



**THE REPUBLIC OF TURKEY
SOCIAL SCIENCES UNIVERSITY OF ANKARA
INSTITUTE OF SOCIAL SCIENCES**

**EVALUATION OF THE UN PEACEKEEPING OPERATIONS IN THE
CONTEXT OF GENDER APPROACHES**

Master's Thesis

Sahra Işıkdemir

International Relations

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PLAGIARISM

I hereby declare that all information in this document has been obtained and presented in accordance with academic rules and ethical conduct. I also declare that, as required by these rules and conduct, I have fully cited and referenced all material and results that are not original to this work.



ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

There are many people who contributed to this dissertation to be completed today. Firstly, many thanks to my thesis advisor Dr. Seval YAMAN, she held my hand during a very difficult time. Afterwards, I would like to thank Dr. Senem ERTAN, the framework of this thesis has been formed through her support and for her assistance during the ideational stages of the thesis. Also, thanks to Dr. Şenay ERAY who had a great contribution to the dissertation and the time she spared for me. Great thanks to Dr. Onur UNUTULMAZ, his suggestions and contributions precious for me. I would like to thank UFUK UNIVERSITY for providing me with a free working environment and all my professors and colleagues with whom I had the opportunity to work there. I consider myself lucky to be able to work with Dr. Cem KARADELİ and Dr. Ahmet Alpay DİKMEN.

Of course, I cannot thank my family enough and cannot ever repay my mother Gül İŞIKDEMİR, and my father Cengiz İŞIKDEMİR, whose support I have always had. I am sure I would have had a much more difficult writing process had it not been for my dear brother Ali Emir and the little notes of encouragement he left in my notebooks.

I would like to thank my lovely friends Aylin, Gülden, my precious İpek (how can I explain my love for you), and all my loved ones who weren't mentioned. Their undying support every time I give into pessimism is evident in the efforts of each word added to this dissertation. My dear Özhan. You are always my second brain, advisor, and shelter. From beginning to end you are my peaceful haven.

All the philosophers of my life, all the writers who make me the person I am. It was very difficult to maintain my love and enthusiasm for books, sometimes I couldn't bear to see one more word, or wanted to forget the languages I know. But what brought Ursula K. Le Guin and Hannah Arendt together in the same mind also spurred me to write.

However, my dear grandfather Ali İŞIKDEMİR, whom I recently lost, deserves the greatest gratitude. If somehow, I have managed to start my journey today, it is thanks to his shadow, support and faith that is with me at every step. You are and will always be with me all the way, *canım canım canım...*

To
all the women who have been deprived of their lives
because of patriarchal violence and
who we are the light for each other in the dark...

I hope
we will always be feeling at home in our bodies.

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ÖZ

BM BARIŞ GÜCÜ OPERASYONLARININ TOPLUMSAL CİNSİYET YAKLAŞIMLARI BAĞLAMINDA DEĞERLENDİRİLMESİ

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Temmuz, 2022

Bu çalışma Birleşmiş Milletler çatısı altında yürütülen Barış Koruma Operasyonlarına kadın askerlerin entegre edilmesinin feminist uluslararası ilişkiler kuramı çerçevesinde bir değerlendirmesini yapmaktadır. Birleşmiş Milletler Güvenlik Konseyinin (BMGK) 2000 yılında aldığı 1325 sayılı Kadın, Barış ve Güvenlik Kararı Barış Koruma Operasyonlarında görev alacak kadınlar için oldukça önemli bir gelişme olmuştur. Kararın alınmasına giden süreçte feminist teorinin ve kadın hareketinin baskısının yanı sıra o dönemde açığa çıkan ve BM için oldukça kötü bir imaj yaratan Barış Koruma Operasyonlarında görülen cinsel şiddet vakalarının da etkisi oldukça büyüktür. Çünkü BM kadın askerlerin sayısının artışıyla cinsel şiddet vakalarının azalacağını ve kadınların misyonları daha barışçıl hale getireceğini varsaymıştı. Bu sebeple araştırmada ilk olarak, kadın ve barış arasında kurulan varsayımsal ilişki feminist uluslararası ilişkiler teorisi çerçevesinde incelenmiştir. Bu inceleme kadın askerlerin Barış Gücü Operasyonlarına dahil edilmesinde ortaya çıkan sorunların toplumsal kaynaklarını bulmayı amaçlamıştır. Sonrasında Birleşmiş Milletlerin uluslararası ilişkiler teorileri içerisindeki yeri tespit edilmiş ve Birleşmiş Milletlerin kadın politikalarının feminist uluslararası ilişkilerdeki yeri ile oluşturduğu paralellikler ortaya koyulmuştur. Yapılan teorik inceleme sonucunda temel paralellik liberal uluslararası ilişkiler teorisi ve liberal feminist uluslararası ilişkiler teorisi ile kurulmuştur. Ancak durum araştırmanın temelini oluşturan Barış Gücü Operasyonları ve kadın askerlerin operasyonlara dahil edilme sebepleri olduğunda Birleşmiş Milletlerin temel aldığı feminist teorik duruşun kültürel feminizm olduğu görülmüştür. BMGK'nin 1325 sayılı Kararı'nın ve örgüt nezdinde operasyonlarda yürütülen politikaların gösterdiği üzere kadın ve barış arasında doğrudan bir ilişki kurulduğu gözlemlenmiştir. Bunların sonucunda kadın askerlerin istihdamının fikirsel dayanakları temel alınarak Barış Gücü Operasyonlarının feminist uluslararası ilişkiler teorisi içerisinde kategorik bir yerleştirilmesi yapılmaya çalışılmıştır.

Anahtar Kelimeler: Birleşmiş Milletler, Barış Gücü Operasyonları, Feminist Uluslararası İlişkiler, Liberal Feminizm, Kültürel Feminizm

ABSTRACT

EVALUATION OF THE UN PEACEKEEPING OPERATIONS IN THE CONTEXT OF GENDER APPROACHES

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July, 2022

This study evaluates the integration of female soldiers into the Peacekeeping Operations carried out under the umbrella of the United Nations, within the framework of feminist international relations theory. The resolution 1325 on Women, Peace and Security adopted by the United Nations Security Council in 2000, was a development of great importance for women who would take part in Peacekeeping Operations. In the process leading up to the resolution, besides the pressure from the feminist theory and the women's movement, the sexual violence cases seen in the Peacekeeping Operations, which came to the light during that time and created a profoundly bad image for the UN, had a great impact. Because the UN assumed that with the increase in the number of female soldiers, cases of sexual violence would decrease and women would make the missions more peaceful. For this reason, in this study, firstly, the hypothetical relationship established between women and peace was examined within the framework of feminist international relations theory. This study aimed to identify the societal roots of the problems that arise in the inclusion of female soldiers in Peacekeeping Operations. Afterwards, where the United Nations stood among IR theories was identified and the place of the United Nations' women's policies within feminist international relations and the parallels it creates were revealed. As a result of the theoretical examination, the main parallelism was established with liberal international relations theory and liberal feminist international relations theory. However, when it comes to the Peacekeeping Operations, which form the basis of this research, and the reasons behind the inclusion of female soldiers in the operations, it has been detected that the feminist theoretical stance the United Nations is based on is cultural feminism. It has been observed that the UNSC Resolution 1325 and the policies carried out within the operations by the organization, establish a direct relationship between women and peace. As a result of these, a categorical placement of Peacekeeping Operations within feminist international relations theory has been aimed to be made, based on the intellectual basis of the deployment of female soldiers.

Keywords: United Nations, Peacekeeping Operations, Feminist International Relations, Liberal Feminism, Cultural Feminism

LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

IR	International Relations
PKO	Peacekeeping Operation
SEA	Sexual Exploitation and Abuse
TCC	Troop Contributing Countries
UN	United Nations
UNSC	United Nations Security Council



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CHAPTER I. INTRODUCTION

The first International Relations (IR) chair was founded in 1919 at a time when international studies on the peace environment, which were intended to be institutionalized after the First World War, were still being conducted. Initially a branch of political science, IR has evolved into a discipline with its own theories and philosophy. According to realists, the theory process that started with the idealist/liberal IR turned into an endeavor to understand the world through diverse lenses, with the emergence of many competing theories over time. The primary subjects to look at/try to see are the origins of war, the conditions of peace and its continuance, and the resolution of conflicts, even though the interpretation of circumstances seen through lenses varies.

The post-Cold War era represents a milestone in global politics in terms of conflict resolution. Civil and intra-state conflicts have significantly increased over this time period. As the United Nations (UN) regarded itself as responsible for conflict resolution, the number of Peacekeeping Operations (PKOs) also increased during this time (UN Peacekeeping). The IR's efforts to build and preserve peace have accelerated as a result of the growing number of operations, related issues, and how they are conducted. After years of pressure from the women's movement, Resolution 1325 was adopted in 2000, fueling the feminist IR literature which exposed the gendered dynamics of operations.

Feminist IR theory, which has emerged in IR from other social science fields following the increasing criticism regarding the traditional theories during the post-Cold War era, aims to show us that there is a problem, before presenting a prescription for war-peace and security, it helps us see there is a deficiency in our worldview, and then makes way to alternative recipes about these issues. Feminist IR theory has developed itself with the curiosity of the following questions; Where are the women when so much is being said about the world, about war and peace? Where are women in international politics, international security, international institutions and organizations, decision-making mechanisms, war decisions and peace-building efforts?

The importance of all these questions for this dissertation lies in determining the place of the gendered structure and the women involved in the PKOs, which is the most important among the efforts of the UN as a world organization, to establish and maintain peace. Furthermore, the notion that the aforementioned peace-war and security challenges have a gendered structure provides the foundation for feminist IR theory's examination

on peacekeeping missions. In this sense, peacekeeping operations have a character that covers how to establish peace, the causes of war, and thirdly, the militarist structure, which is fundamentally related to the former two. From this perspective, it is important to investigate the theoretical framework of PKOs situated at the intersection of these in terms in relation to feminist IR theory.

In this dissertation, first of all, the *Theoretical Background* chapter, which is the second part of the dissertation, focuses specifically on the position of women in war and peace within the framework of feminist IR theory. Then, the scope of this questioning is limited to the militarist structure and a theoretical examination is carried out on the participation of women in the military as an institution and their place in peace efforts.

In the third chapter of the dissertation titled *The United Nations, Women and Peace* the subject of the research is peace and security efforts on an institutional level and the integration of women into this. After examining the historical process, conferences and decisions regarding the inclusion of women within the UN, it has been attempted to ascertain this institution's position in relation to IR theories. It has been investigated from which viewpoint the UN may be judged in terms of feminist theory after defining its position in terms of IR theories.

In the *Peacekeeping Operations in The Context of Feminist IR Theories* chapter, which is the fourth part of the dissertation, there is an analysis of the problems about women deployed to Peacekeeping Operations, it has been aimed to detect the feminist IR theory by taking the position of women, the process of their involvement in operations, and the intellectual foundations behind these into account.

In the *Conclusion* chapter, which constitutes the fifth and last chapter of the dissertation, it has been aimed to reach a conclusion about the intersections and divergences between feminist IR theory and UN, and which feminist IR theory PKOs correspond to.

1.1.THE BACKGROUND OF THE TOPIC AND RESEARCH QUESTION

The questions asked by the women's movement, feminist academics, activists and philosophers, have been influential in making some significant decisions on an institutional level, especially within the UN, which aims to be a worldwide organization. In 2000, the United Nations Security Council (UNSC) decided to increase the number and visibility of women within the Organization on issues such as peace and security,

with a resolution numbered 1325. Quoting the resolution: “Reaffirming the important role of women in the prevention and resolution of conflicts and peace-building, and stressing the importance of their equal participation and full involvement in all efforts for the maintenance and promotion of peace and security, and the need to increase their role in decision-making concerning conflict prevention and resolution”. In the continuation of the same decision, there are warnings regarding the training of peacekeepers and raising awareness on issues such as sexual violence, harassment and rape against women and children, and also the role of women in decision-making is emphasized. For the UN to make such a decision, the pressure from the feminist groups and organizations, as well as the bad reputation of the Peacekeepers at the conflict zones had been impactful. Committing harassment, rape, and sexual violence against women and children in the region are very common among soldiers deployed by the UN. The UN noticed its inability to solve this problem alone and made a decision to increase the number of female peacekeepers under the pressure of women's organizations.

This dissertation represents an approach of feminist curiosity regarding war and peace in terms of the role of women in PKOs, and its categorization with the intellectual basis of the inclusion of women in these operations in terms of feminist IR theory. From this point of view, the research question of the thesis emerged as a continuation of the basic question and reasoning asked by feminist international relations. the main research question of the dissertation is “In which category can PKOs be evaluated among Feminist IR theories?” Subsequently, as a sub-question, “How is the identified category relates to the UN's Feminist IR theory?” The curious point behind this question is that it basically emerged from a questioning about human nature, especially female nature. Although the research question and the questioned situation do not enter into a discussion about human nature, the main motivation for the emergence of such a research question is this questioning. For this reason, the main research question has been tried to be answered through assumptions about female nature.

The answer to this question is sought in the nexus of the Feminist IR and peacekeeping literature.

1.2.PURPOSE OF THE RESEARCH AND ORIGINAL VALUE

This research was carried out in order to eliminate an important deficiency identified at the intersection of feminist IR and peacekeeping literature. In the feminist

IR literature, peace plays a very important part among the subjects examined regarding women and femininity. In particular, the feminist theory's questioning of essentialist and easy-going “nature” explanations has shown that the pacifism imposed on women and assumed to be so by nature is a part of the patriarchal system (Sjoberg, 2015; Harders, 2019). But does this point made by many feminists really apply to every feminist idea? Where does the UN stand about this essentialist notion?

The UN's institutionally ingrained feminist worldview makes a connection between femininity and peace (Charlesworth, 2008). Because of this, the UN's primary justification for including women in the PKOs -one of the most significant active peace practices- derives from the same connection. However, even if based on the feminist IR perspective in the literature, most of the research on PKOs are based on SEA cases that happened during operations, and impunity (Bleckner, 2013; Grady, 2010; Westendorf, 2020; Karim & Beardsley, 2016; Jennings, 2018). Although researches based on a certain mechanism emphasize the gender related problems experienced, they do not classify the theoretical underpinnings and intellectual roots of these gender-related issues. Although there are classifications based on where women fit within feminist IR and how they experience the world, safety, conflict, and peace, the study of peacekeeping operations still falls short of what is needed. In the literature on the feminist theorization of PKOs and their categorical analysis, there is a lacuna that this dissertation seeks to address.

1.3.THE SCOPE OF RESEARCH AND METHODOLOGY

There are many women's policies that are carried out institutionally within the framework of the UN (economic, social etc.). However, the scope of this thesis is narrowed down to the women's policies implemented within the framework of the PKOs. In order to draw a general framework in the thesis, first of all, the theoretical analysis of the institutional structure of the UN was conducted. In the light of this theoretical analysis, it has been determined where the PKOs can be located within the IR theories and feminist theories. The main purpose of this study is to reveal the concordances and differences between the categorization to be determined in PKOs and the institutional theoretical framework of the UN.

In this thesis, *secondary data analysis* and *literature review* methods, which have the quality of preparing the ground for answering many different research questions with a new perspective, have been adopted as a method. The World Women's Conferences, the

women's policies of the UN and PKOs were evaluated as secondary data, and an analysis was carried out with a categorization on the basis of feminist IR theories. In this direction, first of all, the basic categorical distinctions of feminist theories were determined, and then the theoretical positioning of UN practices and PKOs was drafted in the light of these distinctions. Thus, it is aimed to make a categorical contribution to the literature by determining the place of PKOs in feminist IR theories.



CHAPTER II. THEORETICAL BACKGROUND

Discussing war and peace is not new to the discipline of IR. However, as explained in the upcoming lines, it is relatively new to open masculinist and essentialist explanations about war and peace to criticism and questioning. The development of feminist IR theory and the multilateral worldviews (liberalism, Marxism, post-modernism, etc.) has enhanced our perspective on the gender of war and peace. From this point of view, in this section, developments and divergences regarding the theory, and their views on the war-peace dichotomy will be examined.

Lifting the veil here will illuminate the subordination of women in the current patriarchal system. As known, the modern political structure is a secular view of the theological basis¹ (Baştürk, 2020, 17). The first element of the theological foundation is the oneness of God (later or final sovereign). The war of monotheistic religions against the idea of the Goddess is not only a mythological opposition but also the destruction of the female model in the action field (Campbell, 2020, 15). In a world that belongs to men and where women do not have a mythological model, discourses, predictions, or propositions about women appear as a male-made representation of women (Braidotti, 2017, 130). Thus, we can define feminism as a movement that opens these representations to question and conducts the effort to expand the field of action of women by presenting a model to the next generations, simultaneously with theory and practice (Buskie, 2013).

2.1. THE BACKGROUND OF FEMINIST IR ARGUMENTS

Feminist approaches within the global feminist movement and international relations (IR) developed at similar times and through the influence of one another. For a long time, issues of women and perspectives of women did not have an eminent position during the decades that passed after the discipline of international relations gained importance after the First World War and its theoretical foundations were laid (Tickner, 1999, 45). It is a fact that military power, survival, and security are the immediate

¹ Theological origin of the secular state. The statesman, who takes his authority from God, is replaced by a ruler who takes his authority from the social contract. Although the distinction between the sacred and the secular comes from the source of power, the state retains the right to dominate and preserves the same 'unique' state. The king, who has the reflection of God's sovereignty, now becomes the ruler of the state, the sole guardian of the sovereignty of the people. The main emphasis here is on the state of being single and dominant. This uniqueness stems from the only creative construct of monotheistic religions that hold all the power. (See also: Hobbes, Leviathan; Schmitt, Siyasal Kavramı Üzerine; Mann, Devletler, Savaş ve Kapitalizm)

precedence, and these areas are synchronised up with high politics (Aydın, 1996, 111), and masculinity (Blanchard, 2003, 1289) and have left an entire gender out of international relations. With the strengthening of the second-wave feminist movement (Snyder, 2008) in the 1980s, feminist international relations made its voice heard in the discipline (Tür & Aydın, 2010, 8). The debate known as the third debate (Lapid, 1989; True, 2013, 215) between positivists and post-positivists in IR theory is “Where are the women?” allowed the question to be asked. In the 1990s, in the process that started with this question being asked more loudly, not only women’s issues were the focus, but also the criticism of the basic assumptions and concepts of international relations increased.

Criticisms of realist theory and the power-centred approach have played a crucial role in developing the feminist theory (Runyan & Peterson, 1991, 90). The reason the feminist theory is affected by this development is that it supports the notion that the world cannot be observed from a single eye. The realist theory's immutable and holistic perception of the state stands in the way of the variations the feminist theory demand to see and to be seen (Eralp, 2016, 79). Because, considering the state as a single whole, many variables (religion, class, gender, etc.) within the state were excluded, and the conception of a state that did not include gender in terms of feminist theory caused the invisibility of women and their problems, positions, and rights they wanted to have. Evaluations that will consider gender have also been made possible by feminist theory. In its simplest form, while the exclusion of half of humanity from the theory cannot provide a holistic understanding, the effort to open it to criticism and to include the ignored half has an important place in the development of feminist theory.

Nevertheless, it has not been a fast process for feminism to make its voice heard in IR. After the Cold War, without turning into a world war, the invalidity of the theories which anticipated that the era would not conclude amicably was revealed, and new theories for the international system emerged (Buskie, 2013). Even though plenty of theories emerged and took their places within IR, the feminist theory was included in the IR through a challenging process. What made it difficult for feminist IR theory to enter the discipline was that, while many new theories had emerged, most theories still adopted the state-centered view. Ann Tickner (1999, 46) expresses this in the same way, because of the complicated process, the international system is a structure consisting only of states, and other actors are ignored. Despite there being feminists expressing different world

views within the feminist IR theory, each thinker contemplates the differences between women and men, which are socially constructed, and their appearances through the gender perspective, which gathers them under the same roof (Enloe, 2007, 104). It is among the main criticisms that IR, which is clearly defined as a male-dominated discipline by feminists, ignores the experience of women (Enloe, 2014, 7). They state that the human image defined in the theories of those who have a rational mind, logic, and science defines the male character, not the human, and the emotionality and the non-analytical thought attributed to women. Also, they criticize realist writers (e.g., Hans Morgenthau) because they have always been regarded as the power to run the state as a man (see Tickner, 1991). One reason for this is that masculinity is accepted as a norm of polity and gender has no room there (Acker, 1990, 142). It is thought by realists (e.g., Hans Morgenthau) that a good political leader or “statesman” should have the qualities associated with masculinity such as being a warrior, brave, independent, rational, these are also the ideal type of man (Tickner, 1999, 46-48).

In traditional IR, analysis levels are shaped as individual, national, and international systems, and national and systemic explanations are used in most of the relations between these units (Yurdusev, 1993, 80). The fact that subjects such as religion, race, class, and gender were not included in these analysis levels caused issues within and between states to remain incomprehensible or incompletely understood (Tür & Aydın, 2010, 11; Harders, 2019, 31). Feminists also drew attention to the lack of women in these analyses, stating that in-state factors are also effective in the behaviour and decision-making of states within the system and argued that gender should be included in the discipline as an analysis level/unit of analysis (Tickner, 1999, 44; Whitworth, 1989, 265). For instance, using gender as an analysis level for many issues, from economic policies to unequal living conditions between sexes in wartime, or from how effective peace operations are to examine wartime sex trafficking, will expand the information production and perceptions concerning these issues immensely.

During and before the Cold War, security issues focused on military security and did not include issues other than the military, by determining it as a high policy area (Aydın, 1996, 111). However, especially in the post-Cold War period, issues called low politics (human, cultural and social issues) came to the fore. The main factor why these issues are on the agenda and why they stand out in the theory production is the increase

in security problems, domestic turbulences, and conflicts even though the Cold War ended amicably (Buskie, 2013). Reasons such as the conflicts emerging between the groups within the country or cultural differences turning into an element of conflict required that the analysis level must be directed to smaller groups and people than the state (Runyan & Peterson, 1991, 90). With the influence of feminist writers, who mostly developed analyses on these issues, such as human rights, minority rights, globalization, and migration began to take place in a critical understanding of security and revealed new perspectives on security (Blanchard, 2003, 1290; Jaggar, 1983). These new perspectives covered a wide area from whether the security issue should be focused only on the state or whether a security should be developed that includes in-state groups, to whether women should be included in security issues.

It is crucial to mention the feminist security studies at this point. Beyond the classical security perception, which is the militaristic security that foresees the security and survival of the states within the international system, the main theme of feminist theory is human-centred security (Sylvester, 199, 267-268). The main reason for focusing on human-centralism is that women and men experience insecure moments differently, and the traditional realist security notion that focuses on “bigger issues” neglects women’s lives and the insecurities that occur because of unequal gender relations (Tickner, 1999, 625). Evaluating war and security through a woman’s eye reveals the problems that an individual experiences in life, and it includes the destructive effects of war on human life rather than its costs in terms of military and reasons for the security matter (Steans, 1998, 102).

2.2 MAIN THEMES OF FEMINIST IR THEORY

Feminist IR theory opposes knowledge and power relations asserted not only by realist theory but by all traditional theories, and it offers an alternative understanding of a global order from a normative perspective, meaning that it is possible to set up an alternative and egalitarian world order apart from the existing one (True, 2013, 213). According to this understanding, considering only the state as an actor (Waltz, 2001; Keohane, 1986) will lead to deficiencies in the analysis. Feminist scholars emphasize that individuals as actors should also be addressed, and that women's perspectives should be in foreign policy and international relations. They state that the functioning of the global

system is difficult to comprehend without including the gender category as an analysis level in the IR discipline (True, 2013, 214; Sjoberg, 2015, 22).

In any field of social sciences, there is not a single complete and perfect feminism. There are feminisms that have developed in different ways with different worldviews, such as liberal feminism, socialist feminism, radical feminism, critical feminism, and post-colonial feminism (Enloe, 2007, 104). Therefore, feminism cannot be considered solely in IR, as in every field. Each perspective defines feminism and gender in an unusual way, so there is no single and complete feminist theory of IR. For Enloe (2007, 104), such diversity is not a loss for the theory but a richness in incorporating different experiences into feminism. It is important to note that these categories are not distinct species separated by sharp boundaries. Sometimes they have common points, similar understandings, and key themes such as the patriarchal system, gendering of the public-private sphere, and gender-based exclusion, and we can explain them in the following sections.

2.2.1. Patriarchal System

The patriarchal system, the gender hierarchy of the social order we live in, points out that men have a say in women's lives and experiences, directing them and even the subordination of women. The dominant feature of the system is the institutionalization of sexism (Hooks, 2016, 12), and sexism's definition for Britannica is "prejudice or discrimination based on sex or gender, especially against women and girls. ... Sexism can be a belief that one sex is superior to or more valuable than another sex. It imposes limits on what men and boys can and should do and what women and girls can and should do"². In such a system, the woman can exist with secondary roles and dependence on the man. In crucial positions such as administration and politics, men are seen at the top of all areas in social life. Feminist theories -although their definitions and methods differ- oppose this system and reject the secondary and assistant roles that the patriarchal system imposes on women. They state women are the oppressed side of this hierarchical system because they are women, and the problem itself stems from this structure. Throughout history, societies have prioritized the features identified with masculinity above femininity and built a system in which men should conform to the ideal masculinity and women should have the opposite of these features (e.g., women must be emotional and

² www.britannica.com/topic/sexism

maternal, and men must act rationally). However, in this system, women and men cannot be equal, even where women and men perform ideal behaviours. This inequality is used to distinguish social and political relations as a kind of power relation (Sjoberg, 2015, 24). The notion that women are holistic, as seen in religious texts, and that women's bodies should be kept under control because of the “original sin”³ reveals the theological basis of patriarchy.

“The man said, ‘The woman you put here with me—she gave me some fruit from the tree, and I ate it.’ Then the Lord God said to the woman, ‘What is this you have done?’ The woman said, ‘The serpent deceived me, and I ate.’ So the Lord God said to the serpent, ‘Because you have done this, cursed are you above all livestock and all wild animals! You will crawl on your belly and you will eat dust all the days of your life. And I will put enmity between you and the woman, and between your offspring and hers; he will crush your head, and you will strike his heel.’ To the woman he said, ‘I will make your pains in childbearing very severe; with painful labor you will give birth to children. Your desire will be for your husband, and he will rule over you.’” (Genesis, 3:12-16)

Like ideologies, religions are also tools of legitimation and are used to legitimize this hierarchical structure socially and present it as unquestionable realities (Berkday, 1995, 20-21). Thus, subordinating women to men and the domination of men over women are also legitimized through religions. In this sense, religion is a crucial carrier of the patriarchal system.

2.2.2 Gendering of the Public-Private Sphere

The gendering of the public-private sphere is a separation that becomes visible with the critique of the patriarchal system, which has become a slogan with “*The private is political*” and confines women to the private sphere. *The private is political* because many of the problems of women life considered as individuals arise from the power relations and patriarchal structure that exist in the society (Schuster, 2017, 648). Thus, feminists criticize the thoughts on the public sphere is seen as the male area and the private sphere as the female area (Elshtain, 1981). The public sphere encompasses all citizenship relations, and there is a gender-based acceptance for every activity in this field, such as political participation, voting, management roles, and military services. If we need to explain the public-private sphere and what feminism questions, the following areas expressed by Iris Young (1990) will be explanatory: “the meaning of pronouns, domestic

³ “We cautioned, ‘O Adam! Live with your wife in Paradise and eat as freely as you please, but do not approach this tree, or else you will be wrongdoers.’ But Satan deceived them -leading to their fall from the ‘blissful’ state they were in, and We said, ‘Descend from the heavens ‘to the earth’ as enemies to each other. You will find in the earth a residence and provision for your appointed stay.” (Qur’an 2:35-36)

violence against women, the practice of men's opening doors for women, the sexual assault of women and children, the sexual division of housework, and so on" (p. 120-121). Gender-based distribution of labor and power is part of the political sphere, and therefore, power relations in the private sphere and the gendering of these spheres should be questioned in the public-private distinction (Phillips, 2012, 115).

The distinction between the public and the private sphere, based on political philosophy, and the theoretical acceptance of this, are the widely accepted justifications of social contract theories. The public and private spheres make sense with each other. In this distinction in the establishment of the social, there are two important criteria that characterize the public sphere: visibility and collectivity (Özbek, 2004, 44). In this sense, the public sphere is the domain of politics, debate, discussion, and joint decision. (Özbek, 2004, 45). However, this distinction, which refers to citizenship rights (voting, military services, etc.) and the political field, is not gender neutral. Starting from here, Pateman (2017, 15), who opened the social contract theory to feminist criticism, argues the establishment of the public sphere is also a sexual contract. According to Pateman, the resulting discourse of "equality" emphasizes equality among men, and women are not included in this equality. Stating that men's equality also implies an equal share in subordinating women, Pateman (2017, 29) emphasizes that the social contract theory excludes women from the public sphere and imprisons them in the home-private sphere.

Feminist theorists who make public-private distinctions have also drawn the border of this distinction from various places. For Yuval-Davis (2020, 151), even separating public and private spaces has a political meaning, which means there is no area in the modern social state where the state does not intervene. Even in cases where it is thought that there is no intervention, the state can show itself actively or passively in the field of action. Meanwhile, for others (Pateman, 2017, 36; Vogel, 1991, 59), the scope of the private space is limited to the family and neighbors, and it is seen as an autonomous space where there is no state intervention. However, despite different opinions, the common point in feminist theory is that it accepts power relations exist at all levels, both in public and private spheres (Yuval-Davis, 2020, 153).

Feminism contributes to this view by revealing that hegemonic power relations are seen in primary, secondary, personal, and impersonal relations. Today, although the participation of women in the public sphere has increased in economic life as labor force

and political participation (such as the right to vote), the male-dominated view of domestic life and private space is still mainstream (hooks, 2016, 67-71). Since women's participation in public life is still very limited because of the division of labor between men and women, women are under a double work burden and left out of the decision-making processes, even in the most basic cases. For example, who picks up the children from school and who prepares the food is a vital political issue (Phillips, 2012, 121). The *personal is political* because democracy in the private sphere is the precondition for democracy in the public sphere (Phillips, 2012, 120).

2.2.3. Gender-Based Exclusion

In its simplest terms, gender-based exclusion means excluding women from certain areas of society because of their gender. It holds the prejudice that a woman will not be successful, especially in managerial roles. It is most visible in politics. Invisible women, not only in domestic politics but also in foreign policy, are also exposed to criticism based on their gender in the duties they acquire. These criticisms can be in the form of women being too soft and naïve for politics, or it can be because they do not fit the image of women when they show a toughness that is not different from men. In both cases, a woman is subject to criticism through prejudices or when she does not act in line with these prejudices, as in Thatcher's or Albright's example (Tickner, 1999, 45). The absence of women in the decision-making process, as they were affected by the decisions and movements in politics and life, has made politics an area with a male perspective, and women's voices have been excluded. This exclusion is not limited to managerial positions. Women are not only excluded from the security issue like how women are affected by conflict situations or exclusion from military decision making but also constitute the most vulnerable group in situations of war and conflict. In particular, feminists emphasize the patriarchy behind national security issues rather than victimization while talking about the vulnerability of women (Terriff, 1999, 85-86). Because a woman becomes vulnerable not because she does not have a gun but because she is excluded from the training to reach and use this weapon. Moreover, punishing with sexual violence, which is also at the root of patriarchal nationalist thought (as they see the territory as an entity to be saved or raped), is a major problem that most women suffer (Yuval-Davis, 2020, 104).

Considering that women are responsible for domestic matters and excluded from the public sphere and citizenship activities, based on the distinction between public and

private spheres, led them to be stuck in certain areas in the military, such as nursing and supportive roles. In terms of the functioning of the military, men and women need to fulfil their assigned roles (Enloe, 2006, 19). The woman responsible for family care is excluded from the battlefield and front of the military only because of her gender and can also take part in aiding and supportive roles (Yuval-Davis, 2020, 179; Akgül, 2011, 30; Malesevic, 2018, 439). The basis of excluding women in the cultural sense is the association of women with 'nature', and men with reason and rationality (Plumwood, 2020, 24). As a result, women are excluded from areas associated with reason and logic (politics, economy, participation in decision-making). Furthermore, associating women with nature includes humiliation, not praise for her gender. The humiliation that appears with the emphasis on this intimacy causes her to be excluded in fields such as economics and politics due to her gender. In terms of showing the intellectual foundations of this, the thoughts of some thinkers about women from Plumwood are given below:

“‘Woman is a violent and uncontrolled animal’ (Cato 1989:193); ‘A woman is but an animal and an animal not of the highest order’ (Burke 1989:187); ‘I cannot conceive of you to be human creatures, but a sort of species hardly a degree above a monkey’ (Swift 1989:191); ‘Howe’er man rules in science and in art/The sphere of women’s glories is the heart’ (Moore 1989:166); ‘Women represent the interests of the family and sexual life; the work of civilisation has become more and more men’s business’ (Freud 1989:80); ‘Women are certainly capable of learning, but they are not made for the higher forms of science, such as philosophy and certain types of creative activity; these require a universal ingredient’ (Hegel 1989:62); ‘A necessary object, woman, who is needed to preserve the species or to provide food and drink’ (Aquinas 1989:183).” (Plumwood, 2020, 35).

In the light of the main themes mentioned, although there are various feminisms, it is seen that there is a common ground besides this scattered image. In the following lines, the place of war, militarism, and peace, which are the main topics of this thesis, in feminist international relations theory, its perspectives on women and their connection with peace and conflict studies will be examined then in detail by bearing in mind these central themes.

2.3 THE NEXUS BETWEEN PEACE AND CONFLICT STUDIES AND FEMINIST IR THEORY: THE ROLE OF GENDER IN PEACE

2.3.1. Feminist IR

Even twenty years after feminist thought took its place in social sciences, in 1988, Fred Halliday complained women could not find a place in traditional international relations. As aforementioned, feminist IR has been a process that embraced variations during its development. To mention those variations slightly, liberal feminism argues that it is possible to reach equality with the elimination of juristic inequality between women

and men; Marxist feminism claims that discriminating women from workplace even though government the state has made the class a priority rather than sex; radical feminism argues that the primary issue to put an end to inequality between sexes is that the elimination of gender roles; post-modern feminism argues that the so-called "modern" science is developed around the male perspective and the enlightenment tradition is a male world view; constructivist feminism claims that gender and global politics affect one another and perceptions towards these are constructed mutually (Tür, Aydın, 2010, 14-15); and post-colonial feminism opens the classical meanings of concepts such as power, borderline, and security into further discussions by exposing the power relations and identities within structures of race, gender, class and culture that hypermasculine power politics exploit such as women, workers, colonized nations (Agathangelou and Ling, 2004, 529-530).

There are different categorizations as well as different feminisms. One category is the three main divisions of *Feminist Empiricism*, *Feminist Standpoint*, and *Feminist Postmodernism* by Keohane, which he emphasizes through the basic categorization of Sandra Harding (Keohane, 1989, 245). According to Keohane, empirical feminist IR argues that the production of generally accepted information favours men, and women must be included in international associations/structures. The feminist standpoint defends the idea that female experiences in political fields will provide an insight into world politics and claims that although they have a conception of the world based on duality, development will be achieved by increasing the importance of the characteristics identified with feminism. Feminist postmodernism, on the other hand, focuses on phrases that are coded into the everyday language and reproduces gender inequality at any time, claiming that it affects our effort to make sense of the truth.

However, this distinction made by Keohane is criticized by other feminists. Keohane defends the feminist standpoint theory while making this distinction, yet her attitude was criticized for displaying "reasonable" feminism, which can be favoured by men as it does not affect their privileges. According to Cynthia Weber (1994), Keohane's work labelled feminist post-modernism as the bad girl, the feminist empiricism as the little girl, and the feminist standpoint as the good girl.

Another categorization was made by Jacqui True, and it comprises three main epistemological distinctions (2013, 213-214). As the earlier distinction displays,

according to empirical feminism, the female experience is excluded in international relations studies, and the reason for this exclusion is that the male experience is considered to apply to all sexes. However, the dominant theories in the discipline are biased and far from the female experience (Halliday, 1988, 159). Analytical feminism, on the other hand, uses gender as a category to explain the structural aspects of international relations. The third distinction, normative feminism, as the name implies, is used as a theorizing study for an alternative social and political world. In the period since Halliday's article (1988), many feminist IR studies have been conducted, several feminist theories have diversified, and the place of women has been questioned, but it has not been possible to get rid of essentialism, which is defined as "nature of women". What is meant by essentialism here is that every individual included in a genre has the same characteristics and qualities, and it is interpreted independently of any context, claiming universality (Stone, 2019, 13). The reason women's nature is considered essentialism is that the problems experienced by women, or the behavior patterns attributed to women are briefly defined as women's nature. In such a case, rather than having their personality as human beings/individuals, they are seen as a whole category. As a result, prejudice against women, stereotyping, and the tendency to see women who go beyond this prejudice as anomalies increases. Attributing behavior patterns to nature presents a cursory and incomplete view of individuals who need to be socially studied. As a result, complex cultural, social, economic, and political causes and consequences are overlooked.

The exclusion of women from the fields that traditional theory sees as high politics is again justified by the discourse of essentialist women's nature. Rational thought, courage, independence, and strength -hence susceptibility to conflict- with masculinity; the association of mildness, emotionality, need for protection and weakness -and therefore peace and moderation- with femininity (Sjoberg, 2015, 49; Braidotti, 2017, 208) deepens this exclusion. Even within feminism, there are debates about how much peace one should pursue in connection with the feminist movement (Yuval-Davis, 2020, 178). Because combining feminism with peace activism, there is a possibility of displaying a restrictive appearance that confirms and sustains the essentialist view in terms of the feminist movement. Including a view that sees women as -already-peaceful in the women's liberation movement can force women to struggle within the limits set for them.

There may be anti-war feminists, non-feminist peace activists, or, on the contrary, feminists who want to be involved in military service on the battlefield. The issue here is between fighting for an egalitarian world where there is no gender discrimination in all aspects of life, state, economy, society, and the gendering of being anti-war. However, to understand war, the claim of masculinity to reflect the so-called universality (Braidotti, 2015, 208) should be criticized, and the gendered aspects of war should be addressed (Sjoberg, 2015, 22). Excluding the feminine under a definition does not cause women to represent themselves in all areas but causes women to be dissolved in the masculine model, whose boundaries are drawn beforehand (Plumwood, 2020, 40).

2.3.2. War and Women

All aspects of life that are societal have been related to militarism in a way, including the prevention of war, the maintenance of peace, the limitation or balancing of power, or the power struggle itself. Since war and peace are mutually exclusive but form a whole, one cannot be separated from the other when examining both issues. In other words, the basis of masculinity for war and femininity for peace results from the essentialist acceptance of human nature, and it has a clear appearance in the military. To understand this view, we will look at how war and militarism are managed for women, how women are excluded, and how this exclusion is justified.

There are different explanations for excluding women from war and the military and their inclination towards peace. An explanation by Malesevic (2018, 401) on why women are excluded from the military is based on the recognition that war is seen as a man's job and in militarism, men have the majority. Therefore, he tries to shed a light on the origin of this situation and suggests two interrelated reasons: the bureaucratization of violence and the ideological approach to gender roles. The emergence and powering of the state brought the gendering and institutionalization of war through a gender-specific perspective. State structure creates oppressive devices and, as a natural consequence, hierarchical structures. Since this hierarchical institutionalization is structural rather than voluntary, it develops within the framework of visible differentiation. This is how women were excluded from bureaucratic violence in the separation of men and women. However, excluding a woman is not due to her physical inadequacy but her ability to give birth, which is the most important biological feature that distinguishes women from men (Malesevic, 2018, 433). The power to produce and breed a new generation that can fight

is reserved only for women. In its simplest form, when childbirth and childcare are assigned to the woman, it is the man's responsibility to ensure the safety of the new generation against external threats. Thus, war became men's job. Ideology also functions as a process that is not separate from it, but reinforces and legitimizes exclusion. Labeling the civil area as the woman and the military as the male both enables and justifies war. Thus, the bureaucratization that creates hierarchies provides legitimacy with ideology. Akgül's claim (2011, 163) is that the emergence of the state structure is parallel to the structuring of defense practices as men's work. For her assumption, women are stuck in a position that is not a warrior but a position that raises soldiers, waiting for them and healing them when they have been injured. To fill the production gap opened by male soldiers recruited during wartime, the state escapes the sexist division of labour, but when the war is over, the woman must return home to her "kitchen" (Nagel, 2000, 83). The ability to be a warrior takes on a masculine character, and a preserved fragile, and the helpless female image is essential to construct a protecting male image. The man who fights and protects his wife, children, mother, and other women in need of protection is normalized and takes on a natural appearance. This normalization supplies legitimacy for the gendering of the militarist process. Military service, in which the ability to use violence has the highest visibility and constitutive element, has historically been the founder of masculinity. In addition, the training of soldiers has been as much about organizing, categorizing, shaping, and changing male bodies for war as it has been about establishing and normalizing gender-based power relations. (Confortini, 2006, 354).

In connection with these, Young (2003, 2) explains the means of legitimating this exclusion, namely the protective image, with a concept she calls masculinist protection. She argues that men in protective roles within the security state transform the rest of the people -women and children- into a dependent, protected category. She examines this situation within the framework of masculinist protection, which strives to protect the woman and the family from harm, rather than the selfish and dominant masculinity in other feminist theories. However, at the centre of this masculinist protection is the subordinate status of the protected positions (Young, 2003, 4). She mentions two aspects of security and states that one of these two faces protects the enemies against the outside, and the other is a view that keeps the people under protection from the inside. Here,

masculinity is reminiscent of the two-faced Roman God Janus.⁴ However, although the image and purpose of masculinity change, to act of protecting or control, there is no change in the role and place of women. The woman remains subordinate and excluded under Janus' gaze.

On the other hand, Enloe (2006, 30) argues that this exclusion is only in appearance, and women are constantly militarized. The militarization of women by the military, though not front-line combatants, is more invisible, secondary, but always present. Enloe (2006, 15) states that women are gradually militarized, and this militarization has a characteristic that determines and controls the value of women. In such a society, being a military mother or wife turns into a level of pride, makes them more valuable, and creates a hierarchical situation among women. She analyses three groups, arguing that women in the military have already been militarized: prostitutes, soldiers' wives, and military nurses. These women, who are particularly important in their support for the military and the men in the military, are an indispensable component of militarism. This categorization damages the situation of women in the military. Even if they are at the same level, women are not seen as those who do the same work as men but as assistants to men. Based on the independence movements, Enloe (2006) states that differences between women based on race, class, and sexual orientation affect women's experiences and that these experiences have different but equivalent roles in their militarization process. Harders (2019) comes to the same conclusion about the militarization of women as Enloe and adds that the physical differences that are said to exist between men and women are not that deep, but in-group differences are deeper than gender differences (Goldstein, 2003, 250). Women, who are seen as a socially different group, are differentiated not because of their gender but because of their group identity in the military. Gender is one of the most crucial factors determining group identity in the military, and it seems reasonable that there is a visible difference in-group identity among men. Because in-group identity is defined through the characteristics of the other (Turner, 1988, 8). The lack of democratic participation, not the physical deficiency, is the main issue that makes the difference here. No matter how much women are excluded as soldiers during the war, they are not so separated from war (Harders, 2019, 51-52).

⁴ Janus is a two-faced Roman god with one face to the right and the other to the left. In the Janus painting found at the city gates, one side looks at those who enter the city, and the other faces those who leave the city so that he sees everything in the city and ensures that the city is safe.

Removing women from being the subjects of war, accepting them as innocent civilians and men as potential soldiers, and setting compatible laws reproduce gendering rather than protecting women (Kinsella, 2004, 253). In this reproduction, women and children are treated as a group that is always remembered together, unprotected, and always fought for. Another reason for this is the gendered gaze realized not only towards women but also men. The typical pro-war ideal masculinity is built on protecting innocent women. Imprisoning women in this restrictive space is necessary to both preserve views of femininity and motivate men to fight (Sjoberg, 2015, 57). For states, the image of women that innocent, helpless, and waiting for help is used as an important method for war propaganda, and it is practical to construct the notion of the weaker and peace-seeking nature of women (Harders, 2019, 45-46). Based on this, there is a tendency to see women as people who do not use violence or avoid that. However, there is no reason for women to avoid using violence based on their gender (Butler, 2005, 56). Women can dominate, conflict, and use violence for a purpose (Plumwood, 2020, 22). Moreover, while the “life-giving mother”, which is considered the principal basis for the discourses on women's nature, is used to construct a one-sided ideal image for women in the patriarchal system, the following is often forgotten: in mythology, the life-giving Goddess also brings death, in the ongoing transformation of life, it is the Goddess who takes the human hand to the death cave (Campbell, 2020, 81). As stated at the beginning of the chapter, the patriarchal system, which takes advantage of the absent image of a woman -or builds this absence itself- has reduced the woman to the representation of a birth machine that produces soldiers for battlefields.

Despite all these exclusions, it cannot be said that women are not on the battlefield. Apart from supporting roles in mass wars, there are women everywhere, from female figures who encourage men to fight -such as Jeanne d'Arc- to women on the front lines themselves, as in the case of Israel, to peace and reconstruction processes (Sjoberg, 2015, 49). However, these examples are seen as marginal examples rather than being accepted as the norm (Yuval-Davis, 2020, 179). In Sjoberg's (2015) analysis of where women appeared in the *History of the Peloponnesian War*, it is seen that women have three different appearances: Women as the spoils of war, women as supporters, and women as warriors who are seen as different from others. These warrior women, who are

in only one sentence, are “seen as abnormal and described as transcending their gender” (Sjoberg, 2015, 52).⁵

However, it is not a very correct proposition to claim that women are far from the battlefield or only in auxiliary roles. According to the data of a study examining war prone administrations in Europe between 1480-1913 “polities led by queens engaged in war more than polities led by kings” (Dube & Harish, 2020). While this data alone says nothing about the aggressiveness or peacefulness of male and female natures, it presents quite the opposite reality to the idea that female governments will be more peaceful. At the same time, it was women who started and led many peasant revolts and uprisings in Europe or continued the uprising underground when men were arrested (Federici, 2012, 250).

Similarly, women have always been on the front lines of wars. However, studies on the existence of women on the battlefields are overlooked by the society as they can be counted as a new situation for history. During World War I, no country except Russia officially recruited women in combat roles. During World War II, however, this situation was relaxed a bit, with women's corps and volunteer women in almost all supporting roles. Yet women were still mostly held in non-combat roles. The United States, which officially enlists women today, did not allow women to take combat roles in the military back then (Campbell, 1993, 302). However, even if not legally, women have been actors beyond being a part of every war and conflict from the American Civil War to the Iran-Iraq War (Sjoberg, 2010, 58).

Women have been a part and actor not only of war zones but also of national liberation movements, guerrilla wars, civil wars and terrorist organizations. Although they play an active role in many armed conflict situations and terrorist activities, from the Russian-Chechen War to the conflicts in the Middle East, a portrait is formed for the roles of women through their femininity and motherhood. For example, it is quite common for these women to be portrayed in the media as sad and angry women who lost their husband/children (Sjoberg, 2010, 63-64). However, as a result of Henshaw's study, it is seen that “*women also take part in armed attacks in nearly one-third of all rebel*

⁵ “After a day’s interval hostilities recommenced, victory remaining with the commons, who had the advantage in numbers and position, the women also valiantly assisting them, pelting with tiles from the houses, and supporting the melee with a fortitude beyond their sex.” The History of the Peloponnesian War, Thucydides, Book III.

movements, and play leadership roles in over one-quarter of all movements” (Henshaw, 2016, 41).

Although women's participation in armies and wars has increased over the years, women's participation in warfare is also shown as a specified attribute – *female* soldier, *female* terrorist, etc. Moreover, women who perpetrate political violence are seen as an anomaly, and this is defined as a mistake in terms of their femininity, so women who take part in war or do not advocate peace are often invisible, and violence by women is seen as a “qualitative contradiction” (Sjoberg, 2015, 69). This is the case for men as well, and they must be brave and warlike, responsible for protecting the families they left behind. Those against the war or conscientious objectors who do not behave in this way become invisible or humiliated in the army because they do not fit the ideal type (Akgül, 2011, 34). At this point, the idea of hegemonic masculinity can be an illuminative apparatus for the analysis. Just as we emphasize that the one image of femineity is wrong, the one image of masculinity is just as wrong. Based on the masculinity studies revealing the differences between masculinities, Connell also establishes patriarchy and reveals that there are various masculinities. It is the *hegemonic masculinity* that supplies the most benefit from the patriarchal system and determines the standard of masculinity (Connell & Messerschmidt 2005, 832). In the simplest sense, hegemonic masculinity is an ideal rather than all the features that can be found in a single man, and it is a standard that defines other masculinities through itself (Nagel, 2000, 71). It usually describes a white, middle-class, middle-aged, and dominant man in many different ways and stands for a small group (Sancar, 2009, 17). Patriarchy appears not only in the relation of masculinity with femininities but also in the relationship of masculinities with other masculinities, so masculinity, like femininity, is not a specific essence and is constructed by social relations (Messerschmidt, 2019, 70). Hegemonic masculinity is a structure that excludes other masculinities and creates domination for them. For example, men belonging to other minority groups, such as conscientious objectors, homosexuals, and refugees, are not included in this concept and are seen as other oppressed masculinities (Sancar, 2009, 20-21).

In this sense, the military is the most crucial institution in which hegemonic masculinity is built, and its shape is determined (Barrett, 1996, 129). The link between hegemonic masculinity and the male image is crucial for men to socialize in the military

because soldiers socialized within the framework of the dominant male model continue to maintain the same behaviour patterns when they return to society (Arkin & Dobrofsky, 1978, 167). This situation shows the parallelism of the restriction of the military to men and the construction of hegemonic masculinity. The link between masculine expectations and military expectations, i.e., both taking on the duty of protection and the ability to be a warrior leads to the feeding of the military with hegemonic masculinity and the exclusion of other features (femineity) (Sjoberg, 2015, 95).

2.3.3. Women in Peace and Conflict Studies

After the feminist theory's view on women and peace in international relations, it is essential for this thesis to examine the concept of peace in peace and conflict studies with a feminist framework. A comparative study of the position of women in the two mentioned areas of study aims to provide practical analysis, especially for this study based on the issue of peacekeeping. Since the focus of the theoretical basis of the thesis is to address the gendered aspects of peace, the answer to the question of where a woman is placed in this sub-discipline.

Briefly speaking about its development, even though peace and conflict studies have emerged from the international relations context, it focuses heavily on the concepts of peace and conflict, and the study of establishing, maintaining, and survival of peace. One notable researcher in this field, Galtung's distinction between negative and positive peace has received conceptual acceptance, and it has been stated that the distinction addresses the way peace is defined and its structure. In this direction, negative peace is a state of absence of conflict/war, and peace is defined only through negativity, the exclusion of war. This understanding of peace, which is compatible with the Realist theory on international relations, is also described by Webel (2014, 6) as "*times when there is no war or other forms of violence*". Galtung's positive understanding of peace, on the other hand, refers to a broad concept of peace defined through social justice and includes the absence of structural violence in the definition (Richmond, 2008, 35). In certain cases, the elimination of social injustice is seen as the desire for an idealistic view and a utopia (Dower, 2009, 6). This idealistic view, based on Kant's *Perpetual Peace*, is more often advocated by liberal theorists of international relations.

Peace has been studied in four different categories in terms of peace and conflict studies (Richmond, 2008, 99-117). The main distinction between these generations is

their view of peace. The first generation emphasizes negative peace and exhibits mostly realist -and realist-liberalist at times- attitudes in terms of IR theories. In this state-centred generation, where the winner's peace prevails, the UN's first peacekeeping operations can be observed. These operations mostly assume the role of observer and do not develop an alternative to the state-based view. The second generation has emerged based on idealistic thinking and developed mainly through conflict resolution. The UN's peacekeeping operations after the 1990s are examples of this generation. Predicting a civil peace, the second-generation perspective is based on idealism's argument, which is violence is not inherent in human nature, but there are reasons to trigger it. According to the second generation, issues related to security, political participation, and identity are among the universal human needs, and achieving peace will be possible with a grassroots civil movement. One feature that distinguishes the first generation from the second generation is that the former includes non-state actors and NGOs in peace processes. Liberal peacebuilding, the third generation, is theorized within the framework of a positive understanding of peace. This third generation, which includes the previous generations mentioned above, is also part of the liberal state-building. In addition to being the most popular and mentioned generation among all other generations, it is also the basis of the peacekeeping tasks conducted today.

Operations and movements conducted to ensure peace in conflicts arising after the Cold War are considered under this title. Since it is highly connected with liberal peace, issues such as democratization and human rights are the backbone of these peacekeeping tasks. These processes, which comprise the sum of top-down and bottom-up movements, allow for a hybrid methodology and application. In general, peacebuilding studies, which are conducted under the UN's responsibility and leadership, are included here. The fourth generation, on the other hand, offers a critical look at the other three generations and claims that they are all a reflection of the realist-liberal view. According to this generation, mainstream peace operations have the characteristics of a tool used by neo-liberalist policies to enslave other countries. The generation includes the questioning of the relationship between women and war. Echoes of critical theory are seen not only in IR theories but also in their sub-disciplines, and emancipation becomes the main issue (Richmond, 2008, 109).

Emancipation harbours various meanings within, as well as the idea of women's liberation, and strives to reveal the gendered aspects of peace in the critical generation. In this perspective, the effort to include the individual, who is the basis of feminist IR theory, and even in more general who was excluded from white male politics into the politics had affected peace and conflict studies (Richmond, 2008, 116). Feminist IR theory's contributions to peace works and especially peacekeeping and peacebuilding research reveal that studies have neglected the gender category and the feminist IR theory seeks to include this category in the studies (Shepherd, 2014, 103-104). Peacekeeping and peacebuilding must be investigated with a "feminist curiosity", as Enloe (2004) refers to; a genuine perspective toward women's lives and experiences, a political perspective on womanhood and manhood, and a notion that all women's lives are equally valued to contemplate. Otherwise, all investigations shall be partial (Shepherd, 2014, 105). The reason women play a crucial role within the conception of peace is that gender is a relational concept and closely related to power relations. In a situation where inequality and hierarchic relations exist, it is an exceedingly complicated issue to talk about complete peace (Shepherd, 2014, 105).

The effect of conflicts within the feminist IR theory on peace is that these arguments have become a massive pressure element on including women in peacekeeping and peacebuilding activities and striving for number equality between sexes. Although intellectual discussions and the question of which women and for which reasons should be included are still being asked (Shepherd, 2014, 105), they have become a joint driving force in issues such as the visibility of women's problems and women's inclusion in decision-making. This joining has caused more questions about the influence of women in peace, and this research seeks an answer to a similar question.

Based on the traditional feminism idea, some theorists acclaimed women had higher ethical values and were more peaceable than men by equating a woman's nature to the ability to give birth and the role of caregiver. However, other theorists within the feminist IR (e.g., Jean Bethke Elshtain, Christine Sylvester, Ann Tickner) opposed such a proposition fiercely. Tickner criticizes the naturalized connection between pacifism and woman nature as follows:

"The association of femininity with peace lends support to an idealized masculinity that depends on constructing women as passive victims in need of protection. It also contributes to the claim that women are naïve in matters relating to international politics. An enriched, less militarized notion of citizenship cannot be built on such a weak foundation" (Tickner, 1992, 59).

In this sense, a “natural” relationship established or assumed between peace and woman is seen as problematic, and yet, this does not mean that a relation between feminism and peace & conflict has never been and will ever be.

Several similarities between peace and conflict studies and feminism can be listed as such: first, many feminists and peace theorists share the commitment to new thoughts and alternatives towards them; both deals with identity and human needs against power politics; both accept the importance of concepts such as relation, diversity, and mutual dependence; and accept the existence of cultural and historical differences in realities and ways of seeing the world (Confortini, 2006, 334).

According to Confortini (2006), an alliance between peace studies and feminism is possible. However, as the precondition of this alliance, researchers of peace studies must start taking feminism seriously and start re-formulating their categories and concepts according to the premise of gender is an important and useful analysis category. Feminism contributes to peace and conflict theory by addressing the issues of government and gender, which are essential to understanding the complex process of legitimization, reproduction, and naturalization of violence in which social power relations are constructed. A peace and conflict theory sensitive to gender issues would eliminate the peaceable woman myth (and, in turn, a warrior or war-prone masculinity) by seeing gender as a social construction. Then, while describing violence, one can see the various manhood and womanhood that experience it in different power positions. Furthermore, gender relations permeate all other forms of social organizations that depend on hierarchic gender concepts to exist and justify themselves. Gender, as a symbolic structure, enables us to break down the gender distinctions such as violence and peace, victim and perpetrator, and it focuses on consistencies, complexities, and disputes while studying social phenomena and social relations. Breaking down the dual categorizations allows us to envision ways for change and empowerment (Confortini, 2006, 357).

In conclusion, although the representation of women has increased in many areas, prejudices, idealizations, and stereotyping against women -and men as well- continue. This representation is also increased due to stereotyping. When the source of representation is based on essentialist or ‘natural’ assumptions rather than equality, the problems in structures continue to exist. This situation causes a complex outlook for the problems in the structures that are expected to change or improve.

One of the basic assumptions of peacekeeping operations, which is the primary analysis of this thesis and will be discussed in detail in the next section, is that the soldiers to be deployed should primarily be in the military in their own countries. Since the women to be deployed are also selected from the local military units, the eyes here turn to male-female recruitments in the countries. According to 2019 data from the PEW Research Center (PEW, 2019), compulsory military service is mostly restricted to men. The exceptions are Israel, Eritrea, Mali, Morocco, North Korea, and Tunisia, where men and women are equal in conscription; and Benin, Cape Verde, Mozambique, Norway, and Sweden, which include all genders but have selective service. In other words, only 11 countries invite citizens equally to the military. However, although several countries voluntarily allow women to join the military, this permission is sometimes limited. This restriction can be limited only to the front line, as well as to auxiliary roles (Fisher, 2013). In addition, it is assumed that including women in the army will provide a positive change in the masculine structure of the army. According to this assumption, the hyper-masculine structure of the army will be more restrained and peaceful with the presence of women (Bleckner, 2013, 340-341).

The assumption of decision-makers that accepting women into the military will change the standard of masculinity in the military, even though women are treated the same as men, is based on the same essentialist idea mentioned above (Charlesworth, 2008, 349). Soldiers with female bodies do not automatically have magic hands that change the military structure. On the contrary, women adapt to the masculine structure of the military and all the features expected from a soldier, including courage, intelligence, and use of force applied to them (Sjoberg, 2013, 137). The issue does not arise from gender but the gendered structure. It is not only because of a distinction between males and females but also because of male-dominated sociability and institutionalization (Sancar, 2009, 17-18). Although women receive the same masculine education as men, hoping that they will behave differently thanks to their 'nature' is again a result of essentialist thinking.

The essentialist assumption shows its existence not only in military institutions affiliated with the states (Eralp, 2016, 73) but also in an institution that aims to be supra-state, such as the UN. Supporting the increase in the presence and number of female soldiers in the UN Peacekeeping, which is the main problem of this thesis, is not based on equal representation of women and men, but on essentialist thought, which assumes

women's tendency to the peace. In particular, the reason peacekeeping soldiers were chosen for the analysis is the necessity of having a different structure and application from traditional militarism due to the purposes of peacekeeping operations. The most critical issue in the representation of women in the military is that the woman, who is included in the public sphere, can exist in the military without melting into the pot of the patriarchy and being accepted with her gender. Embracing masculine values and a kind of masculinity education, the effort to be included in the dominant male group and to acquire a group identity by behaving like them (which can also be seen as how minorities survive) lends itself to the so-called neutral human definition that excludes femininity. However, it is as problematic as the other view that the woman is included in the military because she is peaceful, and she is there to solve the problems there. In the following parts of this study, the problems existing in today's conditions will be examined.

The representation of women in this structure is more complex than what is seen or shown. The essential problem is that women can be included in every field of politics without becoming masculinized, especially in the military, which is the most closed box of women, without giving up their own identity and experience of being a woman.

CHAPTER III. UNITED NATIONS, WOMEN AND PEACE

The development of feminist theory within IR was examined in the previous section on war and peace. It will be examined on this section how an institution of war and peace, a first in the history of humanity, of which all countries of the world are a member, historically established/developed, which of the theoretical foundations within IR it corresponds to, how the unprecedented matter of Peacekeeping turned into a practice carried out under the responsibility of the UN, and how much it corresponds to its founding elements. In terms of this research, the aim of this section is to reveal that gender-based issues within PKOs are in relation with the history and transformation of the UN.

3.1. UN IN HISTORY AND THEORY

The United Nations, as an international organization, appears before us as a world organization that deems the state as the main actor. Although its predecessor, the League of Nations, had a shorter period of time due to the inexperience since being the 'first', the concept of an organization incorporating all nations maintained its continuity. The organization, which was established as a result of peace-seeking efforts emerged after the World War I, was reborn as the United Nations from the ruins of the second World War. However, the historical process that created it and the League of Nations dates back to earlier times.

3.1.1. Road to the UN

The League of Nations was established on January 10, 1920. At the end of World War I, which led its finding, its aim was to maintain peace around the world on an international level (He, 1995, 77). However, before a world war, this idea was tried to be achieved through peace conferences/congresses, which were the way to find a solution after the ongoing wars and repartitions in Europe. The Peace of Westphalia of 1648, the Congress of Vienna in 1815 and the Paris Peace Conference of 1919 are the most important examples in this respect. One of the significant common features of these historical landmarks and peace conferences is that they gathered/signed against the revisionist state as a result of a war waged against a revisionist state that broke the status quo and aimed at returning to the status quo before the war. Although the 1648 Peace of Westphalia occurred as a result of sectarian wars, it is regarded as the first historical

document stating that no other state can interfere with the sovereign integrity of states and their internal relations in the modern/enlightened sense within international relations. Later, philosophers such as Kant and Rousseau regarded this peace as the first step towards achieving global peace (Whaley, 2012, 637).

The Congress of Vienna in 1815 initially was held with the aim of returning the borders to the pre-Napoleonic period, after border changes in Europe as a result of the Napoleonic Wars. However, after the alliances established in the Congress, there was a period of partial peace called the Concert of Europe. Although they did not have an organizational structure or institutional organs in the current sense, the member states of this system could gather again in case of being threatened by a crisis. However, the crises and wars experienced during the century caused the deterioration of the Concert of Europe and ultimately its complete dispersal with the First World War.

The Paris Peace Conference of 1919 constitutes a historical turning point. The conference convened after the First World War was the most comprehensive conference held so far, with the emergence of states gaining independence by the collapse of several empires (MacMillan, 2015, 20-21). The Treaty of Versailles, one of the peace treaties signed during the conference, is vastly significant in that it includes the decision on the establishment of the League of Nations, as well as restricting Germany regarding many matters.

The League of Nations was established as an organization aimed at realizing the great enthusiasm for post-war peace and the ideal of world peace. But the League of Nations' failure laid both in its inexperience and the fact that it was built on the motives of the former colonial world (MacMillan, 2015, 731-732). Although it aimed to maintain peace, it did not have any effect on the behavior of states, there was a significant inadequacy within the supervisory bodies and it did not have a mechanism to carry out coercive measures against aggressive states. Although the period of sanctions to be applied against the warring state in Article 16⁶ of the League of Nations Pact was quite

⁶ “Should any Member of the League resort to war in disregard of its covenants under Articles 12, 13 or 15, it shall ipso facto be deemed to have committed an act of war against all other Members of the League, which hereby undertake immediately to subject it to the severance of all trade or financial relations, the prohibition of all intercourse between their nationals and the nationals of the covenant-breaking State, and the prevention of all financial, commercial or personal intercourse between the nationals of the covenant-breaking State and the nationals of any other State, whether a Member of the League or not.

progressive in terms of the sovereign rights of the states, it did not have the power and the sanction tool to implement the sanctions put forward by the agreement. This caused the organization to be shortsighted in terms of its establishment purpose. Its inability to impose sanctions against the aggressor states despite the world peace that it needed to protect, caused the aggression of Mussolini and Hitler to intensify and eventually the outbreak of the Second World War.

3.1.2. Foundation of the UN

The Second World War resulted in unprecedented destruction and death. This war continues to be a significant historical breaking point that changed the world system is still talked about. The states which lost more people than they lost in the First World War, which led them to establish the League of Nations, started to negotiate before the end of the war to establish a new world organization aiming to learn from the mistakes of the previous organization. The foundations of the UN were laid with the negotiations between the Allied states in 1942-1943, and by the end of the war, the organization gained its institutional formality with the 1945 United Nations San Francisco Conference.

UN is an organization that prohibits the use of force within the framework of the its foundational script. The organization's purpose is to maintain international peace and security. Unlike the League of Nations, it also draws attention to economic and social inequalities and aims to provide liberties and better living standards for all people.

The organization consists of 5 different structures as of its foundation: the General Assembly, the Security Council, the Economic and Social Council, the General Secretariat and the International Court of Justice. The General Assembly is a world assembly where each member country is a part of and each member has the right to equal

It shall be the duty of the Council in such case to recommend to the several Governments concerned what effective military, naval or air force the Members of the League shall severally contribute to the armed forces to be used to protect the covenants of the League.

The Members of the League agree, further, that they will mutually support one another in the financial and economic measures which are taken under this Article, in order to minimise the loss and inconvenience resulting from the above measures, and that they will mutually support one another in resisting any special measures aimed at one of their number by the covenant-breaking State, and that they will take the necessary steps to afford passage through their territory to the forces of any of the Members of the League which are co-operating to protect the covenants of the League.

Any Member of the League which has violated any covenant of the League may be declared to be no longer a Member of the League by a vote of the Council concurred in by the Representatives of all the other Members of the League represented thereon.” (The Covenant of the League of Nations, see: https://avalon.law.yale.edu/20th_century/leagcov.asp#art16).

representation. The Security Council, on the other hand, is both a fundamental entity that separates the UN from the League of Nations and, in many respects, a sui generis structure. The 5 states that were the victors of the Second World War and the permanent membership of these states in the Security Council cause the UN to be defined as a hierarchical organization in a sense. The Security Council provides decision-making with these 5 permanent members and 10 temporary members elected according to the regions. Despite the equal membership principle of the General Assembly, the veto of a decision by any of the permanent members creates a definite obstacle in the making of that decision. In particular, the fact that peace and security matters are regarded as the duty area of the Security Council as per the UN Charter and that it is determined as the most authoritative structure also causes the decisions to be taken shaped according to the political agenda of the permanent members. The most important example of this is the number of vetoes used by the USSR and the USA during the Cold War period.

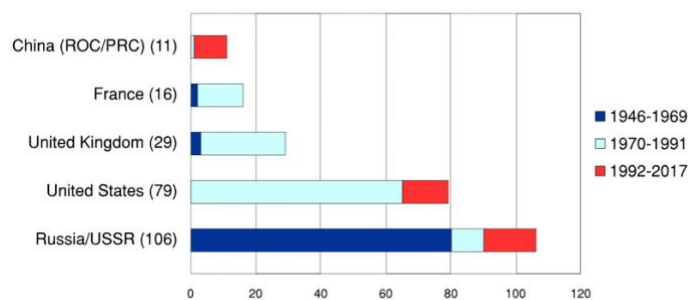


Figure 3.1 Number of Vetoes Used by Permanent Members of the UN Security Council (UN Library, 2017).

In this sense, one of the obstacles that stand out institutionally regarding the issue of peace and security is that the powerful countries (permanent members), even if they can't make decision they want that are in line with their political aims, they adopt an approach of ensuring that the decisions they do not approve of are vetoed, which slows down or even stops the process. On the other hand, the fact that it includes the membership of all countries makes it different from the League of Nations and more successful. The egalitarian structure of the General Assembly and the fact that it allows it to develop politics on issues that individual states cannot afford or cannot attract enough attention by forming a kind of parliamentary group (Cold War period Non-Aligned Movement) increases the functionality of the organization compared to its successor.

3.1.3. UN in Theory

The intellectual foundations of the United Nations and its predecessor the League of Nations, in other words the idea of administrating a cosmopolitan world, find their place in Kant's works. Kant's famous concept of perpetual peace is briefly people progressing towards peace after getting tired of wars and eventually the establishment of a cosmopolitan world state. According to Kant, the purpose of nature, which is the guarantee of perpetual peace (Ypi, 2010) “is clearly exhibited a predetermined design to make harmony spring from human discord, even against the will of man” (Kant, 2016). Here, Kant's perpetual peace does not completely reject war, but accepts it as a catalyst for human progress in the enlightened sense. It is effective in the expansion of humans all over the world and in their technological progress. However, war serves to ensure the cosmopolitan peace that nature states as its purpose (Arendt, 2021, 110).

The cosmopolitan structure that will be formed according to the ideal created in perpetual peace is a structure consisting of nations (states), in which nations give up some of their sovereign rights and war is prohibited. In this world state, nations do not melt into each other and disappear under a single culture/nation, on the contrary, they continue to maintain their existence within a federal structure. But what is expected is that nations do not go to war with each other, especially not with their neighbours. In line with this objective, the road passes through international law. Nations should abandon the ongoing anarchic rule-free state in their foreign relations and establish a supranational legal system that is binding on states' war decisions. In this legal system, the state continues to be the main actor.

Liberal IR theory, or Idealism as it is known in IR, is also a theory derived from these roots and fueled by these roots in more ways than one. It is the most important indicator of this situation that it aims to maintain peace with an institutional structure consisting of states and regards the state as the main actor of foreign policy. It is not a surprising coincidence that Woodrow Wilson, who is also considered the founder of Idealist/Liberal IR thought and the discipline of international relations, is also the intellectual founder of the League of Nations.

The United Nations can be regarded as the closest organization to the cosmopolitan structure of Kant's ideal, after the failure of the League of Nations. It provides an answer to all of the basic propositions in terms of foreseeing sovereign

equality of states, prohibiting war except for common benefits, being based on international law, limiting the unlimitedness of sovereign rights of states within the scope of coercive measures, and emphasizing good neighborly relations. In this sense, it is an undeniable fact that the UN has a Kantian origin. In IR theories liberal peace thought, a continuation of the Kantian thought, had a crucial impact on the peace structure adopted by the UN. The most important element of liberal peace, which is seen in Doyle's studies and also called democratic peace theory, is that democracies do not fight each other (Yalvaç, 2012, 272). According to Doyle, what does not make democracies fight each other is cosmopolitan laws apart from the constitution/laws and international law. These cosmopolitan laws were a manifestation of Kantian cosmopolitanism and represented widespread connections and common interests between countries (Doyle, 1986, 1157). The UN also aims to establish a peace structure by strengthening the relations between countries and sharing the responsibility for peace among all countries.

The table below, in which D'Amico categorizes IR theories, is vastly beneficial in determining the theoretical location of the UN more clearly. What is meant by Pluralist theory here are theories that are mostly based on a liberal basis and derive from that origin.

Table 3.1 D'Amico's categorization of Perspectives on World Politics. (D'Amico, 1994, 57)

	Realists	Pluralist	Critical	Feminist
Actor	States	States, IOs, MNCs regimes	Classes, Social Movements	People
System	Anarchy	Community	Hierarchy	Multiple Hierarchies or Patriarchy
Character	Independence	Interdependence	Dependence	Multiple Relations
Problem Solving	Military Power	Negotiation Law Military Power	Consciousness Organization	Consciousness Organization
Focus	Conflict	Conflict/ Cooperation	Context / History	Context / History
Issues	High war/security	High/Low war/security human welfare environment	Political Identity Epistemology Ontology Axiology	Political Identity Epistemology Ontology Axiology

When the table is examined, it is quite reasonable to evaluate the UN among pluralist theories. Although the UN itself is a structure made up of states, the fact that it is an actor in the system itself is enough to consider it in the pluralist category (not in terms of UN actors, but in terms of UN being an actor itself). Because it is a separate structure that develops relations within the international system. Its focus on both conflict and cooperation can be characterized as a UN behavior. In addition to its efforts to develop cooperation between countries, the UN also develops policies for the resolution of conflicts, and on this basis, it takes peace and human welfare as its main objective. Similarly, the fact that it discusses and solves problems and realizes solutions with the aim of establishing and advancing a kind of international law mechanism, again shows that the organization acts with an institutionally pluralist theoretical framework. In

addition to these, it can be evaluated in the same manner that it has a military force to maintain the peace as one of its institutional purposes.

Despite all this, it should be taken into account that the UN essentially consists of a dual decision-making mechanism. Although the UN General Assembly has an almost ideal appearance of equal representation, negotiation and the international community, in terms of the Security Council, it can be said that countries still regard themselves as belonging to a hierarchical structure and a field of power struggle. From this point of view, it can be argued that the UN acts with different theoretical perspectives and different world policies in the General Assembly and the Security Council.

The pluralist structure of the General Assembly also manifests itself with the fact that structures within the UN which do not have full sovereignty but have the right to represent, are able to play a part in voicing concerns and seeking mutual solutions, even if not in decision making. However, the legal basis of the Security Council's decision-making mechanism with a ratio of 9/15 and of the 5 permanent members not to veto, requires to include it under a realist roof. This emphasis on problem solving by force, as well as the implicit acceptance that peace and security issues are left to the authority of the Security Council, that they accept an anarchic international system, which can be observed by such kind of demeanor that fails to recognize a system above itself and does not transfer its sovereign rights, shows that it corresponds to different IR theories in units within itself in addition to the UN's own agency. In this sense, it can be said that the UN cannot be evaluated with a single view from a theoretical perspective, rather it corresponds to pluralist and liberal theory in development, economy and humanitarian matters; but can be evaluated within the Realist category regarding military and security matters.

3.2. UN AND FEMINIST THEORY IN THE CONTEXT OF PEACE

Looking at the theoretical categorization examined under the previous title, the multi-centered policy making of feminist theory and its effort to transform international relations from a relational one with a state actor to a relational one with a human actor distinguish it from many other theories within IR. Its emphasis on the humanitarian aspect of the international includes a great criticism against a tradition of relationality which has been maintained by the war that has been going on for nearly a century. In this respect, despite the dominance of realist theory observed in IR, feminist theory contributes to the

change of focus on national and international issues, or to use a more moderate term, the appearance of different focuses, with the effect of the active presence of the feminist movement in social movements. Therefore, the UN witnesses corresponding policy changes.

UN has the appearance of an institution that works on many matters while ensuring peace and security, as well as trying to produce policies on the issue of gender equality. When the global women's movement is taken into account, it can be said that the subject of women has only just begun to be discussed within both IR theories and the UN (Lee, 2013). In this respect, determining the feminist perspective of the UN will provide an important insight into its policy making and the steps it will take on gender issues. UNSC resolution 1325, which is considered as the most important decision of the UN in terms of women's policies, shows the basic framework of the policy that the organization follows or will follow, and the logical path it has established between women and peace on an institutional level.

When the process leading up to Resolution 1325 is examined, four world conferences are milestones for the decision. With the First World Conference on Women held in Mexico in 1975, the decade 1975-1985 was accepted as the “year of women” (UN, 1976). The initiation of these conferences had a profound impact on raising awareness of women's participation and their deployment by the UN. To this date, women's participation in decision-making processes and peace and security issues have been ignored. However, the UN Charter begins with the recognition of equality between men and women.⁷ The aim and desired effect of this conference was to discuss the problems women suffer from not only within national borders but at the UN level and to make progress on the status of women. In this way, it was stated that women's problems are social and that the understanding of women should be changed. This conference, which

⁷ “We the peoples of the united nations determined to save succeeding generations from the scourge of war, which twice in our lifetime has brought untold sorrow to mankind, and to reaffirm faith in fundamental human rights, in the dignity and worth of the human person, *in the equal rights of men and women* and of nations large and small, and to establish conditions under which justice and respect for the obligations arising from treaties and other sources of international law can be maintained, and to *promote social progress and better standards of life in larger freedom*, and for these ends to practice tolerance and live together in peace with one another as good neighbours, and to *unite our strength to maintain international peace and security*, and to ensure, by the acceptance of principles and the institution of methods, that armed force shall not be used, save in the common interest, and to employ international machinery for the promotion of the economic and social advancement of *all peoples*, have resolved to combine our efforts to accomplish these aims.” (UN Charter: Preamble. Emphasis mine.)

was very important for being the first, did not achieve the desired effect on the status of women. One reason for this was that the language used in some conference reports served the patriarchal image of women and was also criticized by feminists (Zinsser, 2002, 143). For example, according to the analysis in Zinsser's 2002 study "*From Mexico to Copenhagen to Nairobi: The United Nations Decade for Women*", a language that victimizes or marginalizes women was used throughout the report. But by adopting the World Plan of Action for the International Year of Women, this conference transformed the current security understanding of its time. After a long-planned transformation goal, the United Nations Decade for Women: Equality, Development, Peace Conference was held in Copenhagen in 1980. In this conference, action plans⁸ were repeated and women's economic empowerment, employment, education, and health were taken as the basis (UN, 1980). Again, like its predecessor, this conference also determined long-term goals and a ten-year period (1985-1995) to implement the World Action Plan. The Second Conference had a more eminent impact than the first because it promoted an economically empowered, autonomous woman image (Agarwal, 1996, 88).

The third of the ongoing conferences, the Nairobi Conference (Third World Conference on Women) differs from the other two conferences with its inclusiveness. The appearance of the first two conferences, which were limited to Western women's issues that did not include the problems of women of color, was overthrown with this conference. Gender inequality in third-world countries was made visible (Agarwal, 1996, 87). At this conference, the importance of identifying problems to transform and improve women's lives was emphasized, and attention was drawn to collecting data on women's lives (UN, 1986). The Nairobi Conference focused on equality, development, and peace as the three main issues that countries should implement and laid the groundwork for the decision to be taken in 2000.

The last of these conferences, the fourth World Conference on Women, was held in Beijing in 1995. The Beijing Platform for Action was the most comprehensive conference held to date, drawing attention to the difficulties faced by women in every field (UN, 1995). By identifying 12 critical areas for gender equality,⁹ it was emphasized

⁸ After the conferences, the Action Plans include what needs to be done for the status of women and social equality, calls to countries for the establishment of mechanisms that will produce solutions for the problems of women, and the targets to be achieved until the next conference.

⁹ These areas:

at this conference that improvement should be made in these areas. Issues such as the conflicts in Somalia, Rwanda, and the Former Yugoslavia, the inadequacy of the UN in these conflict zones, and the violations of women's rights and security shifted the focus of the UN to human security and women's issues in this conference and afterward.

In 1997, Economic and Social Council of the UN, as a result of the decisions taken at the Beijing Conference and the strategies planned to be developed, decided that it "should promote an active and visible policy" within the UN gender mainstreaming frame. According to this decision, gender mainstreaming was defined as:

"The process of assessing the implications for women and men of any planned action, including legislation, policies or programmes, in all areas and at all levels. It is a strategy for making women's as well as men's concerns and experiences an integral dimension of the design, implementation, monitoring and evaluation of policies and programmes in all political, economic and societal spheres so that women and men benefit equally and inequality is not perpetuated. The ultimate goal is to achieve gender equality." (UN Women, Gender Mainstreaming)¹⁰

Thus, according to Eray (2008, 8), "While gender equality is the goal in the policy, gender mainstreaming is the strategy to reach that goal". This situation has been effective in taking new decisions in all areas for the UN¹¹. Among these, the most important one in regards to this thesis is the decision taken on gender mainstreaming within peacekeeping operations carried out in the name of peace. At the end of all these efforts and studies, the United Nations Security Council adopted Resolution 1325 Women, Peace and Security in 2000 (UNSC, 2000). With this decision, it was emphasized that women have an important place in all peace and security processes, and their active participation should be supported. For this, all participants were called to increase the presence of

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1. Women and poverty
 2. Education and training of women
 3. Women and health
 4. Violence against women
 5. Women and armed conflict
 6. Women and the economy
 7. Women in power and decision-making
 8. Institutional mechanism for the advancement of women
 9. Human rights of women
 10. Women and the media
 11. Women and the environment
 12. The girl-child

¹⁰ <https://www.unwomen.org/en/how-we-work/un-system-coordination/gender-mainstreaming> (access date: 30.06.2022).

¹¹ "The Economic and Social Council takes note with appreciation of the report of the Secretary-General on the coordination of United Nations system activities for mainstreaming a gender perspective into all policies and programmes of the United Nations system (E/1997/66)". For all see: <https://www.un.org/womenwatch/daw/csw/GMS.PDF>

women in peace and security issues. In addition to these, it emphasized that special protection measures are necessary to prevent gender-based violence against women and girls in times of conflict, war, and instability.

This decision is considered a milestone in the inclusion of women in Peacekeeping Operations. In addition to its efforts to increase the number of female soldiers within itself, it regularly calls on countries to increase the number of women in their military while paving the way for their assignment to the UN. With the 1325 Resolution and the nine resolutions adopted as subsequent resolutions,¹² not only increasing the number of women peacekeepers but also increasing the presence of women in decision-making processes and improving the socio-economic status of women are carried out within the scope of Women, Peace, and Security.

The examined conferences and the general characteristics of these conferences seem to be influenced by different feminisms. The fact that the first conference had a majority of women from the West and that it was based on the problems of women in developed countries puts it in a closer position to 1st wave feminism. The economic aspect of the second conference and the emphasis on representation show that the outlook here converges with liberal feminist theory. The third conference's criticism of the white majority of the first conferences and the inclusion of people of color show that at some point the effects of post-colonial feminism appear within the UN. The last conference and the resolution numbered 1325 taken in the following years manifest the image that the organization is heading towards a more inclusive feminism. However, the liberal policies followed by the UN institutionally show themselves here as well, and it can be said that UN's policies regarding women also have a liberal feminist perspective. To bring this into view, general arguments of liberal feminist theory can be examined.

Liberal feminist theory, one of the feminist IR theories, represents a theoretical perspective that emphasizes the equality of women and men in the legal scene. The main issue that the UN focuses on is overcoming the gender-based privileges of women and men through law (Lee, 2013, 372). In this sense, quoting Withworth, UN gives "international institutional legitimacy to the women's movement" (Withworth, 1994, 100). The importance attached to equal representation is again an intersection point of the

¹² 1820 (2008), 1888 (2009), 1889 (2009), 1960 (2010), 2106 (2013), 2122 (2013), 2242 (2015), 2467 (2019) and 2493 (2019).

UN and liberal feminism. However, the main criticism towards liberal feminism and indirectly to the UN in this direction is that it acts with the idea of “add women and stir” without exploring the crux of the problems, without making a systematic criticism and without questioning the origins. In its simplest form, the add and stir policy is a belief that problems will be solved by adding women numerically to a world dominated and shaped by men. By accepting the general framework of traditional IR theories, they claim that women's effectiveness and benefits will increase with equal representation in diplomacy (Eken, 2017, 474).

In the light of these analyzes, it can be said that the UN's women's policies are theoretically liberal and normative. The UN's women's policies can be seen as a fairly natural outcome when the general structure of the UN and its institutional intellectual foundations are taken into account

3.3. UN AND PEACEKEEPING

After looking at both the historical foundations of the UN and its place within the IR theory, it also involves an important practice that shows that it is a real supranational structure for peace. The UN not only provides a basis for finding solutions to the mainstream problems of many states but also works to ensure a state of peace in intra-state and inter-state conflicts. It carries out many applications under the title of Peace Support Operations and carries out operations called “peacekeeping”. Although peacekeeping does not appear in the UN Charter, it is put into practice with the United Nations General Assembly and Security Council resolutions due to the requirements of the global order. In this way, permanent, supportive, and appropriate solutions are sought for issues such as international security, peace, and conflict resolution. According to the UN Charter, the UN Security Council has primary responsibility for United Nations Peacekeeping and Peacekeeping Operations (PKOs). Each operation is carried out with a different name and program, and 12 distinct Peacekeeping Operations are currently being actively carried out.¹³

As the UN Peacekeeping official website states, peacekeeping operations have been continuing since 1948. The criteria for these operations, which initially comprised observers and lightly armed units sent for the Arab-Israeli War, were determined by

¹³ Current operations are listed on the UN Peacekeeping website, peacekeeping.un.org/en/where-we-operate (date accessed 07.19.2021). Also, they are examined in the following section in detail.

UNEF I (United Nations Emergency Force I). UNEF I was the first military peacekeeping operation created in 1956 due to the Suez Crisis. Then all operations continued according to these criteria during the Cold War. However, with the end of the Cold War period and the conflict transformations, the shape and scope of peacekeeping operations have changed. Due to the tensions between the two camps, the forces deployed in inter-country conflicts have also started to intervene in domestic conflicts or civil wars. Conflicts in former Yugoslavia, particularly the Bosnian war and genocide in Rwanda can be prominent examples of missions in the post-Cold War era.

The UN data shows that from the end of the Cold War period to the mid-1990s, 20 new operations were added to the existing peacekeeping operations, and the number of peacekeepers in the troops increased from 11,000 to 75,000 (UN Peacekeeping, n.d.). However, due to the lack of resources and the inadequate experience, peacekeeping missions have gained a bad reputation, especially with the failures in the former Yugoslavia - UN Protection Force (UNPROFOR), Rwanda - UN Assistance Mission for Rwanda (UNAMIR), Somalia - UN Operation in Somalia II (UNOSOM II) missions have shaken the trust in the blue helmets and confronted them with suspicion. Building on these failures, the UN made changes to the mission of PKOs and developed efforts to expand the framework of operations with non-governmental organizations, diplomats, and experts. Considering the period in which it was created, the efforts to keep the peace in the relations between states and interstates at the beginning of the new century have turned into protecting people and ensuring in-state civil security.

Although the UN does not have the power to impose any legal sanctions on member states among its organizational forces, peacekeeping operations are carried out within the consent of the conflicting parties given in certain ways. The main premise here is the prohibition of the use of force by sovereign states on the basis of the benefit of the international community. In other words, sovereign states only allow a UN force within the country with their consent. In this sense, peacekeeping operations constitute an exceptional situation within the system of sovereign states. Even if these operations do not have a structure that determines and punishes the criminal, they provide a kind of mediation in order to prevent conflict between the parties and to ensure public security. However, the structure that provides this is a military structure, therefore in this respect, a different path emerges from the recognized mediation methods.

These operations, which can be seen as a kind of anomaly in the base assumptions of traditional IR theories, have a different structure in practice within the modern nation-state system. In line with the clear distinctions made by traditional theories on domestic and foreign policy and the importance they attach to the protection of the sovereignty of states, PKOs contrast with the intervention of a third-party state in the internal conflicts of another state. However, this opposition is tried to be overcome with the mutual idea of peace and the consent of the sovereign units within the UN charter.

Although there is a contradiction between the traditional theories and the idea of the sovereign state in terms of the way Peacekeeping Operations are handled, within the traditional theory-critical theory distinction made by Cox, it has a very important feature that can be included in the traditional theory. That is the feature of being a problem solver. Cox examines traditional theories within the category of problem-solving theories and defines this category as theories that do not try to change the status quo, but tend to solve the problems that arise in order to preserve the status quo (Okur&Ongur, 2017, 303). The most important reason why the PKOs are considered as problem solvers is that the Security Council is fully responsible for the operations and a structure specific to problem/conflict in accordance with the emerging peace and security issues. In terms of peace&conflict studies, considering the 1325 resolution as a milestone, the operations after the resolution can be included in the 3rd generation within the generations examined in detail in the previous section. While the military power still subsists, the inclusion of humanitarian issues removes it from a purely realistic appearance, yet it does not completely separate it.

As a result, although the execution of PKOs by a unit that is not a party to the conflict is not evaluated in traditional theories in terms of IR, it is a kind of problem-solving reflection of traditional theories in terms of other aspects (executive units and the way they are carried out). In this sense, it can be said that PKOs have evolved into a hybrid structure, but they are not free from militarist and traditionalist essences and still embody these features. In the next section, the issues observed in terms of gender within this eclectic structure will be examined. The odyssey of women's inclusion in PKOs also constitutes an appearance of the changes within this structure and the intellectual conflicts it experiences.

CHAPTER IV. PEACEKEEPING OPERATIONS IN THE CONTEXT OF FEMINIST IR THEORIES

Idealism argues that human nature is inclined to be good and cooperative, and peace is possible as an ideal (Weber, 2013, 38). It emerged with the claim of creating an international relations discipline and being the intellectual basis of it after the devastating effects of World War I (MacMillan, 2007, 21). However, with the tensions between the two wars, the Second World War and its aftermath with the greater and more destructive effects of the power struggles and ideological divisions, the idea of world peace left its place to realism and power-oriented theories (Elman, 2007, 13).

The UN was established at such a time and as a result of the lessons learned from the failure of its predecessor, the League of Nations, by the belligerent states to be an inclusive and effective structure that would not allow a world war again. Hence, the peace concept has changed into not only a domestic, stable situation but also a goal for which all states are responsible. A new field called peacekeeping has emerged and the responsibility has belonged to the UN, which started the charter with the phrase “to maintain international peace and security”.¹⁴ The perseverance of this peace has also been put into practice through Peacekeeping Operations. However, as a result of certain issues observed during operations, inquiries regarding the source of peace and the issues of gender inequality, studies and researches on the women aspect of PKOs have increased in number.

4.1 BACKGROUND OF PEACEKEEPING OPERATIONS AND WOMEN'S INTEGRATION PROCESS

During the Cold War, ideological divisions and the global power struggle that emerged as a result of divisions, states acted on the possibility of total destruction. This imposed an obligatory mission on the organization, which would have to act as a mediator between states. The basis of this mission was the pure reality of the most destructive war

¹⁴ United Nations Charter, Chapter 1: Purposes and Principles, Article 1. Purposes of the United Nations are: “To maintain international peace and security, and to that end: to take effective collective measures for the prevention and removal of threats to the peace, and for the suppression of acts of aggression or other breaches of the peace, and to bring about by peaceful means, and in conformity with the principles of justice and international law, adjustment or settlement of international disputes or situations which might lead to a breach of the peace”.

ever seen in the world and of the desire for peace for states and communities, which were still in constant danger of extinction right after the war. The PKOs, which were decided to be formed at such a time and place, retained their military essence and started functioning as a mediatory body.

The aforementioned military essence is a definition that expresses the traditional militarist structure. In the most general sense, traditional militarism is a structure that takes an active role in the direction of the security and/or interests of the nation or the people, and this is achieved through aggression and mental hostility against the 'other' identity, in a way. But Peacekeeping Operations have a different application from traditional militarism that includes some practices of aggressiveness, hardness, and hypermasculinity (Duncanson, 2009, 65). In general definition as The Wiley Blackwell Encyclopedia of Gender and Sexuality Studies states, hypermasculinity "is understood as the exaggeration of male stereotype behaviors... It is frequently identified within the macho assemblage, expressed as stoicism, hardness, forcefulness, and rebelliousness" (Hickey, 2016). Apart from this general definition, from a feminist IR point of view, according to Ling (2002, 117), hypermasculinity defines aggression, competition and power struggle as manly and masculine, while at the same time feminizing issues such as nursing and cooperation. As Agathangelou (2004, 519) explains the definition of hypermasculinity in a state and sovereignty-centered view, the hypermasculinized state and state apparatuses (such as militaries) especially focus on protecting women and children from 'outside' dangers. In this respect, it shows itself with a tendency to violence applied to the other.

However, in the ideal condition, peacekeeping is completely disregarding the purpose of attack of the traditional military, it should act within the framework of duties such as defending the peace, conflict resolution, supporting and protecting the local people. The countries where the operations take place show the appearance that the public order has vanished and collapsed since they are areas of conflict. Peacekeeping operations are carried out here by the soldiers who are tasked with rebuilding the public order and maintaining the created peaceful environment and stability¹⁵. The aim is not a national,

¹⁵ Here, an explanation has been made in line with the definitions of peacekeeping and peacebuilding activities determined in the literature and in accordance with the definition in the UN. However, there are discussions suggesting that the activities mentioned on this subject are defined within the framework of liberal norms. For a comprehensive theoretical critique see: Mac Ginty and Richmond, 2017.

personal, or religious gain but to preserve peace in the complete sense of its name. However, this task does not work step by step in practice as it does in theory. Especially considering the required qualifications¹⁶ to be a peacekeeper, such as a soldier in their own country, hypermasculinity and inherently aggressiveness causes some qualitative conflicts and problems in practice. For example, being obliged to ensure the safety of others creates a contradictory situation for those who have received purely military training. Because the basis of peace operations is based on non-violence and non-harming except for self-defense, and a training (military) given on the basis of aggression on issues such as territorial integrity can be contradictory from time to time for a situation that only requires protection and not causing harm (Duncanson, 2009, 66).

After the subjects of women, militarism, war, and peace, which were examined in the light of feminist IR theory in the previous section, in this section, the qualitative problems of the language used in decision-making, sensitivity to gender in the UN PKOs, sexual exploitation and abuse (SEA) will be examined regarding the position of female soldiers on duty.

When we look at the history of peacekeeping operations for more than 70 years, it is seen that studies on gender equality have intensified as an organizational goal only in the last 20 years (UN Peacekeeping). Until the UN Resolution 1325 on Women, Peace, and Security, feminist groups had an ever-increasing pressure on the UN, and such a resolution had to be adopted. The situation will be more understandable when we look at the number of female soldiers on duty. 20 women deployed between 1957¹⁷ and 1989 (Mowell, 2018). Currently, 5469 of the 76,261 people actively involved in Peacekeeping Operations (Military and Police Force¹⁸) are women. This number is 68,708 to 4029 in the Military and 7553 to 1440 in Police (Gender Report, July 2021). The gender distribution within the military missions is shown in Table 4.1.

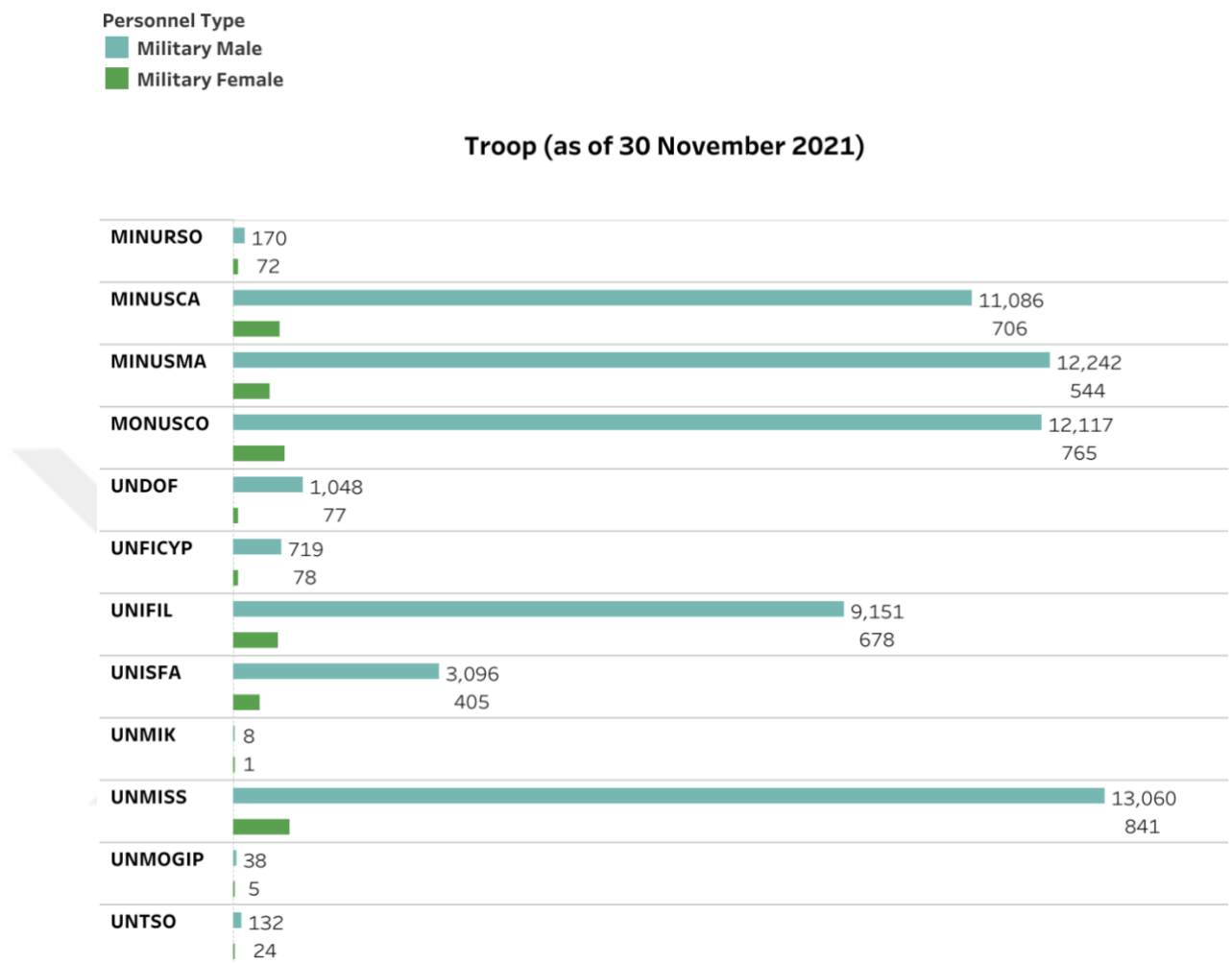
¹⁶ On the peacekeeping.un.org website requirements mentioned above:

“The UN does not have its own military force; it depends on contributions from Member States. Any queries about working for the UN in a military capacity should be addressed within an applicant's *own country first*. All military personnel working under the Blue Beret *are first and foremost members of their own national armies* and are then seconded to work with the UN for periods normally of up to one year in the field, or two years in the UN headquarters” (emphasis mine).

¹⁷ For the first time in 1957, a woman deployed in peacekeeping.

¹⁸ Persons assigned from countries within the framework of Peacekeeping Operations can serve as military or police forces. There are the same assignment requirements for both. The appointment of women is also supported by 1325 in both areas.

Table 4.1 Gender Distribution in Missions (UN Peacekeeping)



This figure shows current operations and their proportion of female soldiers. As seen in the figure, even in the United Nations Mission in The Republic Of South Sudan (UNMISS), which is the mission that includes the most female soldiers, the number of women does not reach 1000 but remains at 841. This shows that there is still a long way to go to close the gap. However, the situation for gender equality is not entirely hopeless when we look at the process leading up to the triple-digit increase in the number of female soldiers, which will be examined below.

4.2. PROBLEMS OF PEACEKEEPING OPERATIONS IN THE CONTEXT OF GENDER

Although Resolution 1325 is very important for its field, it continues to be a decision that has been subject to criticism in terms of the language used in the decision, its reference to gender, and its view of the image of women (Charlesworth, 2008, 351).

The same image of a woman is seen, which is criticized not only in the decision but also in the statements of the people who implement it. UN Secretary-General Ban Ki-moon's statement in 2008 that more women should be assigned to reduce and eliminate SEA cases and his statement at the end of his speech that women are mediators of peace¹⁹ are good examples of the linguistic and intellectual problems that will be discussed in this section (Ban Ki-moon, 2008, 19 June). However, such propositions cannot offer a concrete solution to problems experienced not only in language but also in practice, especially sexual harassment and sexual violence against women and children, which can be considered the primary cause of its bad reputation. The absence of a permanent and deterrent solution to this issue for more than twenty years has reached a very corrosive and distrustful dimension not only for peacekeeping but also for the trust in the international community (Westendorf, 2020). The ongoing crime-impunity spiral of the problem further complicates the issue and reduces institutional confidence in the solution.

4.2.1. Problems in Language and Mindset

If we start the criticism over the language used, first of all, it is necessary to take a look at the uses in the decision itself. According to Charlesworth (2008, 350), the UN based its resolution 1325 on the orthodoxy between women and peace.

“Reaffirming the important role of women in the prevention and resolution of conflicts and in peace-building, and stressing the importance of their equal participation and full involvement in all efforts for the maintenance and promotion of peace and security, and the need to increase their role in decision-making with regard to conflict prevention and resolution” (UNSC 1325, emphasis mine).

The words emphasized in this quotation in the decision show that women have an important place in peace and that the role of women in conflict resolution should increase. What needs to be noted here is that the direct connection between women and peace and the inclusion of women in decision-making are conditional on this. In a same way Charlesworth (2008, 350-351) criticizes the language used in the decision as quoted and the mindset in its background. She touched upon four different points to explain this: Firstly, she states that the important role stated in the decision means that women are better at peace than men, and secondly, she criticizes the point of view that women are more vulnerable than men and the basis of this is the idea that women are more prone to

¹⁹ “By creating a culture that punishes violence and elevates women to their rightful role, we can lay the foundation for lasting stability, where women are not victims of violence, but agents of peace.” Ban Ki-moon, 19 June 2008, Secretary-General's remarks to the Security Council meeting on Women, Peace and Security.

peace. The third one is that the grounding of the idea of increasing women's participation in formal peace negotiations, which is seen not only in the 1325 Resolution but also in the Beijing Declaration, is unclear. She also states that this uncertainty stems from the idea that women are prone to peace. Finally, she criticizes the use of the word “gender” as equivalent to “women”. As a result of this synonymous use, male or masculine identities are excluded from the category of gender and seen as an understanding of gender = women. However, seeing gender and women as synonyms and using the binary notion of women/victim/protected/peace and men/aggressor/protector/war strengthened the essentialist view²⁰ (Väyrynen, 2004, 137).

Another criticism is towards the understanding that focuses only on quantitative equality. After this decision, the issue of 'gender balance' became one of the priority issues within the organization. UN Department of Peacekeeping Operations (before DPKO, now DPO) stated that a 50/50 gender balance will be achieved in all areas soon, and this balance will contribute to equality, but only equalizing the number of women is not sufficient for the targeted aims determined in the feminist sense (Simić, 2010, 195). Because workings on quantitative equality alone do not qualitatively improve women's living and working conditions simultaneously. Rather than just integrating women into an existing condition, conditions should include changes and transformations for women's physical and mental needs.

In addition to these, some opinions argue that the myth of women's tendency towards peace is practical and helps to ensure equality in appearance (DeGroot, 2001, 37). From this point of view, an opinion emerges that legitimizes the perspective of the UN, which is exposed to criticism at the institutional level. According to this view, which argues that if women can have visibility because they think like this, they should or can use it (Simić, 2010, 190), these stereotypes about women such as nurturing, kindness, tactfulness will be favorable (Fukuyama, 1998, 33) in peacekeeping operations that are different from the conventional military in nature, regardless of the reason or whether they are right or wrong (DeGroot, 2001, 37).

Another important issue is when and where TCCs assign women. Female peacekeepers are generally assigned to safer missions (Karim&Beardsley, 2017) and

²⁰ Essentialist problem in the feminist context is that all women (or men) whether they have common characteristics only with their biological sexes (Stone, 2016).

were less likely to be deployed in the early stages of missions. Mostly female soldiers are deployed, usually on long missions, and now when the situation in the field of operation is predictable (Tidblad-Lundholm 2020). The reason behind these is the gendered protection norm.

4.2.2. Sexual Exploitation and Abuse (SEA)

Incidents of UN personnel and especially Peacekeeper involvement in sexual crimes are not a current issue. From the end of the Cold War to the present day, the situation of being a partner in sexual crimes and even being the perpetrator of these crimes continues. It first emerged as an issue of sexual exploitation and abuse (SEA) in 1993 during the UN operation in Cambodia.²¹ With the arrival of the peacekeepers in the country, the organized prostitution in the country has increased and as a result, a perspective on the issue has developed and it has been understood that it is an issue that needs to be thought about (Westendorf, 2020; Karim & Beardsley, 2016, 101). Since that day, this problem has continued to be an issue that has been constantly raised for a solution, but without any useful radical change.

UN defines SEA as:

“any actual or attempted abuse of a position of vulnerability, differential power, or trust, for sexual purposes, including, but not limited to, profiting monetarily, socially or politically from the sexual exploitation of another. 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 Secretary-General’s Bulletin, Special Measures For Protection From Sexual Exploitation And Sexual Abuse, ST/SGB/2003/13)

With the zero-tolerance policy stated in the same bulletin in 2003, any sexual activity between peacekeepers and local women was prohibited. Despite restrictions and disciplinary actions, the UN cannot be considered successful in preventing SEAs.

Transactional sex²², in particular, remains a fairly common problem. This incident, which takes place between local women, girls, and peacekeepers, is not only sexual intercourse for money but sometimes only for feeding or only for protection from violence. Especially if this situation is common in the country, peacekeepers continue to commit the same crime (Bleckner, 2013, 340). Not only transactional sex but

²¹ United Nations Transnational Authority in Cambodia (UNTAC)

²² According to the UNAIDS 2018 Report, Transactional sex is defined as “it is relationships ranging from a single encounter to long-term relationships. The exchange of sex for material support or other benefits extends from gendered expectations in romantic or sexual relationships that men are expected to provide material resources and women are expected to provide sexual and domestic services.” (UNAIDS, 2018).

peacekeepers have also been accused of many crimes, including rape, organized prostitution, and sex trafficking (Grady, 2010, 219). The fact that in an already unstable society, the same crimes are being committed by those who are there to protect them deepens the problem that needs to be solved. The most obvious example of this is in the Democratic Republic of Congo and the peacekeepers deployed there. Despite the UN personnel in the country since 1999 and the operation that spends the most resources, things are not getting better in the country. The DRC itself is defined by the UN as the rape capital of the world (BBC, 2010), due to astonishing rape cases (Guardian, 2021).

One reason the SEA incidents have not come to an end is the lack of a judicial system under the UN umbrella. Even though the assigned peacekeepers are subject to many different sanctions such as repatriations, dismissal, pending, resignation, etc., the UN does not have the power to punish or prosecute the soldiers. The UN does not have any role in the judicial phase, and it is only involved in assist.²³ States reserve the right to judge. As can be seen in the graphic below, repatriation constitutes the majority of the sanctions applied, and the punishments do not act as a deterrent.

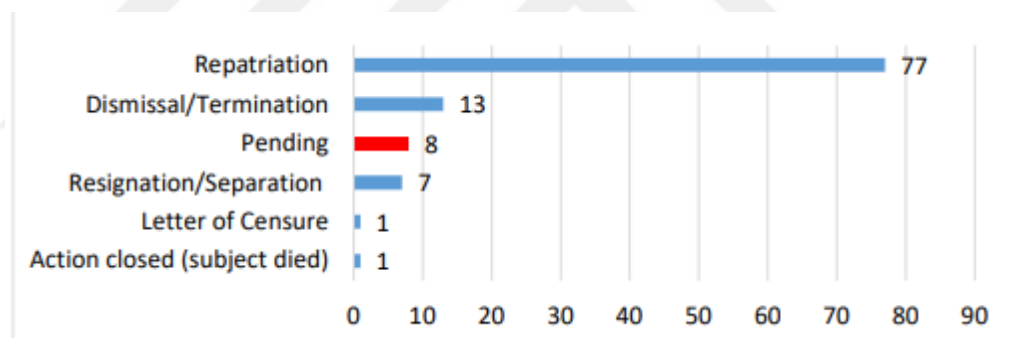


Figure 4.1 Sanctions imposed by the UN (2015-2018). (OIOS, 2021).

One of the main reasons for not having the right to judge is the sovereignty rights of countries. In particular, the states show a very closed appearance in terms of an intervention or trial against their military. Such crimes became unpunished when the inviolableness of sovereignty is added to the military, which already has a very closed structure (Jennings, 2018; Grady, 2010, 223). In this system, which has been deprived of deterrence despite the prevention efforts made or are ongoing, the problem remains insoluble.

²³ According to the official website of UN Peacekeeping “Equipped with justice and corrections expertise, and with support from the Justice and Corrections Service (JCS), peacekeeping missions assist host countries to deliver essential justice and prison services, strengthen criminal justice systems, and facilitate rule of law reforms”. See more: <https://peacekeeping.un.org/en/justice-and-corrections>

Another issue SEA cases widespread in the military create a spill-over effect in the country, and the cases are increasing among civilians (Kovatch 2016). Moreover, the fact that the spread among the military units is faster and the situation of impunity makes the situation widespread among the peacekeepers who cooperate or work together with the military units. In the DRC case, impunity is also common for male citizens. The war that has been going on for years and the problems experienced in the economy, administration, and judiciary have made the judicial system quite dysfunctional. The inadequacy of women's representation makes it difficult to complain about the cases, and even if the trial takes place, there is no punishment or escape from the prison is quite common. In addition to all of them, men are generally not found guilty in military trials within the military. Economic problems, another situation that complicates the situation in the country, cause women or children to have sex in exchange for food or very little money. To survive, they find the only solution is to have sexual intercourse with peacekeepers. Taking advantage of this, some peacekeepers try to legitimize rape as prostitution by giving that person some money or food after raping.

Sexual violence has different symbolic meanings as well. These symbolic meanings are frequently seen in militarist structures and places where militarist masculinity are dominant. At times of war, the female body becomes a symbol for the 'enemy' land, which needs to be occupied (Coskun, 2015). Another reason for the cases of SEA seen among the soldiers in the missions from this structure stems from the militarist structure and other symbolic meanings of sexual violence. This structure appoints gender to the land and expects the man to sacrifice himself to protect the land that belongs to him. Therefore, rape and harassment show strength rather than a sexual desire (Skjelsbæk, 2001, 71). It is a conscious contradiction that the soldiers trained with traditional education take on a mission that is different and almost opposite to what they have learned, and as a result, they test the power they have and want to offer to women, not on a land (Brownmiller, 1975).

In the other hand, countries with better levels of gender issue face fewer SEA accusations. For example, it has been observed that soldiers sent from countries in which women's participation in business life is higher and where they are more represented in the public sphere and decision-making mechanisms are less involved in SEA cases. The following factors were considered in determining the gender level mentioned here:

visibility in the public sphere, high judicial protection of women's physical safety, and women's participation in education and business life (Beardsley, 2016).

4.2.3. Gender Awareness

The UN calls its care and works on gender “Gender Responsive”. The word “awareness” indicates a holistic situation taught and learned rather than a responsibility undertaken by the UN only.²⁴

Due to militaristic masculinity among peacekeepers, many behaviors soldiers have been in conflict with their duties within the PKOs. UN wants to overcome this situation and develop an awareness of gender as a solution for SEAs involving UN personnel. For this purpose, in addition to increasing the inclusion of women in operations, it works on appointing a gender advisor in specific duties, providing gender awareness training to soldiers, or carrying out all-female units. However, such efforts also face many problems and cannot supply permanent solutions.

Starting a solution search with Gender Advisor, one will see that deployed people are not in a position to offer a solution to this issue as thought. The reason is that the assigned people are dysfunctional as they are ignored in the field-works because of their gender rather than their inadequacies. Another reason might be that their jobs are more challenging than described. In this direction, according to the field study conducted by Keaney-Mischel (2010), who investigated gender advisor functionalities, gender advisors are not taken as seriously as necessary or thought to be in the field. These people, who are generally not allowed to participate in meetings or even the decision-making process, have to choose more indirect and harrowing ways as a solution.

Gender training, on the other hand, remains limited or does not provide the desired efficiency in the field. Trainings on SEA cannot be completed at the desired level in every operation. As the figure below displays, the completed SEA training ratios vary considerably in operations.

²⁴ For Gender Responsive see <https://peacekeeping.un.org/sites/default/files/gender-responsive-un-peacekeeping-operations-policy-en.pdf> (access date: 20.02.2022).

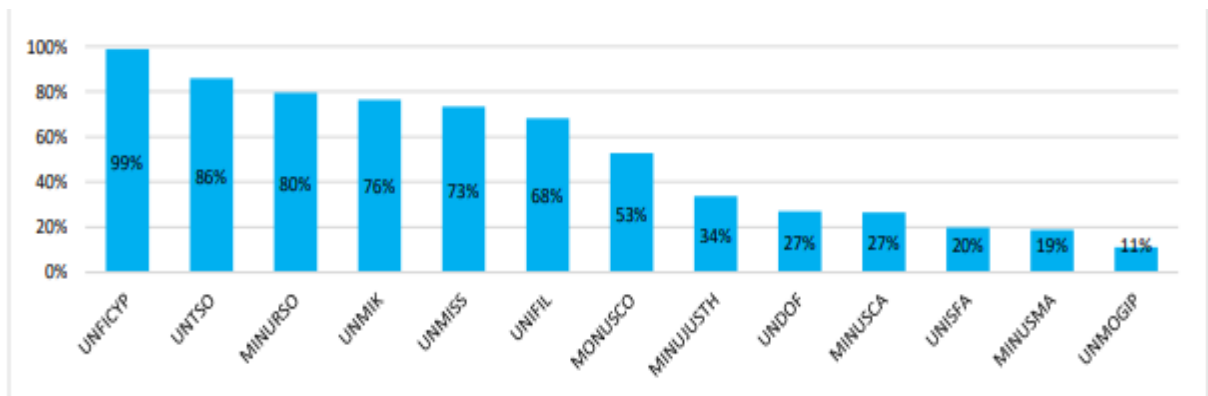


Figure 4.2 Mandatory SEA training completion rates in peace operations. (OIOS, 2021).

The 13 peace operations seen in the figure are those currently in progress. As the figure shows, not all operations are sufficient in the SEA training. Fulfilling the SEA training is very important for gender awareness. Because understanding the connection of sexual violence seen in missions with gender is also effective in its solution. However, as seen above, soldiers who can be said to have been fully trained on this subject are only seen in the United Nations Peacekeeping Force in Cyprus (UNFICYP). The United Nations Mission for The Referendum in Western Sahara (UNTSO) and the United Nations Truce Supervision Organization (MINURSO) have a better level of SEA training than other operations. However, in general, 6 of the operations, approximately 46%, are below 50% for SEA training. If we consider the 75% completion rate, only 4 of the operations remain above this rate, while 9 of them, approximately 70%, are below this rate. This shows that there is still a long way to go in terms of SEA training in terms of operations in general.

In many cases, gender education holds a weaker place than militaristic education and experience that the military currently receives. Since gender training requires a shorter time than local and traditional military training, it cannot prevent the reasoning learned in military (Duncanson, 2009). Another thing about trainings, as Jennings (2019) revealed, sometimes not taken seriously by the soldiers. Aside from the fact that the stories are sometimes not taken seriously, another aspect of these trainings is that, at least for PKOs, there is training content with exaggerated data to deter SEA cases related to local people. It was observed in the aforementioned research that the soldiers were given exaggerated information about sexually transmitted diseases or the “hygiene” of the local people (Jennings, 2019). To overcome such problems, the solution can come from not the

short-term trainings within the UN but solving the structural issues in the military training itself.

All-female units, on the other hand, cannot provide an improvement in the indifference towards gender in co-ed units, even if they work in a certain situation where the boundaries are determined in the field. Because both the absence of these all-female units in every operation and the fact that the biggest work in gender is still only on the shoulders of women remains a major problem. Although it is accepted that female peacekeepers have a reassuring influence on the local female population, it is inconvenient that women are naturally seen as responsible and paying attention to SEA. Because this situation leads to the judgment that a solution to the SEA problem can be found only by deploying women soldiers (Bleckner, 2013, 360). In addition, as Angela Alchin, Amanda Gouws and Lindy Heinecken stated in their research, “*women tend to change their behaviour to become part of the ‘boys’ club’ rather than acting as ‘sex police’.*” (2017, 4).

4.3. FEMINIST IR THEORY OF PEACEKEEPING

After examining the process of women's inclusion in general and in the UN and particularly in Peacekeeping Operations, it is very important to determine the feminist theory of the PKOs in order to understand the basis of the gender problems of the operations. Determining the institutional perspective adopted on the issues underlying the problems experienced will also enable more effective action in solving the problems. The aim is to create a structure which is ensured to be permanent that fully contributes to peace, rather than solving daily problems for a certain period of time.

A review of the UN's institutional feminist theory was made in the previous section. In this section, it will be examined how valid the feminist theory that the UN applies or theoretically corresponds to, in terms of PKOs, and where PKOs are within feminist theory.

As a result of the conclusion presented in the previous section, although the entity of the UN and the gender policies it carries out show an appropriate institutionalization for the liberal IR theory and the 3rd generation of peace&conflict studies, the case is different when the subject is women in peacekeeping operations. This change is a change of essence before practice. In particular, the UN approaches the inclusion of female soldiers in the PKOs from a culturalist feminist perspective rather than from a liberal

feminist root. When the institutionally developed policies of the UN and 4 historically major women's conferences are examined, it has been seen that the UN can be evaluated within liberal feminism, which has indicators such as equality of women and men before the law, equal representation in diplomacy and administration. However, on peacekeeping, the UN resorts to a slightly different intellectual origin than its own, culturalist feminism.

Liberal feminist theory and cultural feminism express two different views in terms of their origins. While liberal feminism advocates equal rights and liberties for women and men and an equal life together, cultural feminism has an essentialist perspective emphasizing female supremacy. In this sense, it attaches a gender to peace and regards it as a sacred nature belonging to women (Alcoff, 1988, 405). It suggests that there is a different culture among women than men and emphasizes the gender difference between men and women. As a result of the emphasis on this difference, they offer a different solution than liberal feminists, they consider cultural change as necessary, not political: It is a culture that women will acquire when they return to their own nature (Alcoff, 1988, 408).

Despite the UN's policies included in liberal feminism in terms of practice, the effect behind Resolution 1325, which is regarded as a milestone, is a culturalist feminist influence fueled by an essentialist notion. Because the group that has been the biggest influence in making the resolution is the anti-war feminists and the NGOs associated with them (Lee, 2013, 369). The basis of the anti-war, peaceful woman notion at the spirit of the resolution is both as a result of the image of the victimized woman in the eyes of militarism and the existence of these groups.

Since the liberal feminist IR theory sees women's participation as a primary priority, it does not make a general criticism of the above-mentioned issue; but the elimination of gender roles constructed according to radical and constructivist feminist IR theories and changing the perspective on this issue are essential for equality between the sexes (Tür & Aydın, 2010, 14-15). In many cases, work and even the public sphere are not organized as a common space for men and women for the benefit of both sexes. In a world designed mostly for men, women are expected to adapt to men's conditions. Especially in the military, this situation is sometimes seen at absurd levels because it is less talked about but has sharper boundaries. A recent example is that women serving in

the Swiss army were allowed to wear female underwear for the first time in March 2021 (BBC, 2021). In such a case, only the steps towards numerical equality will be certainly sluggish, and the effect of the transformation will be deficient because it ignores the nature of the demand for equality.

From this point of view, intellectual and linguistic change and equality are at least as important as numerical equality. In order to achieve feminist goals, there is a need for qualitative changes that will change the intellectual and social structure in the long run, rather than quantitative changes that save the day. However, cultural feminism, which is another element of the junction point, is as inadequate as the liberal feminist theory. Claiming that women are peaceful, creates a space that extends to the maternity of women and indirectly to the need for women's protection. Defining the female gender through only one adjective (i.e., pacifism, maternity, sentimentality, etc.) leads to ignoring its contribution-harm and effects regarding the public sphere, diplomacy, war and peace. In Chapter II, it was discussed what kind of intellectual obstacles the assumptions about the nature of women create as regards to both gender equality and interpreting peace and war. Likewise, an opinion which argues that women are peaceful and nurturing by nature, undermines the desire to achieve gender equality within a militarist structure such as peacekeeping. Problems arise both for the soldiers who are assigned and for the local people who continue their lives in the conflict areas. The solution to these problems lies in a deep structural transformation that cannot be sought in a single gender.

In conclusion, the purpose of this section is to reveal why the UN sees the peace as their responsibility and the processes leading to the inclusion of women in this work, and then to present a view of the gender-related problems that the UN has experienced regarding this work for which it takes responsibility. The main purpose of this dissertation is to explain that the problems experienced by female soldiers during their integration process and the underlying causes of these problems, are not exclusive, and are related to several other issues. The influence of the feminist movement in the process of integrating women into the peace processes and the UNSC Resolution 1325 is quite obvious. However, although the numerical participation of women is a great goal, it is seen that numerical equality alone cannot provide an adequate solution together with other problems seen in PKOs. The prejudiced view of the inclusion of female soldiers, even among the head of the institution, and the structure of the military organized for men and

mostly their bodies, reveals the problems seen above in the conceptual perception and implementation of peace.

Under these conditions, the UN seems insufficient in creating gender awareness and making qualitative changes and improvements in the among its deployed soldiers it has deployed. As mentioned in detail above, many problems, from mindset to crime and punishment practices, are waiting to be solved and waiting for a structural transformation. It is impossible to solve all issues by relying only on women and the essentialism called “nature of women”. Moreover, such a prejudice prevents people from seeing the underlying basis of the problem, rather than finding a solution for peace, and blocks the way for solutions for it. Seeing the solution to the problem only in the quantitative increase in female personnel will continue to be one of the biggest problems in solving gender awareness and SEA problems (Simić, 2010, 196).

Furthermore, including women in a structure where women are traditionally excluded constitutes a situation that is new for our time and requires being open to change and transformations. The aim of this research is to first provide an understanding of gender and its appearances in order to solve the problems presented in terms of gender, and then to analyze the situation arising from this, which is fueled with prejudices, and to initiate a solution. As a result of the research on the theoretical origins of PKOs, it has been determined that the issues discussed in this section are not so superficial as to be rooting from a single source or to be solved by numerical equality.

CHAPTER V. CONCLUSION

Starting with feminist IR theory, and examining the UN's current situation and theoretical structure in the previous section, the female soldiers serving in PKOs, gender-related problems in operations, and their theoretical conceptualization, which forms the backbone of the thesis's goal and final analysis, examines how the discourse on women's peaceful nature finds its way into an international organization's peace efforts. The theoretical backdrop of the participation of female troops in the PKOs and its influence on the desired peace will be concluded in this section, taking into consideration all of the theoretical frameworks covered.

The fact that the feminist IR theory does not exhibit a holistic perspective was examined in detail in Chapter II. The reasoning underlying this theory, which can be called 'feminisms' rather than a whole feminism, is based on the patriarchal structure of the current social system, the subordination of women and the socially constructed aspect of gender. The subject examined in this thesis is the women in the militarist structure, which covers all of the specified foundations.

The socially patriarchal construct of the militarist structure derives from the protected image of the man who protects the woman. The militaristic structure, which is based on the gendered duties of men to protect the family, woman, child and furthermore the nation, has become a sphere of masculinity training, which is further enhanced by hegemonic masculinity. The patriarchal system built on contradictions has placed women in a position where they are protected, aggrieved and pro-peace/moderate. Ultimately, the situation has turned into a separation that leads to the identification of men with war and women with peace. However, as the feminist IR theory shows, the main reasons why women are assumed to be peaceful are directly related to a biased notion of femininity that defines her as a mother, as well as a system that excludes women from the public sphere. The myth of the peaceful woman derives from motherhood, aiming to protect her child from dangers and a protection for the whole nation and sometimes all humanity, is due to her being seen in a hierarchically disadvantaged position within the patriarchy. Because the woman is in need of protection, desires peace, and in most cases cannot defend herself. The gendered divisions that masculinize the war also attribute reason, strategic thinking, power/desire for power to men, and again, women exist on the opposite of all these features.

All of these features that feminist IR theory has brought into question are characterized as an essentialist perspective. This essentialist view enters the mind and system of thought from a very early age. In many cases, the authenticity of these thoughts is not questioned and is considered 'natural'. For this reason, being able to get rid of the notions that we think are natural when it comes to peace and war, will be useful in understanding the current situation and finding permanent solutions to the causes of war and the sustainability of peace. Although most feminist theories attack this conception, not all feminist ideas are equally hostile to the concept of female nature. Cultural feminists argue that women are naturally peaceful, as stated in the preceding section. Despite the fact that this theory was born out of a desire to create an opposition to masculinity by asserting that women are superior to males, it is one that serves the essentialist masculinist philosophy.

When the process of forming the UN was reviewed, it was considered that defining the theoretical architecture of the peacekeeping activities carried out inside would be instructive. As a consequence, the UN's role in IR theory, as well as its place among the feminisms within feminist IR, was defined. When considered it is widely acknowledged in the literature that Kant's views form the intellectual foundations of the UN, Kant's theories on women and women's nature also find a home in the UN's institutional structure, when examining the feminist theory of PKOs. According to Kant, women are born with an inherent inclination towards kindness and peace (Alcoff, 1988, 406). Also implies that femininity will be overpowered by the condition of peace (Arendt, 2021,110). Thus, the UN may be considered to be consistent with its conceptual roots. Although it is opposed by many feminist theorists and has a different logical foundation, this thought, which conveys an inclination toward essentialist peace about women's nature, can find a home in the UN and PKOs. Culturalist feminist origins are obvious in developing the feminist theory of PKOs, as discussed in Chapter 4. Despite the fact that the activities take place under the UN's liberal theoretical framework, they should be examined using an eclectic feminist category with culturalist feminist origins. Although the concept of women in culturalist feminism and Kantian thinking derive from separate places, they both flow into the same direction.

UNSC Resolution 1325 is considered one of the most important decisions taken in the name of peace in the last 20-25 years. This is a period during which women are

encouraged to participate in all areas of society and institutional decisions regarding these participations are taken. Notwithstanding the significance it carries regarding the participation of women in UN Peacekeeping Operations, it still embodies a similar gender bias. Anti-war feminists had an impact on the essence of the decision and the female image it conveyed during the process building up to it. The idea that women's inclination for peace will offer a solution to the problems seen in PKOs cannot be more than a false face on the surface of the issues. The militaristic system of conception (men protect, women are protected), which can be seen as a reason for women's numerical minority in participation in operations, prevents equal participation among genders democratically. First of all, women who are admitted into the military in their own countries go through a training where they can adopt the existing identity within a structure whose rules have been determined by and for men ever since military education came into existence. Moreover, it is not easy for male and female soldiers to reject the codes they have been conditioned to accept for years, with a short-term peace training. Another indication of this is the case of SEA, which is common in missions and has caused the notoriety of peacekeeping. Soldiers who are trained with the enemy other mentality for homeland protection are qualitatively conflicted with their built identities in a mission where they are asked not to use force and only maintain the peace.

Despite the fact that current military training is given without discrimination between the sexes, the expectations between the sexes differ. Although they receive the same education as men, women are still perceived as weaker and less qualified than men. This situation affects what tasks are given to women in PKOs and when they are assigned. Another important data is that women do not have a desired positive effect on the reduction of SEA cases in PKOs, contrary to the expectations. In most cases, women do not review these cases - they state that they have not encountered any cases - or they remain indifferent. In this sense, although there is a difference between the sexes in most cases in terms of committing an SEA crime, there is no significant difference in sensitivity to the situation. From this point of view, considering the problems examined in Chapter 4, it can be concluded that the SEA trainings given to people who grew up in a militaristic structure are not sufficient and that the duration and quality should be increased.

As it is understood in the previous chapter, female soldiers encounter problems while trying to be included in a structure designed for men rather than being in a structure

suitable for them. Even the rules on clothing have not been determined in accordance with the female body or new regulations have just begun to be made. Soldiers, whose genders are disregarded and perceived as mere uniforms, experience many different problems, especially sexual harassment, and problems concerning compliance. The solution to the problems in the current situation will be provided by including both genders and developing arrangements for their needs, rather than women adapting to a structure built for men.

It is seen that the essentialist idea of women's nature is a prejudice of the patriarchal system and that the solution to the problems in peace operations can be achieved not only with women but also with a broad change in the social structure. The UN, in addition to promoting numerical equality, should increase the quality of the training of the soldiers it has commissioned under its umbrella, monitor the efficiency of these trainings and put forward deterrent solutions against the impunity examined in the previous sections. Only this way peace operations will be at the desired level and truly peaceful for all parties.

In conclusion, despite the fact that the UN operates at the intersection of realist and liberal/pluralist IR theories, and the general feminist IR view is institutionally inclined to liberal IR feminism, it has been observed that when the subject is peace, it acts with a culturalist feminist perspective. Its remarks, policies and actions on certain assumptions regarding to women's nature and the conviction that women may contribute to peace, even if well-intentioned, create a dilemma that undermines the decision to fix the problem. In this regard, PKOs' feminist approach should be distinguished from culturalist feminism, and should be based on democratic participation and equal opportunity, rather than on women's nature, but should not be reduced to solely on a level of representation. While being based upon these foundations, it shouldn't be because of the benefits of any 'nature' discourse about women; it should be underlined that women are also human beings, that they are a part of society, and that they have equal rights and freedoms.

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