



# GENDER CONSIDERATIONS IN ADVANCING THE VANCOUVER PRINCIPLES IN ARMED FORCES

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## ABSTRACT:

Drawing from United Nations Security Council Resolutions on Women, Peace and Security and the Vancouver Principles, this paper highlights key factors to be addressed in military training and education to ensure that military members are adequately prepared to protect children affected by conflict and to enhance military capabilities to participate in the prevention of the recruitment and use of child soldiers. Informed by feminist theories and analysis, this paper argues that military professionals are better prepared for the protection of children when they are given the opportunity to explore gender concepts in relation to their own socialization to the military and if they are provided with the right theories and tools to understand and respond to gender and intersectional dynamics of children and armed conflict. The paper suggests that while content that illuminates gender constructs and their relation to the security of children is crucially important, determining the right pedagogic approaches that support the effective training and education of military professionals is equally vital.

## KEYWORDS

Child Soldiers; Prevention of the Use and Recruitment of Child Soldiers; Child Protection; Gender Dynamics; Gender Perspectives; Military Training and Education; Vancouver Principles; Implementation Guidance for the Vancouver Principles

## INTRODUCTION

The prevention of the use and recruitment of child soldiers has a critical and enduring relationship to gender dynamics in societies before, during, and in the aftermath of crises and conflict. The Beijing Declaration and Platform for Action and United Nations Security Council Resolution 1325 and Related Resolutions known collectively as the resolutions on Women, Peace and Security (WPS) each describe how sexual violence and conflict are gendered and how in particular, boys and girls can experience conflict differently due to societal gender norms and roles. Academic exploration of these differential (and often disproportionate) experiences relates them to longstanding gender inequities in societies due primarily to the cultural elevation of the status and power of men.<sup>1</sup> In times of societal unrest, gender disparities brought on by systems of patriarchy can be exacerbated, and the functions, roles, and circumstances of girls and boys can shift.<sup>2</sup>

The Vancouver Principles on Peacekeeping and the Prevention of the Recruitment and Use of Child Soldiers were launched by Canada in 2017. At the time, 54 UN Member States endorsed the Vancouver Principles. Since then, the number has grown to closer to 100 endorsing Members. The Principles comprise 17 political commitments that focus on child protection in peacekeeping as well as the prevention of the recruitment and use of child soldiers.<sup>3</sup> Representatives from Global Affairs, the Department of National Defence, as well as Canada's delegation to the UN worked collaboratively with members of endorsing States and civil society organizations to develop Implementation Guidance for the Vancouver Principles (IGVP).<sup>4</sup> This guidance aims to assist endorsing Member States to apply the Vancouver Principles to national-level policy, plans, and capabilities and to ensure that contributing police and military personnel on UN missions receive clear direction, adequate resources,

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- 1 Joshua Goldstein, *War and Gender: How Gender Shapes the War System and Vice Versa*. (Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 2001).; Joan Grace. "Sending Mixed Messages: Gender-Based Analysis and the "Status of Women"." *Canadian Public Administration*, 40, no. 4 (1997): 582-598; Cynthia Cockburn, 'Snagged on the Contradiction: NATO UNSC Resolution 1325, and Feminist Responses'. Originally presented at the Annual Meeting of No to War – No to NATO Dublin. (15-17 April 2011), Unpublished manuscript. <http://www.cynthiacockburn.org/BlogNATO1325.pdf>.; Raewyn Connell, *Masculinities*. (Cambridge, UK: Polity Press, 2005).
  - 2 David Duriesmith, *Masculinity and new war: The gendered dynamics of contemporary armed conflict* (Abingdon, Oxon: Routledge, 2017).
  - 3 Government of Canada, "Vancouver Principles on Peacekeeping and the Prevention of the Recruitment and Use of Child Soldiers," Government of Canada, [https://www.international.gc.ca/world-monde/assets/pdfs/issues\\_development-enjeux\\_developpement/human\\_rights-droits\\_homme/principles-vancouver-principes-english.pdf](https://www.international.gc.ca/world-monde/assets/pdfs/issues_development-enjeux_developpement/human_rights-droits_homme/principles-vancouver-principes-english.pdf).
  - 4 Alan Okros, "Strengthening the Canadian Armed Forces Capacity to Address Child Soldiers," *Canadian Military Journal*, 20, no. 1 (2019): 65-69.

and optimal training and education to prevent the recruitment and use of child soldiers and to respond effectively to children in situations of armed conflict.<sup>5</sup>

While the Vancouver Principles tie the prevention of the use and recruitment of child soldiers to an understanding of gender dynamics, and while the IGVP acknowledges the importance of training and education that underscores this connection, very few training and education programmes for military personnel explicitly foreground the consideration of gender dynamics as integral to military roles in the protection of children and the prevention of child soldiery. This research paper examines training and education courses that are available to military personnel on child protection and the prevention of the use and recruitment of child soldiers based on a review of topics and curriculum available on open-source websites.

Drawing from this review, the paper demonstrates that while most courses speak tangentially to gender dynamics, few place focus on the requirement for military personnel to apply gender perspectives in order to fully understand and address why, how, and under what conditions girls and boys experience conflict and can be differentially forced or enticed into recruitment as well as disparately used by armed groups and forces. Noting this gap in the field of military education and training, the paper explores potential areas for the expansion of gender content in extant programmes, including the development of curricula on gender definitions in relation to children and updated approaches to analysis in these areas such as the incorporation of intersectionality and militarized masculinities. This analysis offers two key insights: first, it presents a review of the implementation of existing commitments to the integration of gender considerations in Children and Armed Conflict (CAAC) training; and second, drawing on feminist theories and analysis it provides a series of recommendations to expand existing commitments to better attend to how different axes of power intersect with gender and how gender content and pedagogy could be used to examine internal dynamics of peacekeeping institutions and their culture.

## GENDER, CHILD PROTECTION AND UNDERSTANDING MILITARY CULTURES

Literatures attending to peacekeeping more broadly,<sup>6</sup> as well as peacekeeper training more narrowly,<sup>7</sup> have underscored the importance of considering and including gender perspectives

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5 Ibid.

6 Mazurana, Dyan E., Angela Raven-Roberts, and Jane L. Parpart, *Gender, Conflict, and Peacekeeping*. (Lanham, MD: Rowman & Littlefield, 2005); Kreft, Anne-Kathrin, "The Gender Mainstreaming Gap: Security Council Resolution 1325 and UN Peacekeeping Mandates." *International Peacekeeping*, 24, no. 1 (2017): 132-158.

7 Mackay, Angela. "Training the Uniforms: Gender and Peacekeeping Operations." *Development in Practice* 13, no. 2-3 (2003): 217-223; Carson, Lisa. "Pre-Deployment 'Gender' Training and the Lack Thereof for Australian Peacekeepers." *Australian Journal of International Affairs* 70, no. 3 (2016):

in the work of peacekeepers, both civilian and military. They note that inequalities and vulnerabilities, particularly in conflict contexts, are often linked to patriarchal social arrangements<sup>8</sup> and evolving social constructions of gender. They also note that gendered crimes of military peacekeepers, such as rape, gender-based violence, and sexual exploitation and abuse,<sup>9</sup> are connected to the development of hegemonic and violent forms of militarized masculinity.<sup>10</sup> Dean Laplonge explains that despite the link between peacekeeper gender-based violence and the institutional construction of militarized masculinity, there remains a striking absence of opportunities to consider the practices of men and militarized masculinity in gender training for UN peacekeepers.<sup>11</sup> Drawing from my analysis of training and education available to military members specifically on CAAC, these opportunities are significantly more limited.

### *Naming the Patriarchy*

Most of the world's societies are patriarchal. Patriarchal societies—those in which social organization is based on men's normative and material control of social, economic, and political power<sup>12</sup>—ascribe in varying degrees to a two-sex system.<sup>13</sup> In a two-sex system, body parts, chemistry, and bodily practices become categorized in hierarchical and binary ways that stand to classify individuals in two distinct and differentially valued biological sexes—male and female.<sup>14</sup> While there is nothing biologically essential about sex, aside from the physical materiality of bodies, each body is understood (or socially constructed) in patriarchal societies through myriad processes of socialization to one or another category of this sex duality.<sup>15</sup> In this way, while sex is generally acquired naturally,<sup>16</sup> gender is learned

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275-292.

- 8 Kaplan, Laura Duhan. "Woman as Caretaker: An Archetype that Supports Patriarchal Militarism." *Hypatia* 9, no. 2 (1994): 123-133.
- 9 Oswald, Bruce 'Ossie'. "Sexual Exploitation and Abuse in Un Peace Operations." *Journal of International Peacekeeping* 20, no. 3-4 (2016): 143-170.
- 10 Higate, Paul. "Peacekeepers, Masculinities, and Sexual Exploitation." *Men and Masculinities* 10, no. 1 (2007): 99-119; Karim, Sabrina and Kyle Beardsley. "Explaining Sexual Exploitation and Abuse in Peacekeeping Missions: The Role of Female Peacekeepers and Gender Equality in Contributing Countries." *Journal of Peace Research* 53, no. 1 (2016): 100-115.
- 11 Laplonge, Dean. "The Absence of Masculinity in Gender Training for UN Peacekeepers." *Peace Review* 27, no. 1 (2015): 91-99.
- 12 Goldstein, 2001.
- 13 Margrit Shildrick, *Leaky Bodies and Boundaries: Feminism, Postmodernism, and (bio)Ethics*, (London: Routledge, 1997).
- 14 Simone de Beauvoir, *The Second Sex*. Translation by Constance Borde and Sheila Malovany-Chevallier, (New York: Vintage Books, 1949).
- 15 Judith Butler, *Gender trouble: Feminism and the subversion of identity*. (New York: Routledge, 1990).
- 16 Increasingly aspects of sex can be changed, augmented, removed, or acquired through technological and medical advances, and in some more radical interpretations, questions have been

and acquired socially. This distinction—that sex is biological, while *gender* is social—is the basis of critical gender theory. Understanding socially constructed gender divisions of power in societies is an essential aspect of gender theory. Recognizing gender power is also deeply beneficial to military training and education as gender constructs are key and driving conditions influencing conflict, security, and peace.

### *Acknowledging Social Construction*

*Social construction*—the process through which societies come to understand the world—happens through the development of ‘broadly shared views, definitions, ideas and connotations’ about people, things, and events that become dominant overtime.<sup>17</sup> As these ideas and views come to be preeminent in society, they tend to be understood as ‘fact’ or ‘reality’ and “often become so deeply embedded in our way of seeing the world that we spend little, if any, time actually thinking about them.”<sup>18</sup> Gender, is a social construct as are other systems of social power such as race and class.

Ideas about the roles of women, men, girls, and boys in societies are directly related to each society’s specific way of constructing gender. *Gender roles* are social constructs about the different functions, responsibilities, capacities and possibilities for women, men, girls, boys, and non-binary people. In societies with greater disparities between women and men, gender roles tend to be more unequal, often setting social conditions for men and boys to have greater access to power, status, and resources. In conflict contexts, these gender disparities are often heightened.<sup>19</sup> Traditional gender roles in societies can also be disrupted to forward the efforts of particular parties to conflict, as well as to support evolving political, religious, and social agendas. Moreover, gender roles may be constructed differently in the process of a conflict’s resolution, with studies showing that gender equality can be advanced or diminished in the process of peacebuilding.<sup>20</sup>

It is particularly important to note that soldiering itself is relational to gendered social constructs about those deserving of power and those who fight. Fighters, warriors, protector, protected, men, women, masculinities, and femininities are each socially constructed in ways that enable cultural visions of the desired path ahead.<sup>21</sup> In patriarchal societies, the

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raised as to whether sex itself has, to a large degree, been socially constructed. For more on the social construction of sex see: Butler, 1990; Shildrick, 1997.

17 Vanessa Brown and Alan Okros. “Disrupting Social Constructions in the Profession of Arms,” in Krystal Hachey, Tamir Libel, and Waylon Dean Eds. *Rethinking Military Professionalism for the Changing Armed Forces*. (Cham, Switzerland: Springer, 2020).

18 Ibid.

19 Durie-Smith, 2017; Connell, 2005.

20 Ibid.

21 Sandra Whitworth, *Men, Militarism, and UN Peacekeeping: A Gendered Analysis* (Boulder, CO: Lynne

path envisioned often reproduces the male-dominant gender order and contains masculinist assumptions. Namely, that the male-dominant order and traditional military ways of solving disputes are inevitable, natural, and good. Feminist critiques of WPS highlight the resounding silence within Security Council Resolutions on confronting the social inequalities resultant of the unquestioned hegemony of men, masculinities, and militarism.<sup>22</sup>

### *Masculinity and the Military*

Indeed, gender roles in societies often associate soldiers, armed forces, armed groups, and gangs as the domain of men and masculinity.<sup>23</sup> In many societies, joining armed forces and armed groups is a primary way for boys to prove their masculinity as a right of passage into manhood.<sup>24</sup> Whitworth explains that these militarized masculinities can be differentiated from masculinities in other social contexts due to the processes and conditions under which ordinary people are made and moulded into soldiers.<sup>25</sup> Johnson and Walsh explain that the “form of militarized masculinity that is often dominant within the armed forces remains during peacekeeping deployments, and has been directly linked to abuses against women and children.”<sup>26</sup> Yet, socialization to these militarized masculinities, and militarized gender more broadly, are not considered in UN Security Council Resolutions on WPS,<sup>27</sup> nor are they examined in military training and education.<sup>28</sup> Training and education on the socialization to militarised masculinities could enable military members to reshape and redefine common gender constructions in armed forces by articulating militarized gender in a way that has the capacity to be supportive of gender equality<sup>29</sup> and attendant to the originating feminist goals of WPS; namely, not to simply make war safer for women, but to dismantle the war system altogether.<sup>30</sup>

As gender roles are social constructs, there is nothing innate to men and boys that make them born contributors to conflict and violence. Women, girls, and non-binary people have historically been, and continue to be, perpetrators of violence, combatants, soldiers, and

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Rienner Publishers, 2007).

22 Ibid.

23 Goldstein, *War and Gender*.

24 Durie-Smith, *Masculinity and new war*; Connell, 2005, 213.

25 Whitworth, 2007.

26 Dustin Johnson and Allyssa Walsh, “Gender, Peacekeeping, and Child Soldiers: Training and Research in Implementation of the Vancouver Principles,” *Allons-y 4* (2020): 51-60, 54.

27 Kronsell, Annica. *Gender, Sex, and the Postnational Defense: Militarism and Peacekeeping*. New York: Oxford University Press, 2012.

28 Laplonge, 2015.

29 Claire Duncanson, “Hegemonic masculinity and the possibility of change in gender relations.” *Men and Masculinities* 18, no. 2 (2015): 231-248.

30 Cockburn, 2011.

supporters of conflict. However, patriarchal norms in societies tend to privilege males as wielders of power, including the coercive powers of violence in armed forces and groups. In this way, the narratives, histories, and experiences of women, girls and non-binary people that participate in armed forces and armed groups are often marginalized or omitted from dominant discourses around the globe.

When teaching military personnel in particular, an introduction to the way their military and other armed forces and groups construct gender roles, behaviours, and practices differently can help to underscore how they come to understand being a soldier in their institution, and how this understanding of gender and the soldier may diverge with other societies and in other contexts. Consideration of how their organization conceives of gender and the soldier in culturally specific ways may assist military personnel to make better decisions when confronted with the fact that girls and boys participate in a variety of roles that may not be traditional to their own conceptions of gender, such that girls and boys play active roles as soldiers, porters, cooks, spies, and sexual slaves. Indeed, military professionals might be better prepared for the protection of children if they are given the opportunity to explore their own socialization to the military.

### *Socialization to the Military*

Military socialization and military culture often construct a particular view of the world for military professionals. This worldview typically presents “male-centric perceptions of conflict” not just within militaries but across the security sector.<sup>31</sup> Socialization to military culture means that ordinary citizens go through the process of learning how to conform to military norms, identities, structures, hierarchies, ethos, and ideals. All of which are usually presented narrowly in masculine and masculinist terms.<sup>32</sup> Understanding social constructions about gender-specific to the military and the norms, behaviours, and worldviews that emerge from certain scripts of militarized masculinity can help military members to better understand how inequalities common to women, racialized and LGBTQ members are a product of institutionalized social systems of power and not due to the innate challenges of individuals.

As Joan Grace articulates “social systems of power and dependence [ ] are the products of the particular way society is structured” through “societal expectations, attitudes and practices.”<sup>33</sup> These expectations, attitudes and practices are institutionalized overtime, embedded within organizational cultures, structures, systems, regulations, processes, and practices. As such, the

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31 Johnson and Walsh 2020, p. 58.

32 Vanessa Brown and Alan Okros. “Dancing around Gender: Changing Identity in Canada’s Post-Deschamps Military,” in Breede, H. Christian. *Culture and the Soldier: Identities, Values, and Norms in Military Engagements*. Vancouver; Toronto: UBC Press, 2019: 32-56; Whitworth, 2007; Goldstein, 2001.

33 Grace, 1997, 586.



military creates its own specific institutional gender inequalities, and these have a profound and material impact on women and other marginalized groups' access to opportunities and resources.<sup>34</sup> Understanding the construction of the military's gender order can also illuminate the ways in which gender hegemony is developed similarly or dissimilarly in other contexts. A deeper understanding of the development and maintenance of gendered expectations, attitudes, and practices in the military can help members to search for and better identify the push and pull factors faced by children and their complicated relation to armed groups and armed conflict. Moreover, understanding why women, men, girls, boys, and non-binary people experience conflict and crises differently, and identifying how and under what conditions girls, boys and non-binary youth come to be used and recruited in the way they are by armed forces and groups requires military members to learn about and apply *gender perspectives*.

The IGVP defines gender perspectives as a way to “recognize that armed conflict and humanitarian disasters affect women, men, girls, and boys in different ways.”<sup>35</sup> It notes that an application of gender perspectives enables understanding about how “activities, policies, and programs have different effects.”<sup>36</sup> For military personnel, applying gender perspectives means actively and intentionally seeking out information about gender roles, expectations, and attitudes in societies and how these relate to the differential impacts of conflict on women, men, girls, boys and non-binary people. Yet, applications of gender perspectives without consideration of other intersecting systems of social organization only provides military personnel with a piece of the child protection picture.

## MILITARY LEARNING AND EDUCATION

Militaries have made significant efforts training and educating their members in relation to winning contemporary wars, maximizing operational effectiveness in uncertain terrain, and responding to rapidly changing geopolitical security environments.<sup>37</sup> As Persyn and Polson suggest, 21<sup>st</sup>-century complexities in global security are “changing needs of military learners.”<sup>38</sup> Advancing capabilities in the human terrain, such as the protection of civilians

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34 Rachel Woodward and Trish Winter. *Sexing the Soldier: The Politics of Gender and the Contemporary British Army*. London; New York: Routledge, 2007.

35 Government of Canada, Implementation Guidance for the Vancouver Principles (Ottawa: Department of National Defence, 2019), <https://www.canada.ca/content/dam/dnd-mdn/documents/reports/2019/igvp-20190614.pdf>, p. 17.

36 Ibid.

37 Charles Allen, “Redress of Professional Military Education: The Clarion Call.” *Joint Forces Quarterly* 59, no. 4 (2010): 94100.

38 John Persyn and Cheryl Polson. “Evolution and Influence of Military Adult Education.” *New Directions for Adult and Continuing Education* 136 (2012): 516, 16.

and understanding the disproportionate impact of conflict on diverse groups has increased demands within professional military education and training for critical thinking, empathy, and viewing problems through multiple lenses.<sup>39</sup> Several nations, including the United States, have even invested in training that seeks to understand and influence local cultures.<sup>40</sup>

Research on pedagogy in the military context has explored ways to best approach military learning in order to align military thinking and identity with military ethos, doctrine, and ideology<sup>41</sup> as well as to attune military professionals to rapidly changing problems, technologies, communication, complex communities and cultures of people.<sup>42</sup> Some practitioners and academics within military education institutes have illustrated the utility of post-positivist and constructivist approaches to learning as they aim to “influence a shift in thinking within [learners] and those that they work with.”<sup>43</sup> Indeed, constructivist approaches to learning in professional military education and training have also been recommended to align militaries to the values and culture of their origin societies in order to achieve civil-military trust and feminist progress.<sup>44</sup> Importantly, Nancy Taber suggests that feminist pedagogy is required for military professionals to understand and address insecurity underpinned by gender constructs and masculinism.<sup>45</sup> There are a broad range of feminist pedagogies, but their central goals are emancipation and liberation particularly in relation to “what is taught and how it is taught,” as well as setting conditions for deep self-reflection and insight for educators and pupils.<sup>46</sup> Feminist pedagogies advance social justice by calling attention to and working to dismantle sexism, racism, heteronormativity, classism, and other mutually reinforcing systems of oppression.<sup>47</sup> In this way, education on CAAC could be valuably informed not only

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39 Ibid.

40 Vanessa Brown and Alan Okros. “New Leaders, ‘New Wars’: A Reflective Approach to Applying Gender and Cultural Perspectives.” In *From “Knowing” to “Doing”: International Perspectives on Leading Effectively*, edited by Daniel Watola and Allister MacIntyre: 23590. (Kingston, ON: Canadian Defence Academy Press, 2018).

41 Katherine Brown and Victoria SymeTaylor. “Women Academics and Feminism in Professional Military Education.” *Equality, Diversity and Inclusion: An International Journal* 31, nos. 5/6 (2012): 45266; Nancy Taber. “The Profession of Arms: Ideological Codes and Dominant Narratives of Gender in the Canadian Military.” *Atlantis: A Women’s Studies Journal* 34 (2019): 2736; Brown and Okros, 2018.

42 Stewart Hase and Chris Kenyon. “Heutagogy: A child of complexity theory.” *Complicity: An International Journal of Complexity and Education*, 4, no. 1 (2007), 111-118.

43 Ibid, 59.

44 Taber, 2009; Aiko Holviki. *Fixing Gender: The Paradoxical Politics of Peacekeeper Training*. PhD Thesis. London School of Economics and Political Science, 2019.

45 Nancy Taber, “After Deschamps: Men, Masculinities, and the Canadian Armed Forces.” *Journal of Military, Veteran and Family Health* 4, no. 1 (2018): 1007, 105.

46 Kristine De Welde, Nicola Foote, Michelle Hayford, and Martha Rosenthal. “Team Teaching “Gender Perspectives”: A Reflection on Feminist Pedagogy in the Interdisciplinary Classroom.” *Feminist Teacher* 23, no. 2 (2013): 105-125, 106.

47 Ibid.

by understanding gender and intersectional theories and tools, but also by applications of feminist pedagogies and constructivist approaches in the military classroom.

### *Intersectionality & Protection of Children*

As described in the approach to feminist pedagogy above, it is also vital for military personnel to recognize that the gendered differences experienced by women, men, girls, boys and non-binary people intersect with other demographic and experiential factors such as race, ethnicity, religion, tribe, caste, income, language, geographic location, education and so on. For example, it may be that girls of a certain age group, of a specific ethnicity or tribe, of a particular socio-economic class, and of a particular region, experience heightened situations of vulnerability to recruitment and use as child soldiers. Illustrations of the intersectional impact of conflict on girls and boys can be drawn from any number of cases, including the armed conflict in Sierra Leone from 1991-2002,<sup>48</sup> the recruitment of ethnic Albanian girls and boys to the Kosovo Liberation Army during the assault on Kosovo by the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia;<sup>49</sup> and the intersecting motivations behind the recruitment and use of thousands of children by the Sudan Liberation Army.<sup>50</sup> The Colombian conflict serves as another example that highlights how and under what intersecting conditions the recruitment and use of child soldiers varied over time-based on age, evolving societal gender roles, as well as ethnic and geographic disparities in employment.<sup>51</sup> As the Colombian case and others demonstrate, gender norms are rarely constructed equally across diverse groups of girls, boys and gender non-binary youth in conflict-affected societies. As such, in addition to learning about gender perspectives, it is beneficial for military professionals to understand *intersectionality*.

Intersectionality refers to the social construction and differential valuation of categories or 'kinds' of people. It is a theory developed by critical race and feminist scholar Kimberle Crenshaw that ultimately aims to highlight the emergence of inequality through and within multiple and mutually constitutive gender, racial, classed, abled, and sexually constructed kinds, among others. Intersectionality is intended to be used as a descriptive and prescriptive theory, as it first makes inequities visible by mapping the social processes that create them,

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48 Valerie Oosterfeld. "The construction of gender in child soldiering in the Special Court for Sierra Leone," in Drumbi, Mark A. and Jastine C. Barrett. *Research Handbook on Child Soldiers*. (Cheltenham, Gloucestershire: Edward Elgar Publishing Limited, 2019).

49 Dyan Mazurana., Susan McKay, Khristopher Carlson, and Janel Kasper, "Girls in Fighting Forces and Groups: Their Recruitment, Participation, Demobilization, and Reintegration." *Peace and Conflict* 8, no. 2 (2002): 97-123, 105-106.

50 Christine Ryan, *The Children of War: Child Soldiers as Victims and Participants in the Sudan Civil War*. Vol. 37. (London;New York: I.B. Tauris, 2012).

51 Virginia Bouvier "Gender and the Role of Women in Colombia's Peace Processes", Background Paper, New York: UN Women, United States Institute of Peace, 2016: 14-16.

and then focuses on the work required to challenge and change these inequities through the redistribution of social value and material resources.<sup>52</sup> Exposing military personnel to intersectionality through applications of feminist pedagogy and by providing opportunities for them to learn about intersectional frameworks and analyses of CAAC can better enable military members to develop the critical thinking skills required for the prevention of the use and recruitment of children in armed groups and armed forces.

### *The Canadian Approach to Intersectionality*

The Canadian government has begun to mainstream an intersectional approach to the use of gender perspectives within departmental policies, plans and actions using Gender-Based Analysis Plus (GBA+). GBA+ is an analytical tool that Canada's federal government uses to advance principles of the WPS agenda and gender equality domestically and abroad. The "plus" in the name indicates that the tool goes beyond common applications of gender perspectives by intentionally including a range of other intersecting identity and experiential factors (such as age, education, language, geography, culture, and income) in analyses and decision making. GBA+ is applied across all of Canada's federal departments to assess the potential unequal impacts of policies, programs, and initiatives on diverse groups of women, men, girls, boys and non-binary people by taking into account gender and other identity factors.<sup>53</sup> Since 2016, the Canadian Armed Forces has been applying GBA+ to advance the goals of the WPS agenda by recognizing and responding to the different situations and needs of Canadian military personnel, Canadians domestically, and populations outside of Canada in operational contexts.<sup>54</sup>

There are critiques about the transformative potential of GBA+ particularly in relation to the extent to which its application can address systematic, structural, and institutionalized inequalities experienced by women,<sup>55</sup> as well as diverse Canadians.<sup>56</sup> Despite the critical race and feminist origins of GBA+, these radical perspectives for change are often balanced against and eclipsed by institutional pressures to maintain the status quo, ensuring organizational reproduction and sustainment. As Scala and Patterson explain "bureaucratic norms and

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52 Kimberle Crenshaw, "Demarginalizing the Intersection of Race and Sex: A Black Feminist Critique of Antidiscrimination Doctrine", *Feminist Theory, and Antiracist Politics*, *Stanford Law Review* 43, no. 6 (1989): 1241-1299.

53 Status of Women Canada, Lexicon of Key Terms Related to GBA+ (2018), [https://cfc-swc.gc.ca/gba-acsc/course-cours/eng/global/glossary\\_glossaire.html](https://cfc-swc.gc.ca/gba-acsc/course-cours/eng/global/glossary_glossaire.html)

54 Government of Canada, CDS Directive for Integrating UNSCR 1325 and Related Resolutions into CAF Planning and Operations (Jan 2016), <https://www.canada.ca/en/department-national-defence/services/operations/military-operations/conduct/cds-directive-unscr-1325.html>

55 Grace, 1997.

56 Olena Hankivsky, "The Lexicon of Mainstreaming Equality: Gender Based Analysis (GBA), Gender and Diversity Analysis (GDA) and Intersectionality Based Analysis (IBA)." *Canadian Political Science Review* 6, nos. 2/3 (2012): 171 -83.

principles such as secrecy, neutrality, hierarchy and rule-following, are often in direct conflict with ... calls for the active promotion of women's interests"<sup>57</sup> as well as transformative organizational change. They note also that the way bureaucrats understand and apply GBA+, as well as the way in which institutional culture aids or diminishes the tool's transformative potential requires further attention and investigation.<sup>58</sup> Moreover, criticisms about the mainstreaming of intersectionality, including through descriptive tools like GBA+, has removed its analytical power by distancing intersectionality away from the struggle against historical and mutually constituting oppressions such as patriarchy and white supremacy. GBA+ differs from Crenshaw's original conceptualization as it is removed from the prescriptive goals of critical race and feminist theory.

Indeed, within the context of the Canadian Armed Forces norms and principles of secrecy, neutrality (particularly in regard to meritocratic ideals of gender and racial neutrality), military hierarchy and deference to the chain of command are central to the way the military functions. But these aspects of military social organization may also stand to reify racist and patriarchal systems of oppression in the military, and as such, applications of GBA+ without attending to the struggles of women, racialized personnel and LGBTQ<sup>59</sup> members does little to understand and remove barriers to women's empowerment, intersectional equality, and social justice. Critical reflection on intersectional struggles within military socialization can enable military personnel to consider which aspects of military structures and culture are essential and which might stand to change for the benefit of all members. As I have argued elsewhere,<sup>60</sup> if the military claims to practice gender and racial neutrality (to not factor gender or race within the institutional processes and practices that enable members to progress in their careers), how can the military work to understand the gendered and racialized aspects of military socialization and culture that have been noted to facilitate unequal treatment for women<sup>61</sup>, LGBTQ<sup>62</sup> and racialized members?<sup>63</sup> Notably, however, applications of GBA+ by military personnel have begun to force the issue by ensuring that disaggregated data is

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57 Francesca Scala and Stephanie Paterson. "Gendering Public Policy or Rationalizing Gender? Strategic Interventions and GBA+ Practice in Canada." *Canadian Journal of Political Science* 50, no. 2 (2017): 427-442, 430.

58 Ibid.

59 LGBTQ refers to Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual, Trans and Queer communities of people.

60 Brown and Okros. 2019.

61 Marie Deschamps, External Review into Sexual Misconduct and Sexual Harassment in the Canadian Armed Forces National Defence and the Canadian Forces (2015).

62 Ibid.

63 Tammy George, "Be all You can be Or Longing to be: Racialized Soldiers, the Canadian Military Experience and the Im/Possibility of Belonging to the Nation." (2016). ProQuest Dissertations Publishing; Sherene Razack. *Dark Threats and White Knights: The Somalia Affair, Peacekeeping and the New Imperialism*. (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2004).

collected and analysed to understand if and how institutional processes, systems, procedures and plans differentially impact women, Indigenous peoples, visible minorities, and members of LGBTQ communities. GBA+ has been used by military personnel to illuminate institutional inequities and address them.

As it is helpful in rendering gender and intersectional inequalities visible, GBA+ is a valuable tool that is worth including in military training on the protection of children. Applications of GBA+ can help military members to better understand the gender and intersectional dynamics that influence the recruitment and use of children by armed forces and armed groups. Yet, the success of GBA+ applications to child protection by military members also depends on the extent to which military members are also provided opportunities to think critically about the root causes of inequalities and the ways that inequalities are socially constructed in the military and society.

Throughout this discussion, I have intentionally used italics to emphasise key definitions and concepts that could be incorporated into the training and education of military personnel on child protection and the prevention of the use and recruitment of child soldiers. Each of these definitions are important for military and other security sector personnel to leverage in their work to prevent violence experienced by children in conflict and crisis. However, these concepts are not simply theories or definitions, they are the essential tools of this work. While feminist concepts and frameworks are crucially important for military members to understand and apply in prevention and protection work, it is also essential that such ideas are presented to the military audience effectively using the right teaching approaches.

As demonstrated, there are benefits of applying feminist pedagogy. This teaching approach works intentionally to set the social conditions wherein military members feel more open to and receptive about ideas such as gender and intersectional inequality by creating space for critical self-reflection, collaborative dialogue and an orientation to shift personal philosophies. Drawing on these pedagogic strategies can create an environment where military professionals feel empowered to consider the military's role in supporting social transformations and change, such as its facilitation of prevention and its provision of child protection in conflict contexts. However, as the following sections show, current implementation of military training and education on children and armed conflict may be failing to adequately incorporate approaches and concepts related to gender and intersectionality.

#### *Implementation Guidance for the Vancouver Principles and Gender Perspectives*

The Vancouver Principles encourage Member States to prioritize the prevention of the recruitment and use of child soldiers and to take steps that ensure the preparation and appropriate actions of peacekeepers. The IGVP recognizes that the endorsement of the Vancouver Principles needs to be followed by concerted and concrete steps towards meaningful

implementation. It aims to provide a common basis through which policy, doctrine, training and education on child protection and the prevention of the use and recruitment of child soldiers can be understood and expanded upon.<sup>64</sup>

In particular, the IGVP speaks directly to the impact of gender dynamics in the experiences of children in crisis and conflict contexts. The guidance document states that because of the effects of gender dynamics on children, gender perspectives need to be applied to mission plans and actions that address and prevent the recruitment and use of child soldiers.<sup>65</sup> The IGVP strongly encourages Member States to incorporate gender perspectives in education and training. It notes that general knowledge of child protection ought to be mainstreamed across professional education curriculum, and that in mission training enhanced awareness of the gender dynamics associated with the recruitment and use of child soldiers is encouraged. The IGVP also notes that Child Protection Advisors and Focal Points as well as senior mission leadership require specialised training that includes viewing child protection and child soldiers through the lens of gender perspectives.<sup>66</sup> They also recommend that Member States strongly encourage the United Nations to develop training modules on child protection and child soldiers “including from a gender perspective.”<sup>67</sup>

The IGVP points to a number of areas where the impact of gender dynamics should be identified and where gender perspectives should be applied to analyse mission activities including: specific protection tasks; information gathering; force composition,<sup>68</sup> and operational staff work.<sup>69</sup> Applications of gender perspectives are also noted to be of critical importance to analyses on the prevention of child soldiers and gender-sensitive assessments of early warning risk factors.<sup>70</sup>

These links made within the IGVP can be used to inform priority areas for gender-related curriculum on child protection and the prevention of the use and recruitment of child soldiers. Ultimately the IGVP argues that all “training and education should include specific material on the gender-related aspects of encounters with child soldiers.”<sup>71</sup>

The IGVP asks Member States to develop national training and education standards and resources on child protection and the prevention of the use and recruitment of child soldiers

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64 Government of Canada, “The Vancouver Principles.”

65 Government of Canada, Implementation Guidance, 16.

66 Ibid, p. 30.

67 Ibid, p. 31.

68 Ibid, p. 15.

69 Ibid, p. 18

70 Ibid, p. 19.

71 Ibid, p. 28.

that is consistent with extant United Nations materials and the materials of other international partners and civil society organizations. The following section draws on my secondary analysis of ongoing work within the Dallaire Centre of Excellence for Peace and Security by Marion Laurence and Appendix B of the IGVP that traces available training and education for military personnel on child protection and the prevention of the use and recruitment of child soldiers. This analysis explores the ways and extent to which child protection programmes available to military personnel incorporate gender perspectives.<sup>72</sup>

*Programming on Child Protection and Child Soldiers with links to Gender Dynamics and Perspectives*

To conduct the analysis presented in this section, I drew from ongoing research on available training and education for military professionals on CAAC conducted by Marion Laurence of the Dallaire Centre of Excellence for Peace and Security.<sup>73</sup> Data about CAAC-related programming in this research was gathered through four methods. First, Laurence identified available courses on CAAC using data I collected in my 2020 research on ‘Gender Related Programmes for Defence and Security Professionals.’<sup>74</sup> Gender-related courses that included programming related to CAAC were incorporated in Laurence’s analysis. Second, drawing on Laurence’s field experience, additional organizations with a history of work on child protection were identified, including international organizations (eg. United Nations Children’s Fund) and civil society groups (eg. Save the Children), as well as organizations with interest in professional development for security and defence professionals (eg. United Nations Institute for Training and Research (UNITAR) and Kofi Annan International Peacekeeping Training Centre (KAIPTC)). Data was then gathered from the public-facing websites of these organizations about CAAC-related programme offerings. Third, Laurence employed a snowball approach, contacting known subject matter experts to request information about any relevant programming that they or their organization might be familiar with. Fourth, Laurence supplemented this information with an online search for relevant programming drawing from Safari and Google search engines between August 2020 and January 2021. Search terms included: child protection AND training; children and armed conflict AND training; CAAC AND training; child protection AND military training; children and armed conflict AND military training; CAAC AND military training.

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72 Ibid, p. 29.

73 Marion Laurence. *Mapping the Field: Programmes for Defence and Security Professionals Related to Children and Armed Conflict*, Dallaire Centre of Excellence for Peace and Security, (Draft January 2021).

74 I applied a similar methodological approach to this research. See: Vanessa Brown. *Mapping the Field: Gender Related Programmes for Defence and Security Professionals*. National Defence, Dallaire Centre of Excellence for Peace and Security, (Kingston: Canadian Defence Academy, 2020).



Within Laurence's research, courses were incorporated if they met one of more of the following inclusion criteria: they (1) focused on child protection, broadly understood, in conflict settings OR on CAAC specific topics and they are open to defence and security professionals; (2) they target defence and security professionals specifically, and they include some content related to CAAC or child protection in conflict settings. Laurence excluded courses from analysis if they were found to be duplicate or older versions of a course already included in the analysis (eg. a course offered jointly by two organizations and listed on two different websites).

Drawing from Laurence's research to identify programmes available to military professionals on CAAC, I conducted a secondary analysis to examine if and the extent to which these programmes incorporated gender-related content. I used Google and Internet Explorer search engines to identify outward-facing websites of only those courses with a prominent CAAC focus. I excluded courses which focused primarily on gender and included content on CAAC. The search terms I used in this secondary analysis included: gender AND training; gender perspectives AND training; CAAC AND gender; child protection AND gender; girls AND boys AND armed conflict; CAAC AND girls AND boys.

From my secondary analysis, out of the twenty-nine programmes identified by Laurence, six programmes had incorporated some degree of gender training and education as articulated in outward-facing websites.<sup>75</sup> The specific programmes identified include:

- United Nations Core Pre-deployment Training Materials (CPTM)
- United Nations Specialised Training Materials (STMs) for military personnel;
- UNITAR and Dallaire Institute for Children, Peace & Security E-Learning Course for Security Sector Actors on Child Soldiers;
- Dallaire Institute for Children, Peace and Security's Prevention of the Use of Child Soldiers: A Course for Security Sector Actors;
- United Kingdom's Ministry of Defence Human Security Advisor Course; and
- Centre for Military Ethics and Peace Operations Training Institute's Ethics in Peace Operations Course.

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75 The author is aware that what is presented outward facing websites might differ from what is available and/or presented inwardly and/or during the conduct of courses. The analysis of only outward facing websites is a limitation of this research analysis. Additional studies drawing from researchers with access to inward facing websites and full course content would be useful to further validate the findings here.

The degree to which gender, gender perspectives, gender roles, gender inequalities and differences were incorporated into these courses' curricula varied. The following paragraphs provide a summary of how these identified CAAC-focused programmes included content related to gender.

The United Nations CPTM and STMs for military personnel contain gender-related content. The STMs introduce military personnel to child protection concepts and provide scenarios and examples for military personnel to discuss and apply them. These training materials are available on the United Nations Peacekeeping Resource Hub. The Hub also contains modules specifically related to gender. The STMs are organized into six modules delivered in person or online. Module one, on CAAC contains content on "gender issues in child protection."<sup>76</sup> The topics of discussion include: the use of girls and boys in armed forces and armed groups; differential vulnerabilities to HIV/AIDS and sexually transmitted diseases, rape and sexual violence in different contexts; different tasks assigned to girls and boys due to gender roles in their societies; gender-related methods of recruitment for girls and boys; differential experiences with identification as child soldiers; and disparate access and provision of support in reintegration of girls and boys in civilian society. The course also asks participants to think about 'gender issues in child protection' using short biographical style case studies of a girls' and boys' gender related differential experiences as child soldiers.

While this course makes explicit links to gender dynamics in the use and recruitment of child soldiers, it omits thinking about gender perspectives and in particular, the intersectional differences that can place specific groups of girls and boys into situations of vulnerability. The course does not include definitions on gender or gender roles, though it draws on these concepts throughout. In these ways, references to gender dynamics and how to address them in this course could benefit from exposing participants to these key definitions as a start point for deeper understanding. In addition, participants would benefit from learning about gender perspectives and how peacekeeping personnel can apply these frames of thinking and analysis to their own socialization to the military and military culture as well as plans and actions at the tactical to operational levels. Specifically, consideration to militarized masculinities idealized within armed forces could illuminate the processes through which adults are motivated and recruited to armed forces and armed groups. This broader understanding about gender's relation to militarization could also valuably inform considerations about the gendered motivations for children to join armed forces and armed groups, as well as the gendered motivations for armed groups and armed forces to desire the use of children.

Beyond the United Nations STMs course, Member States can also leverage other existing training and materials from the United Nations' international partners and civil society

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76 United Nations Department of Peace Operations, UN Military Specialised Training Materials (STM) on Child Protection, <https://research.un.org/en/peacekeeping-community/training/STM/UNMilitaryonCP>

organizations. Courses that contain a clear and prominent connection to gender dynamics are few. UNITAR and the Dallaire Institute for Children, Peace & Security have an E-Learning Course for Security Sector Actors on Child Soldiers.<sup>77</sup> The (2014) publication that describes the course and its modules makes no mention of the gender dynamics that impact the use, recruitment and re-recruitment of child soldiers.<sup>78</sup> Though, Johnson and Walsh note that in light of the Vancouver Principles, a “primary interest are the Dallaire Initiative’s efforts” to increase “training content for peacekeepers on how the recruitment and use of child soldiers is gendered.”<sup>79</sup> The Dallaire Institute for Children, Peace and Security has developed Prevention of the Use of Child Soldiers: A Course for Security Sector Actors. This course contains a module on ‘Girl Child Soldiers and Sexual and Gender-based Violence.’<sup>80</sup> It will be important to track the progress of the Institute’s efforts as well as the work of the Dallaire Institute for Children, Peace and Security in advancing gender considerations in the education and training of peacekeepers on child protection.

In addition to these courses, the United Kingdom’s Ministry of Defence has a Human Security Advisor Course that is available for international military members. The course aims broadly to enhance understanding of issues surrounding human security, including human trafficking, CAAC as well as Women, Peace and Security (WPS). Topics covered include learning to ‘provide advice on child protection and gender dynamics.’<sup>81</sup> Importantly, the course holistically covers concepts that are pertinent for military personnel to know in relation to the use and recruitment of child soldiers such as: ‘the dynamics of culture and gender’ ; ‘gender dynamics in peace and conflict’; ‘how to apply gender mainstreaming’; and ‘how to integrate a gender perspective in reporting.’<sup>82</sup> While these concepts may be presented separately from the protection of children, they are presented proximally. As such, their proximal presentation could provide participants with enough knowledge to make important connections between gender dynamics and their influence on the use and recruitment of child soldiers. Akin to the United Kingdom Ministry of Defence’s Human Security Course, the Peace Operations Training Institute and the Centre for Military Ethics at King’s College London offer an Ethics

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77 The Roméo Dallaire Child Soldiers Initiative and UN Institute for Training and Research (UNITAR), Child Soldiers: A E-Learning Course for Security Sector Actors, <https://www.dallaireinstitute.org/publications/child-soldiers-a-e-learning-course-for-security-sector-actors/>

78 The Roméo Dallaire Child Soldiers Initiative and UNITAR. Child Soldiers: A E-Learning Course for Security Sector Actors, Child Soldiers and Security Forces: A Joint Project between the United Nations Institute for Training and Research and the Roméo Dallaire Child Soldiers Initiative (2014), [www.childsoldiers.org/publications](http://www.childsoldiers.org/publications)

79 Dustin Johnson and Allyssa Walsh, “Gender, Peacekeeping, and Child Soldiers: Training and Research in Implementation of the Vancouver Principles,” *Allons-y 4* (2020): 51-60, 52.

80 Laurence, 2021.

81 United Kingdom Ministry of Defence, Human Security Advisor (HSA) Course, (United Kingdom: Ministry of Defence), <https://www.da.mod.uk/course/HSA>

82 Ibid.

in Peace Operations Course. This course has separate modules on cultural awareness, gender and peace operations, Sexual Exploitation and Abuse (SEA), and child protection.<sup>83</sup>

The delivery of key gender concepts alongside child protection training could help to build military personnel's understanding and capacity to prevent and address the use and recruitment of child soldiers using applications of gender perspectives, yet deeper and practical knowledge about applications of gender perspectives to child protection needs to be explicit. Advancing recommendations in the IGVP that encourage Member States to incorporate gender perspectives in education and training, could mean advancing suggestions in the introductory sections of this paper to further develop learning about gender and child protection for military personnel in ways that move from a tangential focus to a central one.

In addition, the programmes explored here, including the United Kingdom's Human Security Advisor Course could valuably include content on the challenges military personnel may encounter in applying gender perspectives to CAAC contexts due to patriarchal worldviews and norms constructed within their own organizations that may colour their gendered analyses. As Woodward and Winter suggest, the British Army is a masculine organization with noted gender inequities embedded in its personnel policies and cultural issues related to gender such as sexual harassment and misconduct.<sup>84</sup> Woodward and Winter, among others, link institutional gender inequalities in British, Canadian, Australian and U.S. armed forces to the construction of harmful ideas about military masculinity and femininity.<sup>85</sup>

It is also worth noting that gender inequality is visibly demonstrated by the low numbers of women in the armed forces of United Nations Member States, including Canada.<sup>86</sup> Women continue to represent even fewer numbers of military peacekeepers,<sup>87</sup> yet, it is widely acknowledged that women peacekeepers have a beneficial impact in peace operations and are integral partners in the prevention of the use and recruitment of child soldiers.<sup>88</sup> Member

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83 Peace Operations Training Institute, "Ethics in Peace Operations," Harvey J. Langholtz Ed., (2019), <https://www.peaceopstraining.org/courses/ethics-in-peace-operations-english-2019/>

84 Woodward and Winter, 2007.

85 Ibid.; Andrea Elner, "The Ethics of Inclusion: Gender Equality, Equal Opportunity, and Sexual Assault in the Australian, British, Canadian and U.S. Armed Forces", in *Routledge Handbook of Military Ethics*, edited by George Lucas, (Taylor & Francis Group, 2015); Whitworth, 2007.

86 United Nations. Deployment of Female Personnel Boosts Effectiveness, Says Secretary-General, as Security Council Holds Open Debate on Women in Peacekeeping, Security Council 8508<sup>th</sup> Meeting (2019), <https://www.un.org/press/en/2019/sc13773.doc.htm>

87 Government of Canada, (2017). Elsie Initiative for Women in Peace Operations, [https://www.international.gc.ca/world-monde/issues\\_development-enjeux\\_developpement/gender\\_equality-egalite\\_des\\_genres/elsie\\_initiative-initiative\\_elsie.aspx?lang=eng](https://www.international.gc.ca/world-monde/issues_development-enjeux_developpement/gender_equality-egalite_des_genres/elsie_initiative-initiative_elsie.aspx?lang=eng)

88 Ibid.; Julia Bleckner, "From Rhetoric to Reality: A Pragmatic Analysis of the Integration of Women into UN Peacekeeping Operations.," *Journal of International Peacekeeping*, 17, no. 3-4 (2013): 337-60; Sabrina Karim and Kyle Beardsley, "Explaining Sexual Exploitation and Abuse in Peacekeeping

States must ensure that women are afforded equal access and opportunities to participate in training and education on child protection. In the same ways for men, having trained and educated women ensures not only that they are well supported and prepared, but that they are included as equal contributors. Increased support and preparation of women through their participation in these programmes must be the goal, as their preparation could increase the likelihood thereafter of their deployment as peacekeepers. Larger representation of women attending these programmes would help to achieve commitments to the Vancouver Principles and desired goals of effective mixed teams who are better able to identify, understand, and respond to the gendered dynamics of conflict for children. In this way, it is not enough to include gender definitions and concepts in military training and education on CAAC, these programmes must also work to employ the right pedagogic strategies and demonstrate gender equality by creating equitable opportunities for participation.

## CONCLUSION

The paper suggests that while content that illuminates gender constructs and their relation to the security of children is crucially important, determining the right pedagogic approaches to ensure the effective training and education of military professionals is equally vital. Drawing from the central tenets of gender equality outlined within United Nations Security Council Resolutions on Women, Peace and Security, and echoed in the Vancouver Principles and IGVP, there appear to be gaps in gender related curricula that need to be addressed in military training and education. Populating these gaps through an application of feminist pedagogy and exposing military personnel to gender and intersectional theory and frameworks could ensure that military members are better prepared to protect children affected by conflict and to prevent the recruitment and use of child soldiers.

A review of training and education available to military personnel on CAAC demonstrates opportunities to incorporate learning related to gender, intersectionality, military culture, and military socialization. There are significant security implications of knowing versus not knowing about the ways in which gender and other intersecting systems of power relate to child protection. At best, not knowing can lead military personnel to devise ineffective, inappropriate, and inequitable solutions for diverse and differentially affected children. At worst, not knowing sets military personnel on a path that can enable armed forces and armed groups to continue to commit atrocities against entire demographics of children whose suffering may be eclipsed by applying universal approaches to problems requiring tailored

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Missions: The Role of Female Peacekeepers and Gender Equality in Contributing Countries," *Journal of Peace Research* 53, no. 1 (January 2016): 100–115, <https://doi.org/10.1177/0022343315615506>

solutions. However, knowing about gender's relation to child protection and the capacity to apply gender and intersectional perspectives to the insecurities faced by diverse girls, boys and non-binary youth can enable military personnel to more effectively contribute to the protection of all children and the prevention of harms against them.

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