

TALLINN UNIVERSITY OF TECHNOLOGY

School of Business and Governance

Department of Law

Riina Tikka

**PEACEKEEPING ECONOMY AS THE CAUSE OF SEXUAL
EXPLOITATION AND ABUSE OF WOMEN - THE CASE OF
DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC OF CONGO**

Bachelor's thesis

Programme INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS

Supervisor: Holger Mölder, PhD

Tallinn 2018

I declare that I have compiled the paper independently
and all works, important standpoints and data by other authors
have been properly referenced and the same paper
has not been previously been presented for grading.
The document length is 10011 words from the introduction to the end of conclusion.

Riina Tikka

(signature, date)

Student code: 145789 TASB

Student e-mail address: riina.m.tikka@gmail.com

Supervisor: Holger Mölder

The paper conforms to requirements in force

.....

(signature, date)

Chairman of the Defence Committee:

Permitted to the defence

.....

(name, signature, date)

TABLE OF CONTENTS

INTRODUCTION	5
1. FRAMING THE ISSUE.....	7
1.1. Peacekeeping economies	7
1.2. Sexual exploitation and abuse.....	10
2. IMPLICATIONS OF HIGHLY GENDERED PEACEKEEPING ECONOMIES	13
2.1. The ways sexual exploitation effects on post-conflict societies	13
2.2. Scarred societies – marks which SEA leaves to these societies	15
3. OBSERVING THE CONNECTION OF SEA AND PEACEKEEPING ECONOMIES IN DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC OF CONGO	16
3.1. Conflict background.....	16
3.2. Sexual exploitation and abuse in the peacekeeping mission in Democratic Republic of Congo	17
3.3. United Nations responses to sexual exploitation and abuse in Democratic Republic of Congo	19
4. RECOMMENDATIONS FOR FUTHER ACTIONS	21
4.1. Actions to be done locally in the countries hosting United Nations Peacekeeping Operations	21
4.1.1. Gender issue: improving the status of local women.....	21
4.1.2. Fighting economic disparity to solve the problem of a peacekeeping economy	22
4.2. Inside United Nations – Changing how the United Nations operates on the ground.....	23
4.2.1. Trainings	24
4.2.2. Inclusion of more women in the operations.....	25
4.2.3. The role of the Security-Council	26
CONCLUSION.....	29
LIST OF REFERENCES	31

ABSTRACT

The aim of this dissertation is to examine and understand the connection between the phenomena of peacekeeping economies and sexual exploitation and abuse (SEA). I argue that the presence of peacekeeping economies cause SEA in post-conflict countries where United Nations peacekeeping operations take place. United Nations' reputation has suffered during the past two decades when several claims of SEA against the UN peacekeepers have surfaced. Using academic articles this dissertation identifies: first, that post-conflict countries and territories are especially prone to suffer from peacekeeping economies and SEA because of the social and economic conditions; and secondly, that they occur because the current UN procedures are unable to prevent them. Gender inequality contributes to the social and economic disparity between the UN peacekeeping forces and the local population, which allows the creation of highly masculine peacekeeping economies. Utilizing the Democratic Republic of Congo as a case study, the connection between peacekeeping economies and SEA can be examined in the on-going UN peacekeeping mission. Through a qualitative approach of identifying themes in the research material this dissertation also suggests recommendations for future actions, both in the mission countries as well as in UN procedures. These recommendations regard peacekeepers' training, inclusion of more women to the operations and the role of the UN Security Council.

Keywords: United Nations, Peacekeeping Operation, peacekeeping economy, sexual exploitation and abuse, Democratic Republic of Congo

INTRODUCTION

This dissertation examines the phenomenon of peacekeeping economies and their connections to sexual exploitation and abuse (SEA). The aim is to understand and examine how the two are connected. The hypothesis of this dissertation is that the presence of peacekeeping economies cause SEA in post-conflict countries where United Nations peacekeeping missions take place. SEA as a phenomenon is not new and occurs also outside of conflict and post-conflict societies. Yet in this thesis I have focused only on its connection with United Nations peacekeeping economies. Thus excluding other military conflicts and their relation to SEA. In other words: SEA may occur without peacekeeping economies but when peacekeeping economies do occur, SEA is always involved. This paper pursues to provide support to this statement.

I argue that investigation which strives to understand and examine the connection of peacekeeping economies and SEA enables disclosing the factors causing it in the countries hosting peacekeeping operations as well as in the procedures of United Nations. Peacekeeping operations are one of the largest and most publicly visible actions of United Nations. The main goals of the organization are to: establish and maintain peace and friendly relations between nations; improving the lives of poor; encouraging respect for each other's freedom and rights; and to be the centre for harmonizing the actions of countries (UN 2018a). When SEA occurs, peacekeepers not only violate these basis of UN and endanger the reputation of the organization, but their actions also harm the very individuals they were sent to under a mandate to protect. This increases the relevance of studying the connection of peacekeeping economies and SEA.

The central argument of this thesis speaks to current debates in International Relations concerning United Nations and its procedures in ongoing peacekeeping missions, which have got media attention because of the robust mandates and unprofessional actions of peacekeepers in the field. The argument proceeds as follows. The first chapter summarises the central points in the theoretical literature concerning peacekeeping economies and sexual exploitation and abuse to

provide a framework for analysis for the study that follows. Chapter two is a service chapter that provides essential background to the case study, as it shows how SEA effects the post-conflict societies in which UN operations take place, and indicates how SEA scars these countries and territories. Theory is applied to an analysis in chapter three in the case of peacekeeping operation in Democratic Republic of Congo. United Nations Organization Stabilization Mission in the Democratic Republic of Congo (MONUSCO) is the largest ongoing UN PKO and is known across the globe for the blatant SEA cases which have occurred between peacekeepers and local women and girls throughout the prolonged mission. Analysing the examples in DRC concretize the connection between peacekeeping economies and SEA. It shows how unconcernedly the organization reacted to the topic before it was noticed more publicly and actions needed to be done in order to save UN's reputation. This analysis leads to the fourth chapter where several recommendations are pointed out in order to prevent SEA occurring in the peacekeeping missions and to break the connection of SEA and peacekeeping economies. These recommendations are pointed out to be carried out in the countries and territories hosting PKOs, as well as in the procedures of UN. Final conclusion of the thesis is that the UN presence in the country does not necessarily improve the economic and social conditions and can in fact even worsen them, and that SEA and peacekeeping economies have a strong connection.

This paper uses qualitative research approach. Information for the case study was obtained from a search of academic articles and from materials published on the web site of United Nations. Qualitative approach was chosen particularly because the currently known numbers of SEA related cases in UN peacekeeping operations are only directional and are based on publications of UN. Those publications provided the basis and essential information for this paper, but the major findings were made through research of academic articles and literature, for the reason of their impartiality regarding the topic. Qualitative research approach lets the researcher themselves interpret the collected material and to analyse the findings thematically. This was seen as an appropriate method in order to create a better understanding into the relationship between the phenomena of peacekeeping economies and SEA.

1. FRAMING THE ISSUE

The first chapter covers the concepts of peacekeeping economy and sexual exploitation and abuse in United Nations peacekeeping missions. The term ‘peacekeeping economy’ may be considered differently depending of the context and the chapter summarizes these views from the current academic literature. However, this paper defines peacekeeping economy as the social and economic interactions and activities between UN peacekeepers and local population, associated in the certain location where peacekeeping mission takes place. The appearance of peacekeeping economies have long-lasting consequences to the social and economic conditions of the country hosting the mission, and these consequences tend to be negative and sometimes worsening the situation in the territory.

1.1. Peacekeeping economies

United Nations peacekeepers consist of military-, police- and civilian personnel working primarily in monitoring, observing and reporting roles in UN peacekeeping missions around the world (UN 2018e). Peacekeepers are either unarmed or lightly armed and despite involvement of military personnel, peacekeepers do not have enforcement powers in the field (Ndulo 2009). The mission of the UN peacekeepers is to stay impartial and ensure peace between the parties in conflict. Presence of peacekeepers is still crucial for peace in many areas: they monitor the implementation of peace agreements; secure refugee camps, and prevent conflicts to rage or spread any boarder. Currently there are 14 ongoing peacekeeping operations led by the Department of Peacekeeping Operations, engaging over 110000 UN personnel serving in different positions (UN 2018f).

Peacekeeping economies have not been subject to much analysis yet. They have only began to gain attention from researchers in recent years, even though they have existed as long as peacekeeping missions have. The existing literature has mainly focused on the connection of peacekeeping missions and local economies in a more statistical, economical and numeral

approach, thus dealing with for example financial flows PKOs generate to local economies, or referring to the term when discussing about industry and services such as shops, restaurants, bars and transport appearing to the area when the mission does (Jennings, Nikolic-Ristanovic 2009). Indeed, several researchers agree that peacekeeping economy encompasses those facilities but more importantly it refers to the economic and social activities and interactions associated with the presence of a peacekeeping mission in a certain location. According to Edu-Afful and Aning (2015) peacekeeping economy composes of everyday social and economic interactions between United Nations peacekeepers, the peacekeeping operation, and the local population and communities. (Edu-Afful, Aning 2015). As Jennings and Nikolic-Ristanovic (2009) argue it is a “context in which most local residents have their main or only contact with civilian and military personnel in peace operations.” (Jennings, Nikolic-Ristanovic 2009, 2).

These interactions occur because of the economic opportunities for locals generated by the existence of a peacekeeping mission. The sudden presence of thousands of international people involved in the mission creates a demand for supplies in the local markets and shops, as well as may create several job opportunities from different levels to local staff; from skilled, semi-skilled and unskilled formal sectors in United Nations or Non-Governmental Organizations’ offices (Jennings 2010). The formal sectors include for example work as a secretariat, driver, translator or a guard, and informal ones as a housecleaner or a helper who does laundry and runs errands (Ibid.). Establishing peacekeeping missions may grow the economy and create opportunities in the post-conflict areas, especially in capital cities where UN personnel are most concentrated and in those more rural areas where for the UN bases are often located. However, the positive effects of this growth are often temporary (Jennings, Nikolic-Ristanovic 2009). “The assumption is that the services, establishments, interests, and impacts of the peacekeeping economy will not outlast the peacekeeping mission, or at least will revert to a more sustainable level.” (Ibid., 5). Jennings and Nikolic-Ristanovic (2009) argue that the issue is debatable since peacekeeping economies do not support wider and broader economic growth for post-conflict nations (Ibid.,). Edu-Afful and Aning (2015) who have investigated peacekeeping economies in Liberia, Sierra Leone and Ivory Coast debate that there are several factors which influence the actual impact of the peacekeeping economy to the local one. The size of the international intervention, meaning the number of troops and other UN personnel in the area; how widely the mission has geographically spread and the host countries’ economic context are all strongly influencing components (Edu-Afful, Aning 2015).

However, the economic context of the host-countries is rarely in good condition, since the nations where UN PKOs operate are invariably war-torn post-conflict countries, often characterized by collapsed economies with weak to almost non-existent judicial systems and rule of law, as well as corruption (Ndulo 2009). This tends to lead to high inequality in the country with a strong hierarchy, whether it is political, social, economic or physical, and women often end up victims of such inequality (Edu-Afful, Aning 2015). Industries and services are generally occupied and run by men with women working in the lower levels (Jennings, Nikolic-Ristanovic 2009). Especially in the unskilled levels this may include forced or voluntary participation in the sex industry characterized by sexual exploitation and abuse (SEA) of women and girls (Jennings 2010). Jennings and Nikolic-Ristanovic (2009) argue that there is a strong connection between peacekeeping economies and sex industry, as the sudden presence of often male peacekeepers with a relatively high income generates a demand, and local women and girls struggling to get food on the table for their families have to either voluntarily or forced to use their bodies as the last resort in order to survive (Jennings, Nikolic-Ristanovic 2009). In many operations such as in Haiti and Kosovo the presence of peacekeepers has brought up the appearance of sex industries, prostitution and brothels nearby the peacekeepers' accommodations. Women and girls are either working independently or mediated through a third party, such as a pimp, madam or trafficker (Jennings 2010).

This phenomenon has actually become alertly normal in the UN peacekeeping missions and have become a basic feature of a peacekeeping economy. Jennings and Nikolic-Ristanovic (2009) argue that UN peacekeeping economies are highly gendered and the normalization of them has allowed the characteristics and impacts of the peacekeeping economies to be obscured and overlooked (Jennings, Nikolic-Ristanovic 2009). In other words, it has become more like a rule than an exception that 'peacekeeping economies' appear in the mission areas, peacekeepers and locals know that they run mainly by sex work provided by women and girls, and this is seen as a norm. This complicates any upper facet to intervene. Due to their salary and status, UN peacekeepers are in a higher social and economic position when compared to local population (Ndulo 2009). Simic (2012) agrees that peacekeeping economies are characterized by income inequality in an extreme level (Simic 2012). This can be seen for instance in the differences of the living conditions between locals and UN peacekeepers. Regionally locals and peacekeepers live in the same place but still 'not in the same world'. Peacekeepers' residents are often fully equipped and air-conditioned while the locals may lack of proper accommodation and food. In several missions there have been peacekeepers taking advantage of this inequality and it can be seen as peacekeeping economies

characterized by sexual exploitation, transactional sex and the sexual labor by local women and girls. (Ndulo 2009) This ‘peacekeeping economies as sex economies’ is a phenomenon which has broader and more lasting consequences for the post-conflict area than one could maybe think. As Jennings argues; “Existence and potential long-term perpetuation of a highly gendered peacekeeping economy threatens to undermine the gender goals and objectives that are a component of most peace operations.” (Jennings, Nikolic-Ristanovic 2009, 1). One could conclude that when peacekeeping economies become a norm, it only improves the gender inequality in the country.

For the nations who have struggled with highly gendered issues through decades, the existence of peacekeeping economies which run by sexual labor into which women and girls are often forced to join in a way or another is only a step back on a road to gender equality. In times of conflict many are forced to invoke to all the possibilities left in order to feed the family and to just stay alive. For women and girls the last way to do that can be through their bodies. In some cases, for local women and girls, prostitution or working in the sex industry otherwise is the only way they see to survive in extreme poverty (Ndulo 2009). Ndulo (2009) states an example from Bunia, a province located in Democratic Republic of Congo. Local girls refused to receive help and cooperate with the investigators who had come there to investigate SEA, since the girls thought that successful investigation would lead to closing the brothels and for them, losing their only income (Ibid.). Some of these girls have never had an opportunity to participate into any kind of school as a result of the economic situation of their families, and therefore possibilities to get an education and entering to higher level jobs are excluded.

1.2. Sexual exploitation and abuse

United Nations Secretariat has defined the terms of sexual exploitation and sexual abuse as followed; “‘sexual exploitation’ means any actual or attempted abuse of a position of vulnerability, differential power, or trust, for sexual purposes, including, but not limited to, profiting monetarily, socially or politically from the sexual exploitation of another. Similarly, the term ‘sexual abuse’ means the actual or threatened physical intrusion of a sexual nature, whether by force or under unequal or coercive conditions.” (UN 2003, 1). The forms of SEA are for example abduction, sexual slavery, trafficking, prostitution, transactional sex, rape, sexual assault, and sex with minors, which in this context means under 18 year olds.

The connection between SEA and UN peacekeepers got media attention during the missions in early 2000's, when several foreign peacekeepers were accused to having inappropriate sexual conduct with local women and even children (Grady 2010). The claims became public when two consultants of the United Nations High Commission for Refugees (UNHCR) and Save the Children (UK) were committed to study the issue of sexual exploitation and violence in refugee communities in Liberia, Sierra Leone and Guinea and reports of their investigations were made (Ndulo 2009). Those investigations showed data of a widespread sexual exploitation and abuse in the three countries. The exact cases from their mission could not have been fully confirmed, but they indicated that the problem of SEA in peacekeeping missions is real and needs to be further investigated (Ibid.). The Secretary-General at the time Kofi Annan responded to the accusations, and asserted that UN takes them seriously and will fully investigate the cases to uproot them ever happening again. In an official UN report published in March 2005 he makes recommendations of preventing any sexual exploitation and abuse in peacekeeping operations, and emphasizes preventative measures when it comes to misconduct by peacekeepers (Notar 2006). As the issue got investigated more, it came to realization that the phenomenon was not new and did not begin in the 21st century. Sexual exploitation is, almost with no exception, involved one way or another in every UN peacekeeping mission, the first indicated cases being from the missions of the 20th century such as the ones in Bosnia-Herzegovina, Kosovo and Rwanda (Grady 2010). In fact, according to Amnesty International, SEA takes place in 85 percent of the conflicts worldwide (Grady 2010) making it truly an issue worth of more investigation. Sexual violence, transactional sex and sexual exploitation by UN staff are strongly condemned by the UN Secretary-General, but it is also considered as an act of violation of international humanitarian law (Ibid.).

One can say that conflict-torn countries, nations and areas are particularly vulnerable for sexual exploitation and abuse, as conflict has often affected to the country's economy severely. As Spencer (2005) states; "Conflict destroys opportunities to earn a viable income, leaving many women and children completely reliant on outside assistance. This is particularly true for female- and child-headed households because reproductive work (taking care of children and home) limits their ability to secure gainful employment outside the home." (Spencer 2005, 171). These households trust to get aid they are not able to get anywhere else from peacekeepers, and when these peacekeepers use their position wrong, it leads to mistrust towards foreign forces in the area and other international organizations as well. Ndulo (2009) claims that SEA occurs because peacekeepers think that they can get away with it. She represents an example in her article where a male mechanic, employed by MONUC and later on arrested by the state of Democratic Republic

of Congo, was accused to have been having sex with 24 girls during his employment in DRC. When he was asked about his reasons and why the cases occurred, he answered: “Over there, the colonial spirit persists. The white man gets what he wants.” (Ndulo 2009, 144). Cases like this show that the issue is real and that there are employees and volunteers working in the peacekeeping economies who cruelly take advantage of the poor conditions of the women rights, just because they can. When it comes to United Nations peacekeeping operations, one cannot but notice that the majority of the staff working in the missions, especially in the troop- and police forces, are men. Throughout the years peacekeeping economies have become marked with strong masculinity and got characterized by strong power relations. The ‘boys will be boys’ – mentality has enabled misbehavior and taking advantage of women and girls during the missions.

As a conclusion, when peacekeeping economy appears in the conflict- or post-conflict area, it often has a significant impact to it as peacekeepers and locals live in the same area but not in the same world. Sudden presence of male peacekeepers with relatively higher income creates a demand and women and girls struggling to get food on the table often end up using their bodies as the last resort to have any sort of income (Ndulo 2009). As PKOs are often established in the developing countries with a strong gender inequality, peacekeeping economies are only a step back and worsen the status of women and girls in the country. The normalization of the connection between peacekeepers and SEA resulted to almost non-existent intervention until the issue started to get negative publicity in the turn of the millennium. As the connection of SEA and UN PKOs was recognized it came clear that the issue is not new and requires more investigation and actions to be done by UN in order to prevent it.

2. IMPLICATIONS OF HIGHLY GENDERED PEACEKEEPING ECONOMIES

The second chapter indicates how peacekeeping economies and SEA effect on the area hosting a PKO and how does it effect on the image and reputation of UN. Knowingly or not, peacekeeper threatens the impartiality of the mission when getting sexually involved with the local population. Mistrust the local population has towards United Nations endangers the peacekeeping operation, as well as the reputation of UN. If locals do not consider peacekeeping operation as a conducive factor in the area, it doubts the purpose for establishing the operations even in the first place. Implications are measured by using examples occurred in several UN peacekeeping mission such as Democratic Republic of Congo and Rwanda. Along with creating mistrust, fear and possible psychological trauma, the highly gendered peacekeeping economies create a higher risk for STDs with long lasting consequences for the post-conflict area, as well as the countries peacekeepers are returning after the mission.

2.1. The ways sexual exploitation effects on post-conflict societies

Building block for creating sustainable peace is to create trust among locals towards the local government and to non-governmental organizations helping in the post-conflict area. United Nations peacekeeping forces are very often the first non-belligerent armed force in the area, the first who is not seeking to rule and conquer (Spencer 2005). That emphasizes why it is crucial that peacekeepers can create trustworthy relations with locals. However, when actions of misconduct occur, it threatens the trust for UN and towards other international organizations in the area as well and the whole mission can become endangered. Spencer (2005) states that when SEA occurs it creates fear and mistrust towards all armed forces (Ibid.). Peacekeepers sexually abusing locals can along with civilians affect also to UN's reputation among the parties of conflict (Grady 2010). UN peacekeepers have the moral authority to act according to code of conduct during the mission

and when their position is used wrong it can have long lasting consequences to the conflict area as well as to local individuals. In the example of UN PKO in Democratic Republic of Congo, militias from different armed rebel groups have been attacking civilians for around two decades already, and if UN peacekeepers had not have been there during this time there would be no one to rely on. The civilians would be at the mercy of the armed men who have been doing disastrous actions in the country, from burning down the villages to killing and raping locals (Notar 2006). As UN peacekeepers get caught of doing the similar acts, it breaks the trust.

One of the key features UN requires from the peacekeepers is impartiality. Peacekeepers cannot take sides when monitoring peace in the operation as UN is an international organization representing all of the member nations, peacekeeper taking a side in the conflict could be seen as the whole organization would be in ones' side. Still, when peacekeepers break the codes of conduct and get involved with civilians in the form of SEA, it leads to impartiality in the mission. Grady (2010) introduces examples of this in her article 'Sexual Exploitation and Abuse by UN Peacekeepers: A Threat to Impartiality'. During the United Nations Assistance Mission for Rwanda (UNAMIR), local media accused UN from being partial and Tutsi-favored, when Belgian troops were involved with Tutsi-women (Grady 2010). The similar case occurred in Cambodia where UN peacekeepers were accused for negligence of monitoring Vietnamese forces in the area and thus supporting Vietnamese interference in Cambodia, as the troops had been involved with Vietnamese prostitutes in the peacekeeping economy (Ibid.).

Even if peacekeepers using services of sex industry in the peacekeeping economies, such as brothels and prostitutes would be seen acceptable if both of the parties do it voluntarily, it is close to impossible to know for sure if the women are working for their own choice or as a result of illegal sex trafficking. Human trafficking is one of the features of black markets which tend to be the key ways of funding rebel groups in the conflict. If the peacekeeper uses the services from women who are trafficked there illegally, he knowingly or unknowingly funds the party of a conflict and supports sex trafficking. By doing so he does not act according to UN procedures and mandate of the mission.

2.2. Scarred societies – marks which SEA leaves to these societies

Sexual exploitation by peacekeepers may have a strong impact in threatening the security of the mission as it violates the mandate to create peace in the area and generates mistrust among locals. Victims may suffer from psychological trauma as a result of their experiences and fatherless ‘peacekeeping babies’ may be stigmatized by the local community for the rest of their lives, and since the fathers are very rarely possible to be tracked down especially after their mission is served, the families are left without no support. As the countries hosting peacekeeping operations are often considerably conservative societies, these peacekeeping babies being mixed race, may be stigmatized and ostracized because they stand out and look different from the general population and community into which they were born (Ndulo 2009).

Tripodi and Patel address in their work ‘HIV/AIDS, Peacekeeping and Conflict Crises in Africa, Medicine, Conflict and Survival’ (2004) the link between HIV and AIDS and security. The link was noted and debated the first time by the UN Security Council in the year 2000, when it was stated that: “In many parts of the developing world AIDS is killing more people than any other preventable cause of death, destabilizing countries politically, reversing decades of economic progress, reducing numbers and expertise within conscript armies, and destroying the social glue that binds communities together.” (Tripodi, Patel 2004, 197). Tripodi and Patel (2004) state that in conflicts and peacekeeping operations in many parts of Africa, AIDS is the main cause of death among police and military forces, and the rates among soldiers carrying sexually transmitted diseases are two to five times higher than in comparable civilian populations (Ibid.). This can somehow be explicated by the aggression and risk taking of the combat soldiers, which are seen as important characteristics in their work. However, those characteristics can lead to risky behavior in other parts of the mission, such as sex without protection or purchased sex. Infected soldiers create a massive health risk to the locals, especially in countries where the disease has not yet spread and damaged the social structure (Ibid.). As soldiers complete their tour in another part of the host country and return back to the origin basis, they introduce the disease in that part of the conflict area as well. The same risk is existent when they eventually return to their home countries after the mission. There are indicated conflict countries such as Cambodia, where were no recorded HIV or AIDS cases before the Peacekeeping Mission started there in 1992, but after the soldiers came it took ten years for Cambodia to have the highest HIV per head ratio in whole Asia (Ibid.). SEA occurring in the peacekeeping missions generate also these vast health issues, which effect to both peacekeepers and to local population.

3. OBSERVING THE CONNECTION OF SEA AND PEACEKEEPING ECONOMIES IN DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC OF CONGO

The third chapter applies the phenomena of peacekeeping economy and sexual exploitation and abuse to an analysis in the form of a case study of peacekeeping operation in Democratic Republic of Congo. The United Nations Organization Stabilization Mission in the Democratic Republic of Congo is not only the largest UN peacekeeping operation, but it is one of the most egregious ones when it comes to peacekeepers and SEA. The operation in question has become a taint of UN and has received more public attention because of the misbehavior of peacekeepers rather than success stories where peace was actually kept. DRC is an epitome of a war-torn African country where gender equality and social and economic factors can be said to be in poor condition, and these factors enable SEA for one's part. The analysis of the examples occurred in DRC throughout its prolonged mission concretize the connection of SEA and peacekeeping economies. Information gathered from academic literature gives valuable information for the case study and opens up new aspects to the topic, which publications of UN would not have necessarily provided.

3.1. Conflict background

The peacekeeping operation in DRC started in the year 1999 as United Nations Mission in the Democratic Republic of the Congo (MONUC), when UN Security Council called a ceasefire between six different nations fighting in DRC's territory. The conflict in the area can be said to have started in the aftermath of genocide of Rwanda occurred in 1994, which led to approximately one million Rwandese Hutus to become refugees ,fleeing to eastern parts of DRC, former Zaire (UN 2018c). The rebellious actions in the area started in 1996 when Tutsi forces led by the leader Laurent-Desire Kabila attacked against the army of the Zaire President Mobutu Sese Seko and took over the capital Kinshasa in 1996 and 1997. Kabila named himself as the president of the

now-called Democratic Republic of Congo (UN 2018d). Rebel forces, supported by Rwanda and Uganda, tried to take over president Kabila's government in 1998, who in turn had the support of neighbor countries Zimbabwe, Namibia, Angola and Chad. Within weeks the rebels had conquered most of the eastern part of DRC (UN 2018c) and were close to dethrone Kabila's government, when United Nations managed to intervene and demanded withdrawing the weapons and urged the neighbor countries not to interfere in DRC's internal politics (Ibid.). The Lusaka ceasefire was signed in 1999 between six regional states, DCR, Angola, Namibia, Rwanda, Uganda and Zimbabwe and the UN Security Council established MONUC by its resolution 1279 to ensure the peace in the area (Ibid.). Despite of the UN presence in the area, the conflict in Democratic Republic of Congo has prolonged and it was not until 2006 when the first free and fair elections managed to be organized. The operation was renamed and extended through the Security Council's resolution 1925 in the year 2010 when MONUC turned to The United Nations Organization Stabilization Mission in the Democratic Republic of Congo (MONUSCO). MONUSCO is still in the year 2018 the largest ongoing UN peacekeeping operation, involving over 16000 military personnel, over 1300 police personnel and around 4000 civilians from over 50 contributing countries across the globe (UN 2018g).

3.2. Sexual exploitation and abuse in the peacekeeping mission in Democratic Republic of Congo

The peacekeeping operation in DRC is with no doubt one of the most ostentatious UN peacekeeping mission when it comes to SEA. Notar (2006) states that while most of the peacekeepers have managed to fill their duty through professionalism, the actions of few others have smudged the reputation of the others as well (Notar 2006). Even though the numbers of SEA related cases are spread across the missions, the great majority has happened in MONUC and MONUSCO. United Nations Office of Oversight Services (OIOS) started to investigate the issue in DRC in 2004 after UN peacekeepers were accused of SEA of young Congolese women and girls during MONUC, and found several serious cases of SEA in the mission (Ndulo 2009). The Secretary-General reported then to have found 53 allegations of SEA in DRC during the year 2003, when in 2004 the number had raised already to 121 allegations (Ibid.). During those years there were articles reporting rape, torture, fathering of peacekeeping babies and pornographic videotaping for example (Notar 2006). In the year 2005 the numbers kept raising to 340 cases, 2006 to 357 and finally dropped to 59 verified cases in 2007 (Ndulo 2009).

The dropping of SEA related cases can be explained by UN tightening up the restrictions and punishments of the caught peacekeepers and recognizing the problem, but the numbers do not always tell the whole truth. Ending up as a victim of SEA can cause a lot of shame and fear, and women and girls may be too frightened to report about them (Ndulo 2009). There are cases of girls abandoned by their families as a result of getting raped by militias, and they may feel there is simply no one trustworthy to tell about what has happened to them (Notar 2006). Still whilst the mission the investigations have expanded and so have the allegations of SEA, despite of the drop in 2007. Freedman (2011) states in her article 'Explaining Sexual Violence and Gender Inequalities in the DRC', that MONUSCO reported more than 2000 incidents of SEA in DRC during alone in October and November in 2010 (Freedman 2011). She refers to International Rescue Committee's reports where is stated that several of these cases happen when women are conducting everyday activities, and in fact 56 percent of the women living in Eastern parts of DRC have been attacked by armed groups while performing these daily activities (Ibid.). There have been reported cases of girls as young as ten who have ended up having sex with peacekeepers in exchange for simple products such as peanut butter, couple eggs, cup of milk or one dollar (Notar 2006). An example of this happened to a sixteen year old girl from Bunia, located in the eastern part of DRC, when she was in the field collecting for food and she got raped by a militia man (Ibid.). As a result of that she started to engage with peacekeepers, because at least that was how she got money or food as an exchange for sleeping with them. Similar tragic occurred to a ten year old girl also from Bunia, who then after her story started to spread began to be called as 'one dollar girl' or 'little prostitute'. She got raped by a militiaman when she was ten years old and after that tried to get help and support from a women's group, where she was told that even though it was not her fault, no man would ever want her as his pride because she is not virgin (Ibid.). As a result she started to have sex with peacekeepers, since at least she got paid for it and as many young girls in DRC who have experienced the same, does not see any other way for earning an income (Ibid.).

There are several factors that can explain why this occurs, and one of them being the economic and social circumstances under which the women in DRC are living. Freedman (2011) claims that in the year 2011, around 61% of female headed households were living below the poverty line and a vast of the jobs women have in the country are either low level jobs in informal sector or in agriculture (Freedman 2011). In those fields no protection against possible exploitation is provided, and women and girls in general have a little or no access at all to services such as health

and education in DRC. One could say that this is a never ending circle, as many families tend to think it is better to invest the little existent money to their sons' education, leaving daughters to stay at home and helping in the household or engaging in informal work to bring additional income to the family (Ibid.). Statistics indicate that 42% of girls do not finish primary education in DRC (Ibid.). Other reports show data of girls abandoned by their families because of getting raped by militias, then desperate and starving got into transactional sex with peacekeepers (Notar 2006). These are alarming statistics and affect strongly to the country's future state as well.

3.3. United Nations responses to sexual exploitation and abuse in Democratic Republic of Congo

After numerous SEA related accusations towards UN peacekeepers came to light in the turn of the millennium, UN announced 'zero tolerance policy' as a respond in year 2003 (Kanetake 2010). Zero tolerance policy which was introduced in UN Secretary General's Bulletin, "embodies both zero complacency, namely to fully investigate allegations, and zero impunity if the allegations are found to have merit." (Ibid., 200). The bulletin steeply states that if the allegations of SEA, after adequate investigations, turn out to be correct and evidence is found, the cases may be referred to national authorities for criminal prosecution (UN 2003). Since the UN recognition of SEA, the allegations occurred in DRC in 2004 were widely noticed and additional rules were developed to the bulletin in 2005 (Ndulo 2009). UN Secretary-General sent Jordan's Ambassador of UN to investigate measures on the issue of SEA by peacekeepers in DRC, and to make recommendations how the problem should be dealt with based on the findings (Ibid.). Several actions regarding the issue were made and that was when the situation in DRC was fully noticed and during the past decade UN Secretary-General has published several reports about it and new resolutions have been made issuing SEA. Newest report was published in March 2018, which introduced 'a new approach' and special measures for protection from SEA. The new approach has four main focus areas: "Putting victims first; ending impunity; engaging civil society and external partners; and improving strategic communications for education and transparency." (UN 2017b, 1). The accusations occurred in peacekeeping mission in DRC have brought the connection between peacekeeping economies and sexual exploitation and abuse to public knowledge. Therefore United Nations has been obliged to take the responsibility and react, but still the actions made have not took out the fact that SEA is still involved in the mission of Democratic Republic of Congo, and that MONUSCO has been throughout the years the UN mission leading SEA claims.

To conclude chapter three, The United Nations Organization Stabilization Mission in the Democratic Republic of Congo is not only the largest UN PKO, but it has also lasted almost two decades by now. MONUSCO has gathered public attention several times because of the numerous SEA accusations towards the peacekeepers. Throughout the mission there have been from tens to hundreds of certified SEA cases yearly, and alone in year 2010 appalling 2000 known cases (Freedman 2011). These may just be the tip of the iceberg, since many of the actual cases do not surface for various reasons, embarrassment, humiliation or possible abandonment of the families being just a few. Democratic Republic of Congo represents a developing and relatively poor post-conflict country where it is still common way to invest the available money on son's education, leaving daughters in many cases partly or completely without education. According to the statistics, in DRC 42% of the girls do not finish even primary school, and often end up earning the additional income for the family somehow else (Freedman 2011). Often these are unsecured jobs or household tasks where no protection from SEA is provided and ending up as a victim is relatively high (Notar 2006). Gender inequality is a severe issue in DRC and the country is after years of conflict comparably indigent. This makes women and girls of DRC vulnerable to exploitation, when relatively richer peacekeepers appear to the area. Even though United Nations has responded to the accusations regarding SEA and has established more strict procedures, sexual exploitation and abuse is still present in MONUSCO.

4. RECOMMENDATIONS FOR FUTURE ACTIONS

This chapter seeks to provide recommendations for further actions. Through examining and understanding the phenomenon of peacekeeping economies and their connection to SEA, it allows for drawing out key points out of the research material that can be used as recommendations.

4.1. Actions to be done locally in the countries hosting United Nations Peacekeeping Operations

4.1.1. Gender issue: improving the status of local women

When it comes to eliminating sexual exploitation and abuse in conflict and post-conflict societies, reducing women's dependency on humanitarian aid and protection can be said to be one of the most critical ways. (Spencer 2005). It is still crucial that peacekeeping operations provide experts of humanitarian aid, and the barrier to report and tell further of SEA related cases is as low as possible for local women and girls. When necessary aid is easily available and help and support is provided also anonymously, it encourages victims to report further about SEA. The 'de-tabooing' of sexual exploitation helps to end victim shaming, which eventually could lead to perishing of SEA. The peacekeeping operations' policies against exploitation should be explained to local communities as well, as in some cases it can be unsure for civilians that what an acceptable and 'normal' peacekeeper behavior is. Proper explanations would allow locals to make any complaints regarding SEA in confidence and would clear out the reporting process (Notar 2006). It is crucial that the local communities would be involved in the prevention and encouraged in responding to sexual exploitation (Spencer 2005). Even if SEA would had been seen as a norm and even legally accepted in the country before the PKO, it is United Nations' duty to promote equality and human rights in the host-country and ending SEA in the area, as the mandates of PKOs require.

In order to minimize SEA in countries hosting UN PKOs, one of the key factors is to get rid of the current gender related stereotypes in the society. The mandates of the UN missions should include

supporting economic growth in the country so that also girls would have access to education systems and that way higher level jobs would not be only the privilege of men. Spencer (2005) states that the key way to prevent and abolish sexual exploitation and abuse is by providing economic opportunities for women, such as jobs, training courses and education, as they reduce the dependency on humanitarian aid as well as empowers women (Ibid.). The more self-sufficient the women in the post-conflict societies are, the less exposed they are to end up as victims of SEA as well.

One way to improve the status of women is to enable an equal access for both men and women to political parties and decision making positions. Gender equality does not actualise in practise as long as the laws, policies and customs are against it. Freedman (2011) states an example from the first free and fair parliamentary elections of 2006 in DRC, where women who tried to run the idea of gender equality in the political party, were rejected by male party members, and accused them from lack of loyalty towards the party house (Freedman 2011). In those specific elections, the percentage of women who got elected on the national assembly was 8, 4%, or 42 out of 500 (Ibid.). The number of women elected for the senate was even lower, as only five out of 108 elected were women. This states an example of how women do not get their voice heard in the political arena, and therefore do not have a proper place in politics. As long as the parliament is highly male dominant, the gender issue will be present in DRC. Freedman (2011) claims that the current socioeconomic factors in DRC prevent women from finding funding for political campaigns and there is a lack of networks to become candidates in the elections (Ibid.).

4.1.2. Fighting economic disparity to solve the problem of a peacekeeping economy

The Human Development Office releases annually Human Development Report, which indicates the Human Development Index (HDI), the Multidimensional Poverty Index (MPI), the Gender Development Index (GDI), the Gender Inequality Index (GII), and the Inequality-Adjusted Human Development Index (IHDI) of all the countries with available HDI values (UN 2017a). In the latest listing there are 188 countries, Norway ranked as 1st and Central African Republic as 188th (UN 2017a). In year 2010 DRC was officially the least developed country on earth, according to the Index of Human Development (Autesserre 2012). DRC had descent twenty places (from 167 to 187) since the previous listing. What makes this descent alarming is that the conditions in Congo deteriorated during the constant UN presence and peacekeeping mission in the country, which one could expect to work conversely. There were also more internally displaced people in 2010 than

year 2006 when the transition to peace and democracy was made (Ibid.). In the current Index of Human Development released in March 2017, Democratic Republic of Congo is ranked as 176th in the listing, so slow development has happened during this decade (UN 2017a). Still when it comes to especially poverty and equality issues, DRC is dragging behind the world average and those are crucial factors to pay focus on when growing the economy.

The economic growth and sustainable economic development are crucial stepping stones ought to happen in order to end the conflict in DRC. The economic disparity between the local population and the peacekeeping forces enables the creation of a peacekeeping economy, in which the peacekeepers earn a significantly better income. This enforces prostitution as a trade with women and girls offering transactional sex to peacekeepers who are willing to pay. The existence of sex industry in peacekeeping economies tends to lead to more SEA related cases, which suggests an increased vulnerability especially of the female population (Ndulo 2009). One way of reducing the vulnerability of locals to SEA is for all the potential stakeholders to address the problems that lead to girls and women ending up in prostitution. (Ibid.). More leisure time activities should also be introduced to troops, so that as their daily tasks end, there would not be need to find the entertainment elsewhere. Notar (2006) recommends in her work “Peacekeepers as Perpetrators: Sexual Exploitation and Abuse of Women and Children in the Democratic Republic of the Congo” (2006) that building internet cafes, athletic facilities and telephone lines in the area to allow having contact with friends and family would create a more cozy and homelike atmosphere to peacekeeping bases (Notar 2006). Therefore demand for local sex industry, at least among the foreign peacekeepers, would diminish. It is crucial that UN Security Council refine mandates in MONUSCO to improve the economic growth in DRC. To make the sex trade less financially viable, local women need to be provided economic opportunities along with education, training, and employment opportunities at different levels.

4.2. Inside United Nations – Changing how the United Nations operates on the ground

United Nations can be said to have procedures and policies which have led to poor results in handling a conflict and therefore prolonging the peacekeeping operations. When sexual exploitation and abuse occurs in peacekeeping operations, it not only has impact on the conflict area, but a direct effect on the overall reputation of United Nations. One could argue that this

impugns the legitimate authority UN has in peacekeeping missions around the globe. Through the appearance of SEA, the UN inadvertently increases inequality in the society, which is an issue in DRC already. This makes the UN operations act against its own mandates.

4.2.1. Trainings

The lack of common language- and training methods have been a considerable issue in UN peacekeeping operations also in DRC throughout decades (Duffey 2000). MONUSCO is the largest UN PKO mission at the moment, which emphasizes the role and meaning of proper and unified training methods within the operation. Delivering training and guidelines to all peacekeepers in a language that they understand has been a stumbling stone or UN. Spencer (2005) suggests that the training package developed by UN and its partners “should be delivered by a higher-ranking soldier in a language that is understood by all participants before troops are deployed.” (Spencer 2005, 174). Notar (2006) underlines the importance of periodical re-training on the codes and conduct, the prohibition against SEA and human right laws addressed to peacekeepers during the mission. She also points out the problem of many guidelines being published only in the official UN languages, given the fact that most of the countries providing troops do not have those as their official languages (Notar 2006). Since the year 2002, United Nations has provided a concordant training package for UN peacekeepers, in order to ensure PKOs to function efficiently in a coherent manner (Ibid.).

Even though the guidelines and packages for trainings are concordant to all troop providing nations, stays the responsibility to carry out proper training within the national military forces. According to Duffey (2000), cultural differences in training methods may lead to misunderstandings and even complicate the interaction. This can reduce chances for effective and constructive activity in the trainings (Duffey 2000). Duffey (2000) also claims that national differences in staff training, procedures, language and equipment in troop providing countries often complicate the command and control arrangements (Ibid.). Spencer (2005) adds that troop contributing countries frequently provide uneven levels of training. These are results from differences in experience, resources and cultural interpretations of objectives (Spencer 2005). She also states that in some nations training is simply insufficient, partly because of mistakes done already in the troop selection process when the peacekeeping force requirements set by Security Council are seen just as filling quota (Ibid.).

The lack of proper training may result to situations in the field where peacekeeper lack the professional ability or deficiency of knowledge to perform one's tasks properly and cannot work as the mandate requires them to. This can also be serious risk for civilians when the help needed is not provided well enough. UN peacekeepers should be composed of well-trained armed forces professionals, selected to the missions with prudence, also ensuring that the candidates are striving to become peacekeepers for right reasons, not for the higher salary for example. Money oriented peacekeepers may not have urge to engage to operation mandates, which for one's part may endanger the mission. Continuing training also during the mission is of extreme importance, in order to ensure the peacekeeper performances are fulfilled through up to date instructions and professionalism.

4.2.2. Inclusion of more women in the operations

The peacekeeping world has a strong connection to the military and armed forces with a significant percentage of the peacekeeping personnel are military and police forces (Simic 2010). In April 2009 there were 874 female UN police officers out of the total 10 785, and 2474 out of total 90 181 military personnel, when all the missions of the time were combined (Ibid.). Despite the UN Security Council's resolution 1325 of women, peace and security adopted in 2010 suggested including more women to the peacekeeping operations to different levels and especially to military and police forces in order to achieve a gender balance in the peacekeeping operations, the attempt has not been successful. According to the latest troop contribution statistics from February 2018 of current UN PKOs, the number of female military and police personnel have not notably raised since the year 2009. Out of total 80 713 military personnel the portion of females is only 3118 and total number of police forces being 10 831, female portion is 1181 personnel (UN 2017c).

Since the peacekeeping forces can therefore be seen as highly male-dominated occupations, especially in the military and police forces, it does not come as a surprise that the UN peacekeeping economies have become marked as highly masculine territories and SEA can have been overlooked as 'boys will be boys' behavior (Beardsley, Karim 2016). UN claims that more women are needed in PKOs since the "pacifying presence of women in PKOs reduces aggressiveness and hyper masculinity." (Simic 2010, 189). The presence of women also increases more civilized behavior among men peacekeepers, according to UN (Simic 2010). Indeed, more female troops are needed to UN peacekeeping missions but as several researchers agree, UN only reinforces gender stereotypes with such notion and claims that the way to calm down male peacekeepers and

therefore prevent sexual exploitation and abuse to happen is to increase the number of ‘nurturing and kind’ female troops. (Ibid.). Notar (2006) states that well-qualified women should be placed to particularly senior level in PKOs throughout the institution especially because the victims of SEA are more likely to open up and report forward to women rather than men (Notar 2006). The presence of women peacekeepers open the access for local women and girls to get the support and help needed. However as Simic (2010) argues, the reason why female peacekeepers are needed in UN PKOs is not to achieve gender equality among troop contributions, but to save the UN’s reputation which for the most part is damaged because of SEA (Simic 2010). Therefore the approach UN has used in resolution 1325 can be argued to have been slightly wrong and has not contributed neither to the numbers of female military and police forces, nor the overall reputation of United Nations. As a conclusion it can be said that UN should hire more female peacekeepers because of people who live in the conflict – or post-conflict area, not because male peacekeepers need balance.

4.2.3. The role of the Security-Council

The UN Security Council composes mandates to peacekeeping operations which work as a basis and guideline in every mission. The mandates can vary widely according to the nature of the conflict, its geographical location and the precise challenges the situation presents. (UN 2018b). Although Security Council creates unique mandates to every mission, the mandates commonly include stabilizing the conflict area and seeking to create lasting peace between the parties, or preventing the conflict to outbreak or expand any wider. The mandates often include peacekeepers’ contribution in developing the conflict state socially and economically, and seeking to build a stable government, by for example arranging free and fair elections in the country (UN 2018b). The foundation document for UN work, The Charter of the United Nations gives the Security Council a right and responsibility to watch over the peace and security around the countries of the world, and to take steps if the situation is threaten and establish peacekeeping operation if it is seen needed (Ibid.).

The UN Security-Council’s mandates in peacekeeping operations have previously highlighted that peacekeepers maintain peace in the conflict area without using force and with lightly armed equipment. During the past decade or so, United Nations have, however, been more in favour to increase the peacekeepers’ authority when it comes to using force. Chapter VII of the Charter of UN addresses the Security-Council’s powers when it comes to: “Action with respect to threats to

the peace, breaches of the peace, and acts of aggression.” (UN 2018h). The more robust peacekeeping, encouraged by the Chapter VII, has been notably seen in the current mission of Democratic Republic of Congo for example. The mandate of MONUSCO was strengthened in 2013 with the establishment of Force Intervention Brigade (FIB) which authorizes launching “offensive military operations against armed non-state groups in eastern Congo” (Tull 2017, 2). Authorizing peacekeepers to use more force in the mission does not urge forward perishing the connection of SEA and peacekeeping economies, as it confuses the boundaries of proper peacekeeper behaviour.

More robust peacekeeping can be said to be controversial to United Nations PKOs original intention to maintain peace without using force or taking a side in the conflict, but it has not showed being any more efficient when it comes to state building or peacekeeper performances in the field either (Tull 2017). Howard and Dayal (2017) state that these force mandates are often poor fits for the conflicts in question and “generate false expectations about UN’s abilities to achieve goals by forceful means.” (Howard, Dayal 2017). In other words, every resolution should be made considering the actual situation in the country, not just using the same Chapter VII language despite of the complexity between the conflict areas (Howard Dayal 2017). One could argue that the Security-Council has in recent years established peacekeeping missions and extended the previous ones in countries where there is no or little peace to keep. As the mandates extend and widen, implementing the mandate becomes more challenging for the peacekeepers and may lead to inferior peacekeeper performances in the field.

To conclude chapter four, in order to perish the highly gendered peacekeeping economies and their connection to sexual exploitation and abuse, it is critical to understand the factors enabling the creation of these phenomena. When it comes to countries hosting UN peacekeeping operations, there are several social and economic factors dragging behind the world average. As the Human Development Report indicates, DRC is doing poorly especially in poverty and equality issues (UN 2017a). The recommendations presented in this chapter state that economic opportunities for women such as training, education and jobs in different levels need to be provided in order to get those statistics up (Spencer 2005). The empowerment and independence these opportunities create make local women less likely to end up as victims of SEA as well. UN Peacekeeping operations should encourage and support any development empowering women and thus the local communities, but as the Human Development Report indicates, DRC was officially the least developed country on earth in year 2010 (Autesserre 2012). This occurred despite the PKO having been active in the country for over a decade. Therefore improvements need to be done also in the

procedures of UN in order to establish and finish successful peacekeeping operations also in the future. To sum up, the recommendations provided in this chapter conclude; peacekeeper trainings; the inclusion of women in the peacekeeping operations and the role of the Security-Council establishing the PKOs. The lack of proper training results to unprofessionalism in the operation and may endanger locals as well. Female peacekeepers are often seen approachable for the local population, especially in the case of SEA, and therefore the national armies should encourage women to take part to the operation, especially to troop- and police forces (Notar 2006). Finally, the force mandates of the current operations should be reconsidered, as they do not support the UN's original goal nor have brought development in the missions in state-building or protecting civilians.

CONCLUSION

The aim of this dissertation was to examine and understand the connection of peacekeeping economies and sexual exploitation and abuse and clarify the causes behind SEA. This dissertation set out to prove the hypothesis, that presence of peacekeeping economies cause SEA in post-conflict countries where United Nations peacekeeping missions take place. The findings of this research support the hypothesis, proving it true. The topic requires more academic attention, and more research needs to be directed into clarifying the specific causal relationship between the two phenomena.

The dissertation utilized the peacekeeping mission in Democratic Republic of Congo as a case to concretize the phenomena of peacekeeping economies and SEA. The United Nations Organization Stabilization Mission in the Democratic Republic of Congo (MONUSCO) is currently the largest UN peacekeeping mission and its mandate has grown several times since the original operation started in year 1999. The Mission in DRC is known for the SEA cases and the connection between peacekeeping economies and SEA is still apparent in DRC. Despite UN's recognition of and response to the problem, it still remains. The issue is two-fold: not only does the exploiting of women and girls during the mission by the UN peacekeepers permanently damage the individuals and communities; it also makes the whole organization seem hypocrite, when the peacekeepers as UN representatives act against UN policies. This paper indicates that SEA occurs in PKOs firstly due to economic and social conditions allowing for it to occur, and secondly because the current UN procedures are unable to prevent it. The conflict-torn nations in which UN PKOs take place are often economically collapsed and characterized by strong social and economic disparity. This paper shows that even though peacekeeping missions should improve the economic and social factors in the host country that is not always the case, as the example from 2010 in DRC demonstrates. Today, after almost a decade later the situation has not notably changed, which shows need for UN procedures to change drastically in order to succeed in peacekeeping missions.

After all, UN peacekeeping missions should contribute to the nation by stabilizing and improving its conditions, rather than to further damage an already conflict-torn territory and population.

In this research I have recognized key areas for improvement within the UN. They are: UN peacekeeper trainings; inclusion of more women to the operations; and the role of the Security Council establishing PKO mandates. The responsibility of the training stays within the national militaries of the troop contributing nations, but the training methods should be the same for every peacekeeper and the troop selection process should be highlighted in order to ensure that peacekeepers are there for right reasons and elite of their national forces. Inclusion of more women to these forces would not only balance the now highly masculine peacekeeping economies, but make peacekeepers more easily approachable for whole of the local community. As the barrier to seek help and report on violence for local women and girls suffered from SEA would become lower, the issue would get more noticeable. This would increase awareness, leading to understanding and responding to it would becoming easier and eventually bringing an end to victim shaming.

The connection between peacekeeping economies and the UN peacekeeping missions poses a threat to the success of future PKOs. This dissertation indicates that peacekeeping economies cause SEA, and in order to develop better detection systems for SEA and control for peacekeeping economies, more research into the relationship is needed. It is essential for UN to develop its existing protocols to prevent further victimization of post-conflict populations, especially the women and girls falling victims to sexual exploitation and abuse.

LIST OF REFERENCES

- Autesserre, S. (2012). Dangerous Tales: Dominant Narratives on the Congo and their Unintended Consequences. *African Affairs*, 00/00, 1-21
- Beardsley, K., Karim, S. (2016). Explaining sexual exploitation and abuse in peacekeeping missions: The role of female peacekeepers and gender equality in contributing countries. *Journal of Peace Research* 2016, Vol. 53(1) 100-115
- Duffey, T. (2000). Cultural issues in contemporary peacekeeping, *International Peacekeeping*, 7:1, 142-168
- Edu-Afful, F., Aning, K. (2015). Peacekeeping Economies in a Sub-Regional Context: The Paradigmatic Cases of Liberia, Sierra Leone and Cote d'Ivoire, *Journal of Intervention and Statebuilding*, 9:3, 391-407
- Freedman, J. (2011). Explaining Sexual Violence and Gender Inequalities in the DRC, *Peace Review*, 23:2, 170-175
- Grady, K. (2010). Sexual Exploitation and Abuse by UN Peacekeepers: A Threat to Impartiality, *International Peacekeeping*, 17:2, 215-228
- Howard, L., Dayal, A. (2018). The Use of Force in UN Peacekeeping. Volume 72, Issue 1, Winter 2018, pp 71-103
- Jennings, K. (2010). Unintended Consequences of Intimacy: Political Economies of Peacekeeping and Sex Tourism, *International Peacekeeping*, 17:2, 229-243

- Jennings, K. Nikolic-Ristanovic, V. (2009). UN Peacekeeping Economies and Local Sex Industries: Connections and Implications. *MICROCON Research Working Paper 17*, Brighton: MICROCON.
- Kanetake, M. (2010). Whose Zero Tolerance Counts? Reassessing a Zero Tolerance Policy against Sexual Exploitation and Abuse by UN Peacekeepers, *International Peacekeeping*, 17:2, 200-214
- Ndulo, M. (2009). The United Nations Responses to the Sexual Abuse and Exploitation of Women and Girls by Peacekeepers during Peacekeeping Missions. *Cornell Law Faculty Publications Paper 59*.
- Notar, S. (2006). Peacekeepers as Perpetrators: Sexual Exploitation and Abuse of Women and Children in the Democratic Republic of the Congo. *American University Journal of Gender, Social Policy & the Law*. 14, no.2 (2006): 413-429.
- Simic, O. (2010). Does The Presence of Women Really Matter? Towards Combating Male Sexual Violence in Peacekeeping Operations, *International Peacekeeping*, 17:2, 188-199
- Simic, O. (2012). Regulation of Sexual Conduct in UN Peacekeeping Operations, *Springer Heidelberg New York, Dordrecht London*.
- Spencer, S. (2005). Making Peace: Preventing and Responding to Sexual Exploitation by United Nations Peacekeepers, *Journal of Public and International Affairs*.
- Tripodi, P. Patel, P. (2004). HIV/AIDS, Peacekeeping and Conflict Crises in Africa, *Medicine, Conflict and Survival*, 20:3, 195-208
- Tull, D. (2017). The Limits and Unintended Consequences of UN Peace Enforcement: The Force Intervention Brigade in the DR Congo, *International Peacekeeping*.

- UN. (2003). *Special measures for protection from sexual exploitation and sexual abuse. Secretary-General's Bulletin*. Accessible:
<http://www.unhcr.org/protection/operations/405ac6614/secretary-generals-bulletin-special-measures-protection-sexual-exploitation.html> , 15 May 2018.
- UN. (2017a). *Human Development Reports. United Nations Development Programme*. Accessible:
<http://www.hdr.undp.org/en/countries> , 15 May 2018.
- UN. (2017b). *Special measures for protection from sexual exploitation and abuse: a new approach. United Nations General Assembly. Report of the Secretary-General*. Accessible:
https://peacekeeping.un.org/sites/default/files/sg_report_a_71_818_special_measures_for_protection_from_sexual_exploitation_and_abuse.pdf , 15 May 2018.
- UN. (2017c). *Summary of Troop Contributions to UN Peacekeeping Operations by Mission, Post and Gender*. Accessible:
<https://peacekeeping.un.org/sites/default/files/jun17.pdf> , 15 May 2018.
- UN. (2018a). *About the UN*. Accessible:
<http://www.un.org/en/about-un/> , 15 May 2018.
- UN. (2018b). *Mandates and the Legal Basis for Peacekeeping*. Accessible:
<https://peacekeeping.un.org/en/mandates-and-legal-basis-peacekeeping> , 15 May 2018.
- UN. (2018c). *MONUC Background*. Accessible:
<https://peacekeeping.un.org/mission/past/monuc/background.shtml> , 15 May 2018.
- UN. (2018d). *MONUSCO Background*. Accessible:
<https://monusco.unmissions.org/en/background> , 15 May 2018.
- UN. (2018e). *Our History*. Accessible:
<https://peacekeeping.un.org/en/our-history> , 15 May 2018.

UN. (2018f). *What we do*. Accessible:

<https://peacekeeping.un.org/en/what-we-do> , 15 May 2018.

UN. (2018g). *Facts and Figures. United Nations Organization Stabilization Mission in the DR Congo*. Accessible:

<https://monusco.unmissions.org/en/facts-and-figures> , May 15 2018.

UN. (2018h). *Chapter VII*. Accessible:

<http://www.un.org/en/sections/un-charter/chapter-vii/> , May 15 2018.