The gender roles construct gender and power hierarchies in society which exacerbate women's insecurities. Compared with men, women are somehow incapable of articulating and acting for their security needs because of their lower status in the gender hierarchy. According Beth Woroniuk, there are several notable gendered dimensions that have been limitedly discussed within human security discussions, namely violence against women, gender inequality in control over resources, gender inequality in power and decision making, women's human rights, and women –and men

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<sup>30</sup> UNDP (1994): *Human Development Report 1994*, New York, Oxford University Press

<sup>31</sup> UNGA: "Press Release GA/10492", *United Nations*, 20 May 2010, at <https://www.un.org/press/en/2010/ga10942.doc.htm>.



as actors, not victims. McKay describes the human security of women and girls during and after armed conflicts by categorizing based on its levels – macro and micro – and its types – direct or indirect (see table 1).

**Table 1. Women’s and Girls’ Human Security During and After Armed Conflicts: Indirect and Direct Violence/ Unorganized and Organized Threats**

	<b>Direct Violence</b>	<b>Indirect Violence (Structural)</b>
<b>Unorganized (micro levels)</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Violence from rape, partner battering, verbal/emotional abuse by partner and family members, “honour” killings.</li> <li>• Exposure to sexually transmitted diseases, including HIV/AIDS, during and after armed conflicts from partners or individual acts of rape.</li> <li>• Harassment, injury, and murder of women and girls in post-war societies</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Fewer household resources compared with boys and men, compromised health because of poor-quality water, food, and housing.</li> <li>• Environmental damage that affects quality of life and life span.</li> <li>• Lack of personal and political freedom of choice.</li> <li>• Forced marriage.</li> <li>• Difficulty marrying post-war due to stigma, shame, and psychological trauma resulting from forced maternity.</li> <li>• Lack of economic opportunities.</li> <li>• Prostitution for economic survival and to feed children.</li> <li>• Pressure to wear garments to cover the head and body despite personal choices.</li> </ul>



<p><b>Organized (macro levels)</b></p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Violence from military or other organized groups including murder, beatings, abductions, systematic rape with high risk for sexually transmitted diseases, forced abortions, gender-specific torture, abductions into a fighting force, sex slavery, physical and psychological assaults.</li> <li>• Gendered effects of land mines planted as a military maneuver.</li> <li>• Sex trafficking.</li> <li>• Female genital excision/ mutilation</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Neglect during formal disarmament, demobilization, and reintegration processes.</li> <li>• Exclusion or marginalization within peace negotiations and post-conflict peace accords.</li> <li>• Lack of decision-making authority within political and economic systems.</li> <li>• Inability to participate in elections and public life.</li> <li>• Lack of gender justice.</li> <li>• Religious-based oppression.</li> <li>• Lack of access to skills training, schooling, primary health care, and reproductive health services.</li> </ul>
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Source: McKay (2004)

### 3.3 The Change of the United Nations Peacekeepers Operations Role: Traditional to Multidimensional

Before describing the change of the role of the United Nations Peacekeeping Operations (UN PKO), the authors will reiterate several points that have to be taken into account. First, the world history has shaped war differently over the last century from worldwide war between major powers to proxy wars supported by two superpowers during Cold War and eventually to conflict within states between conflicting parties, commonly state governments and opposing armed groups. The second point is that security concept has been reframed, emphasizing not merely the security of state but also focusing on human security. These two security concepts are not exclusive. They are interrelated, complementary, and mutually reinforcing even taking into account the aforementioned weaknesses of the concept of human security. The other thing to be considered is that women and children are the most vulnerable groups during and after armed conflicts in which made up 75 – 90% of the total victims. The human security of women and children in violent conflict areas is an imperative for the realization of peace and security. For these three factors, to maintain its relevance, the UN PKO has changed its mandates, strategies and goals since it was first established in 1945.

To ensure that this article meets its objective, it is necessary to define the UN PKO. It is an operation involving military personnel, but without enforcement powers, undertaken by the United Nations to help maintain or restore international peace and security in areas of



conflict.<sup>32</sup> However, when it comes to the actual operations, the definition offered by the UN itself is somewhat irrelevant. Some peacekeeping operations do not involve any military personnel, namely United Nations Missions in Bosnia and Herzegovina (UNMIBH) and the United Nations Civilian Police Mission in Haiti (MIPONUH).<sup>33</sup> Furthermore, some operations indeed exercise enforcement powers such as the United Nations Operations in Congo (ONUC) and the United Nations Protection Force (UNPROFOR).<sup>34</sup> Yet, it is important to acknowledge that peacekeeping effort is not an easy task to do especially in divided communities. Thus, the failure of some peacekeeping operations either to meet its criterion or to accomplish its mission should not degrade the positives of such operations.

The changing nature of war and the new framework of security have changed the strategic context of UN PKO. Since its establishment, UN PKO has been conducted 71 peacekeeping operations.<sup>35</sup> During Cold War (1948 – 1988), UN PKO has done 15 peacekeeping operations that mostly deployed to interstate conflict.<sup>36</sup> The objective of UN PKO in this period of time was to maintain ceasefires, stabilize situations on the ground and resolve conflict by peaceful means by providing crucial support for political efforts.<sup>37</sup> The security of conflicting states is a driving factor for the peacekeeping operations. After the Cold War ended, UN PKO has transformed its strategic role. Since 1989, UN PKO has been deployed its troops to 56 operations, of which 13 are still operating.<sup>38</sup> The operations are mostly deployed to intrastate conflict. Not only does national security matter in undertaking its operations, but human security also becomes an important measure for the realization of sustainable peace. This requires UN PKO to shift its strategic role from traditional to multidimensional. The tasks of UN PKO have been broadened, from helping to build sustainable institutions of governance, to human rights monitoring, to security sector reform, to the disarmament, demobilization and reintegration of former combatant.<sup>39</sup> The Military Operations Other Than War (MOOTW) which is the expansion of military operations role, including humanitarian and peacekeeping roles have required the re-evaluation of the warfare and combatants. In undertaking these roles, the military forces should improve their competencies particularly in the application of soft and hard power.<sup>40</sup> For instance a combination of combatant and non-combatant like attributes such as compassion, tolerance, empathy and emotional intelligence.<sup>41</sup>

To realize a peaceful world, however, is unattainable without involving women in peace and security agenda is very crucial. In this context, it is also a highly relevant issue to discuss the role of women in UN PKO noting that women and children are the most vulnerable group during and after conflicts. Women's and girl's experiences in conflicts explain the importance of promoting their human security. However, the number of female peacekeepers is far from adequate to ensure that women victims' needs and interests are guaranteed. As such, the UNSC Resolution 1325 came into being in 2000 as a result of the advocacy process by women's global movement. The UNSC has mandated UN PKO to ensure women's priorities are taken into

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<sup>32</sup> United Nations, 1991 as cited in Uesugi, Yuji: "The Nexus between UN Peacekeeping and Human Security: Reviewing the Functions of UN Peacekeeping from a Perspective of Human Security", *IPSHU English Research Report Series*, n° 19 (2004), pp. 96–123.

<sup>33</sup> See Uesugi, *op. cit.* p. 100

<sup>34</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 99

<sup>35</sup> *United Nations Peacekeeping*, at <https://peacekeeping.un.org/en>

<sup>36</sup> See Uesugi, *op. cit.* p. 96

<sup>37</sup> See United Nations Peacekeeping, *op. cit.*

<sup>38</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>39</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>40</sup> Kiszely, John: "Postmodern challenges for modern warriors", *Army History*, n° 71 (Spring 2009), pp. 19–33.

<sup>41</sup> Australian Army Headquarters. (2009): *Army's future land operating concept*. Canberra, Directorate of Army Research and Analysis

account in peace and security decisions at all level. The target to improve the number of female peacekeepers has become a global agenda and a part of gender parity strategy.

Female peacekeepers have an essential role in shifting traditional security setting to a more multidimensional by inserting feminine characteristics in military institutions<sup>42</sup> The idea of inserting feminine characteristic in military do not weaken the institution, but instead it strengthens and improves the capacity of military force in undertaking its humanitarian and peacekeeping role. The advancement of technology in military has widen the opportunity for women to work in these areas. This, to some extent, has enabled the reconfiguration of gender identities of soldiers and warriors which leads to a redefinition of the masculine nature of wars.<sup>43</sup> The female peacekeepers are critical for providing a greater sense of security to all local population including women and children that cannot be given by male peacekeepers. Subsequently, they can empower the local community, especially women, by improving access and support for local women and providing role models in the community. This will help to reduce any confrontation from the local community against the troops.<sup>44</sup> The following discussion will show Indonesia's experience in increasing the role of the women in peace and security agenda.

### **3.4 Women in Security Architecture in Indonesia: A Historical Context**

Historically, the existence of female warriors is nothing new in Indonesia. Indonesia had admiral Malahayati who led the war against the Dutch colonialists and succeeded in killing the occupation leader Cornelis de Hotman during a battle on the ship's deck on 11 September 1599. In addition, there was also Cut Nyak Dhien, a warlord who fought the Dutch colonizers in the battle of Aceh in 1873 -1904. In the 1800s there were also Nyi Ageng Serang and Martha Tiahahu who fought against the Dutch until the last drop of blood. In the 1940s Indonesia had to seize and defend its independence so that various paramilitary organizations emerged. One of them was made up of women and girls (Laskar Wanita - Laswi) led by Sumarsih Subiyati (Yati Aruji). The main task of Laswi was to prepare food and to care for injured warriors.<sup>45</sup>

#### **Picture 1. Laskar Wanita (Indonesian Female Warrior) in 1940's–Fight for Indonesia Independence**



Source: Mardiani (2019)<sup>46</sup>

<sup>42</sup> See Alchin, *op. cit.*

<sup>43</sup> Gray, Chris H.: "Posthuman soldiers in postmodern war", *Body & Society*, Vol. 9, No. 4 (2003), pp. 215–226.

<sup>44</sup> See United Nations Peacekeeping, *op. cit.*

<sup>45</sup> Mardiani, Annisa: "Para Perempuan dalam Perang Kemerdekaan", *Historia* (2019), at <https://historia.id/politik/articles/para-perempuan-dalam-perang-kemerdekaan-6kR4y>

<sup>46</sup> Original picture is from a repro book "Agresi Militer Belanda Memperebutkan Zamrud Sepanjang Khatulistiwa 1945/1949" by Pierre Heijboer



In 1948 the Women Corps of Indonesian Police was founded and followed by the establishment of Female Corps in Indonesian Army, Indonesian Naval, and Indonesian Air Force between 1961 and 1963. Nevertheless, women were only able to join the recruitment for military academy for the first time in 2013. In 2017, there were 38 graduates – 16 from the Army, 12 from the Air Force, and 10 from the Navy – making women constituted nearly 9% of all graduates. Graduates of military academies, including women, are eligible to assume command positions such as commanders of military regional command. However, women have no opportunities to hold several positions that require combat experience, such as the chief of staff because of the prohibition for women to get involved in combat. Yet, the future prospect is good because the combat restrictions will soon be revoked. Staff and command schools will be opened for women soon. According to the Indonesian Ministry of Defence, women have filled important positions in Indonesian military namely 12 Army brigadier generals, 11 Navy admirals, and 11 Air Force marshals. Additionally, there are 30,000 female personnel of the total 450,000 military personnel in Indonesia.<sup>47</sup>

### **3.5 Building Peace through Women's Participation: Indonesia's Experience**

As the largest Muslim population in the world with a strong patriarchal culture, involving women in the political arena, in the military-security issues, moreover as a peacekeeping force, is not easy. But Indonesia has a strong will to prove that Islam, modernity and the strengthening of women can be woven into harmony.

Indonesia's experience in handling ethnic and religious conflicts in Maluku from 1999-2003 shows that women can have a strategic role in conflict resolution. In Indonesia, with a majority Muslim population and a strong patriarchal culture, it is indeed not easy for women to be formally involved in a negotiation process between conflicting groups. However, informally women have a strategic role in their families. As a wife, a woman can persuade or influence her husband not to engage in armed conflict. As a mother, women can educate their children so as not to be prejudiced against other groups of different faiths or ethnicities.

Experience from Indonesia also shows that when there is a prolonged conflict it will be difficult to obtain basic needs because traders are afraid to sell. This situation is very troublesome for women whose gender roles require them to provide food for the family. It is women who then take the initiative to obtain these basic needs, even though they have to buy in the opponent's area. Thus, this urge to meet the basic needs of the family forces women to take the initiative, if necessary, by holding meetings with women from the opposing party in order to obtain basic needs for the family.

At the regional level, Indonesia sponsors the establishment of the ASEAN Women Mediators Network initiative, and organizes Regional Training on Women, Peace and Security in 2019 and 2020. Hopefully, the ASEAN Women Mediators Network can increase the role of women in resolving conflicts in their respective regions. As we know, ethnic conflicts are still a latent threat in various ASEAN countries. In turn, ASEAN women can play an active role and establish close cooperation within the framework of the Global Alliance of Regional Women Mediators Network. Along with the program, in March 2020, Indonesia has also signed a Letter of Intent with Netherland to work together to strengthen the capacity of women in the peace and security sector by holding training for peacekeepers and mediators.

At the global level, increasing the role of women in the peace process is one of Indonesia's main strategies in realizing world peace. The strategy is written explicitly in Indonesia's campaign to win the election of non-permanent members of the 2019-2020 UN

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<sup>47</sup> Abke, Tom: "Women moving up the ranks in Indonesia's military", *Indo-Pacific Defense Forum*, 14 June 2018, at <http://apdf-magazine.com/women-moving-up-the-ranks-in-indonesias-military/>



Security Council with the tagline "A True Partner for World Peace". Indonesia's membership in the UN Security Council is the fourth time after Indonesia was previously elected as a non-permanent member of the UN Security Council in the period 1973-1974, 1995-1996 and 2007-2008. This strategy is clearly in line with the fourth paragraph of the Preamble of the 1945 Constitution of the Republic of Indonesia that Indonesia will participate in carrying out world order based on freedom, perpetual peace and social justice.

“Pursuant to which, in order to form a government of the state of Indonesia that shall protect the whole people of Indonesia and the entire homeland and in order to advance general prosperity, to develop the nation’s intellectual life, and to contribute to the implementation of a world order based on freedom, lasting peace and social justice...”<sup>48</sup>

One of the concrete manifestations of this principle is the contribution of Indonesia in sending peacekeepers. The first shipment was carried out in 1957 by sending 559 troops which was named the First Garuda Contingent (KONGA I) to Egypt. This force was tasked for carrying out peacekeeping functions after the United Nations decided to withdraw British, French and Israeli forces from the territory of Egypt. By adhering to principles of “*To Win the Hearts and Minds of the People*,” Indonesia has dispatched more than 39,875 military and police personnel in 28 UN missions such as in Egypt, Congo, Vietnam, Iraq, Namibia, Cambodia, Somalia, Bosnia-Herzegovina, Georgia, the Philippines, Tajikistan, Sudan, Liberia, Siera Leone, Lebanon, and etc. In carrying out their duty, Indonesian peacekeepers work together with other peacekeeping troops coming from all over the world under various UN Peacekeeping Missions. Until 2018, 37 of them have died in carrying out their mission to maintain world peace.

Indonesia is currently participating in 8 UN peacekeeping missions from 14 peacekeeping operations topped by the Department of Peace Operations by deploying 3,544 peacekeeping personnel, with 94 female peacekeepers among them. Indonesia is currently in 7<sup>th</sup> place out of 124 peacekeeping state troops worldwide. The Government of Indonesia has committed to implement the Resolution 1325 by increasing its female peacekeepers in UN peacekeeping missions.<sup>49</sup> The contribution of Indonesian female peacekeepers in United Nations PKO is enforced by the adoption of the Regulation of Foreign Affairs Ministry of the Republic of Indonesian No. 5/2015 on the Road Map Vision 4,000 personnel 2015-2019 to increase the female peacekeepers up to 4,000 personnel at the end of 2019 through.<sup>50</sup>

The number of Indonesian female peacekeepers in every unit is increasing in general. For instance, female military observers/military staffs increased from 1.96% in 2010 to 15% by 2019, in other units from 2.34% in 2015 to 5% in 2019. The effort to improve the total female peacekeepers up to 7% is expected to be realized by 2020 in line with the UN Headquarters program. Indonesia’s position as one of the non-permanent members of UNSC for the period of 2019 – 2020 has strengthened Indonesia’s strategic position in global security architecture which can promote the importance of women in the peace and conflict resolution agenda.

Indonesia implements various programs to enhance the role of women in peace. First, Indonesia established The Indonesian Peace and Security Centre in Sentul, West Java which

<sup>48</sup> It is a certified English translation of the 1945 Constitution of the Republic of Indonesia from the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Republic of Indonesia which can be accessed at <http://www.unesco.org/education/edurights/media/docs/b1ba8608010ce0c48966911957392ea8cda405d8.pdf>. The original document written in *Bahasa Indonesia* can be accessed at <http://www.dpr.go.id/jdih/uu1945>

<sup>49</sup> Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Republic of Indonesia. “Indonesia and the United Nations Peacekeeping Mission”, Special Issue (7 April 2019), at [https://kemlu.go.id/portal/en/read/91/halaman\\_list\\_lainnya/indonesia-and-the-united-nations-peacekeeping-mission](https://kemlu.go.id/portal/en/read/91/halaman_list_lainnya/indonesia-and-the-united-nations-peacekeeping-mission)

<sup>50</sup> Hadi, Rani P.; Soesilowati, Sartika: “The role of women in security Indonesian women peacekeepers in the UNIFIL: challenges and opportunities”, *Masyarakat, Kebudayaan Dan Politik*, Vol. 31, n° 4 (2018), pp. 380-388.



hosts the largest peacekeeping training centre in Southeast Asia. In addition, Indonesia also ensured gender and human rights are subjects in the training curriculum. Second, Indonesia proposes various initiatives to encourage the active role of women in building peace. In March 2020, Indonesia formed the Afghanistan-Indonesian Women Solidarity Network initiative in Kabul.

**Table 2. Indonesia’s Contribution in United Nations PKO as of June 2019**

No.	UN PKO Name	Total of Contingent Troops	Female Troops	Police Officers	Staff Officer	Experts on Mission
1	UNIFIL (Lebanon)	1293	48		17	
2	MONUSCO (Congo)	1025	23	6	5	
3	UNAMID (Darfur, Sudan)	325	21	145		
4	MINUSCA (Central African Republic)	200		146	8	6
5	UNMISS (South Sudan)		2	14		
6	MINUSMA (Mali)				9	1
7	UNISFA (Abyei, Sudan)					2
8	MINURSO (West Sahara)					3

Source: United Nations (2019)

### **3.6 The Challenges for the Implementation of Resolution 1325**

The adoption of Resolution 1325 is undeniably a milestone for women’s military participation for the better and peaceful world. It is a right step that is taken by the international community, yet much more things need to be done to achieve women’s involvement in realizing eternal peace. The international agreements made by the United Nations generally have a limited impact on national institutions, so does the slow progress undertaken by the member states in adopting the provisions of the Resolution 1325 on Women, Peace and Security.<sup>51</sup> While women have to be involved at the negotiating table and their aspirations have to be listened and considered in the conflict resolution process, it is important to remember that when it comes to fixing society’s problems and working toward the elimination of war and violence – women are not alone. As the Chinese proverb says, women hold up half the sky, but we must work with those who hold up the other half.

In Indonesia, there are two main challenges in realizing the full implementation of the Resolution 1325. The first challenge is the existing structural constraint on the limited supply in the recruitment process because of the very small number of women who have become military and police. The second challenge is a socio-cultural issue which is caused by a hyper masculine military culture and a strong stereotype which hinder women to work in the security sector, including as peacekeepers.

<sup>51</sup> Giannini, Renata; Vermeij, Lotte. “Women, peace and security: gender challenges within UN Peacekeeping Missions”. Norwegian Institute for International Affairs (2014, at <http://www.jstor.org/stable/resrep08042>)



#### **4. Conclusion**

This research concludes that despite the pros and cons on the women's military participation, the involvement of women in peace, conflict, security, and especially as peacekeepers, has become an indispensable prerequisite for a peaceful world. The change of the warfare characteristics, from inter-state to intra-state conflict, and the new human security concept require the ability of peacekeepers to be closer to the community. The unique contribution of women in peacekeeping forces increases the community acceptance and optimizes the capability of military to fulfil its new multidimensional role, especially in protecting democratic societies.

Women peacekeepers can be more easily accepted and more easily win the trust of local residents, especially from women and children. As we know that in conflict areas, the majority of victims are women and children. With the acceptance and trust, good communication with the local population will be built, so women peacekeepers can obtain important information from the local population, or conversely convey the information needed by the local population. Thus, the mission of the peacekeeping force to provide protection to the local population can be carried out more effectively. And more importantly, the presence of women peacekeepers can be a role model that can inspire local women, that women can take the initiative or play an active role in maintaining and building peace.

Although women cannot always be directly involved in the formal peace process, women can have a strategic role in their families. As a wife, a woman can persuade or influence her husband not to engage in armed conflict. As a mother, women can educate their children so that they do not always be prejudiced against other groups of different religious or ethnic backgrounds. The drive to meet basic needs for their families also encouraged women to take the initiative to engage in informal dialogue with fellow women on the opposite side. Thus, in conflict-stricken areas, women are not only always victims, but are able to become agents of change.

Increasing the number of women in the field of peace, security, and especially as peacekeeping forces is indeed not an easy task. The first obstacle is related to structural constraints on the limited supply in the recruitment process because of the very small number of women who have become military and police. The second obstacle is what hinders women to work in the security sector which is a hyper masculine military culture and a strong stereotype that women are not suitable to work in the security sector, including as peacekeepers. Therefore, the efforts to enhance women contribution on peace, conflict resolution, and security agenda can be done through the reformation of military institution. Gender reformation should be put in one of the priority agendas in military institution, so that the military institution will be able to transform its policies regarding the issue of peace, conflict, security, and especially peacekeepers to be more gender sensitive.

The adoption of the Resolution 1325 concerning the Women, Peace and Security followed by the national obligation of its member states to establish the National Action Plan show that involving women in military has become a new accepted international norm. For Indonesia to fully implement the resolution, there are still challenges that have to be addressed. The Government of Indonesia shows its commitment to the resolution by issuing the Indonesian Roadmap Vision for 4,000 Peacekeepers in 2015-2019. This is in accordance with the mandate of the Constitution of the Republic of Indonesia of 1945, and moreover as a non-permanent member of the United Nations Security Council in 2019-2020.

Increasing the number of women in the field of peace, security, and especially as peacekeeping forces is indeed not an easy task. The first obstacle is related to structural constraints on the limited supply in the recruitment process because of the very small number



of women who have become military and police. The second obstacle is what hinders women to work in the security sector which is a hyper masculine military culture and a strong stereotype that women are not suitable to work in the security sector, including as peacekeepers. Therefore, the efforts to enhance women contribution on peace, conflict resolution, and security agenda can be done through public reformation, and related government institutions, especially in the military. Gender reformation should be put in one of the priority agendas in military institution, so that the military institution will be able to transform its policies regarding the issue of peace, conflict, security, and especially peacekeepers to be more gender sensitive.

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