IFP GENDER CLUSTER

PEACEBUILDING WITH A GENDER PERSPECTIVE:
How the EU Can Make a Difference
Synthesis report

Charlotte Onslow and Steven Schoofs with Sarah Maguire

December 2010

INITIATIVE FOR PEACEBUILDING

ABOUT IFP

The Initiative for Peacebuilding (IfP) is a consortium led by International Alert and funded by the European Commission. IfP draws together the complementary geographic and thematic expertise of 10 civil society organisations (and their networks) with offices across the EU and in conflict-affected countries. Its aim is to develop and harness international knowledge and expertise in the field of conflict prevention and peacebuilding to ensure that all stakeholders, including EU institutions, can access strong independent analysis in order to facilitate better informed and more evidence-based policy decisions.

This document has been produced with the financial assistance of the EU. The contents of this document are the sole responsibility of IfP/International Alert and can under no circumstances be regarded as reflecting the position of the EU. To learn more, visit **http://www.initiativeforpeacebuilding.eu**.

ABOUT INTERNATIONAL ALERT

International Alert is an independent peacebuilding organisation that has worked for over 20 years to lay the foundations for lasting peace and security in communities affected by violent conflict. Our multifaceted approach focuses both in and across various regions; aiming to shape policies and practices that affect peacebuilding; and helping build skills and capacity through training.

Our field work is based in Africa, South Asia, the South Caucasus, Latin America, Lebanon and the Philippines. Our thematic projects work at local, regional and international levels, focusing on cross-cutting issues critical to building sustainable peace. These include business and economy, gender, governance, aid, security and justice. We are one of the world's leading peacebuilding NGOs with more than 125 staff based in London and our 13 field offices. To learn more, visit www.international-alert.org.

ABOUT EPLO

The European Peacebuilding Liaison Office (EPLO) is the platform of European NGOs, networks of NGOs and think tanks active in the field of peacebuilding, who share an interest in promoting sustainable peacebuilding policies among decision-makers in the EU. To learn more, visit http://www.eplo.org.

ABOUT ICTJ

The International Center for Transitional Justice (ICTJ) assists countries pursuing accountability for past mass atrocities or human rights abuse. ICTJ works in societies emerging from repressive rule or armed conflict, as well as in established democracies where historical injustices or systemic abuse remain unresolved. To learn more, visit http://www.ictj.org.

PEACEBUILDING WITH A GENDER PERSPECTIVE:

How the EU Can Make a Difference

AUTHOR PROFILES

Charlotte Onslow
Charlotte Onslow is Senior Gender Programme Officer for gender and peacebuilding at International Alert. She works in the Peacebuilding Issues Programme.

Steven Schoofs
Steven Schoofs works in the Peacebuilding Issues Programme at International Alert where he manages the Gender & Peacebuilding team.

Sarah Maguire
Sarah Maguire is a lawyer with long experience in working on conflict and gender at policy and field level. Sarah has worked in many conflict-affected countries including Afghanistan, West and Central Africa and the Balkans. Her areas of expertise include gender and conflict, child protection and the rule of law. Sarah Maguire is now the Chief Executive of Social Development Direct (SDDirect), a leading research and consultancy organisation based in the UK. SDDirect works with governments and civil society on conflict, gender, human rights, justice and social policy.

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

CONTENTS

ACRONYMS

CA	Comprehensive Approach
CEDAW	Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination Against Women
CSDP	Common Security and Defence Policy
CSOs	Civil society organisations
EEAS	European External Action Service
EPLO	European Peacebuilding Liaison Office
ICCPR	International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights
ICTJ	International Center for Transitional Justice
IfP	Initiative for Peacebuilding
M&E	Monitoring and evaluation
NAPs	National Action Plans
NGO	Non-governmental organisation
OPs	Operational Paragraphs
PBF	Peacebuilding Fund
SGBV	Sexual and gender-based violence
SRSG	Special Representative of the Secretary-General
SSR	Security sector reform
UNSCR	UN Security Council Resolution

EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

The 10th Anniversary of the UN Security Council Resolution (UNSCR) 1325 on Women, Peace and Security provides an opportunity for political leaders, policymakers and activists to use the work to date as a launch-pad to ensure translation of commitments on paper into action on the ground. Drawing from the different research papers produced by the Gender Cluster of the Initiative for Peacebuilding (IfP), the main purpose of this paper is to set out where and how the application of a gender-sensitive approach to peacebuilding can improve the delivery of longer-term peacebuilding goals.

However, a gender-sensitive and inclusive approach to peacebuilding continues to be seen as "nice to have" rather than "mission critical". The gaps in understanding are: what *difference* it makes; how the application of a gender analysis is catalytic for peacebuilding success; and how it makes the work of policymakers and practitioners more efficient by improving and optimising peacebuilding initiatives. In view of this challenge, this synthesis paper identifies entry points for international actors such as the EU to further develop a gender-sensitive approach to peacebuilding within the domains of governance as well as security and justice. Although peacebuilding encompasses other aspects as well, the main focus of the Gender Cluster's work has been on security, justice and governance, given that these sectors represent critical entry points for peace- and state-building efforts in fragile and conflict-affected contexts.

Although national stakeholders in fragile and conflict-affected countries should take the lead in advancing a domestic "1325 agenda", the EU's external actions can influence and bolster these efforts. The EU has a major funding role and an important diplomatic role (both as an entity and as Member States), and it has EU missions in fragile and conflict-affected countries where it provides direct, technical and funding support to national structures and civil society. In addition, there are concrete opportunities for the EU to exercise its diplomatic power at peace negotiations and during other political interactions to ensure that women's participation in peace processes is meaningful and effective.

Overall, there has been an undeniable shift in the EU's policy, commitments and attention to the importance of women's participation and protection in all stages of conflict and peacebuilding. The 10th anniversary of Resolution 1325 can provide further impetus to the EU's efforts to implement it. The challenge, now, is to develop and implement a forward-looking agenda for action so that the steps the EU has taken so far generate real impact at ground level.

However, the focus on integrating a gender perspective into the EU's external actions should not distract from the need to implement Resolution 1325 at EU and Member States level. Thus, the extent to which the EU's *external* actions are gender-sensitive and strengthen women's peacebuilding efforts depends in large measure on its *internal* actions to adequately implement Resolution 1325. This should include:

   i) Strengthening the EU's institutional set-up for gender-sensitive peacebuilding;
   ii) Improving the EU's capacity to deliver gender-sensitive peacebuilding results; and
   iii) Making the necessary investments and optimising resource allocations for impact on the ground.

INTRODUCTION

UN Security Council Resolution (UNSCR) 1325 recognised, as a matter of international peace and security, the urgent need to address women's participation in peace processes and peacebuilding as well as the need to protect women and girls from egregious violations of their rights during and after violent conflict. Subsequent UNSCRs, regional agreements and declarations have underlined these imperatives. Despite these resolutions and numerous statements and commitments at global, regional and national levels, however, women are still largely absent from peace processes and peacebuilding initiatives, and today's conflicts are characterised by widespread sexual violence against women and girls.

The 10th Anniversary of UNSCR 1325 provides an opportunity for political leaders, policymakers and activists to set an agenda for the next decade, and to use the work to date as a launch-pad to ensure translation of commitments on paper into action on the ground. Historically, decision-makers have found it easier to address marginalised groups as victims than to acknowledge them as powerful agents of change. In this regard, it is vital to understand the relationship between women's participation and violations of women's rights; to recognise that obstacles to women's participation have to be removed in order to prevent and respond to violations, as well as to fundamentally change the way in which business is done in conflict and peacebuilding.

This paper synthesises the findings from three years of work[1] undertaken by the Gender Cluster of the Initiative for Peacebuilding (IfP), which consisted of the International Center for Transitional Justice (ICTJ), the European Peacebuilding Liaison Office (EPLO) and International Alert in a coordinating role. The focus of the Cluster's work has been on security, justice and governance, given that these sectors represent critical entry points for peace- and state-building efforts in fragile and conflict-affected contexts. During the lifetime of the IfP the Gender Cluster provided guidance to decision-makers at EU level on gender and peacebuilding, thereby using UNSCR 1325 as a framework and entry point. The activities of the Gender Cluster were designed to generate evidence-based policy recommendations and lessons for more effective support to women's peacebuilding priorities, as well as addressing the practical challenges that women face. Drawing from the research completed in the last three years, the main purpose of this paper is to locate entry points for the EU and provide examples where the application of a gender-sensitive approach to peacebuilding can improve the delivery of longer-term peacebuilding goals.

---

1   Qualitative and quantitative research was carried out in Nepal, Sierra Leone, Burundi, Liberia and Georgia as well as Abkhazia and nine papers were produced. Each piece of research used slightly different methodologies. See individual papers for more information.

PROGRESS TO DATE IN THE EUROPEAN UNION

The EU's Comprehensive Approach to EU Implementation of UNSCRs 1325 and 1820 on Women, Peace and Security[2] states that: 'A gender perspective … should inform EU external actions in order to achieve a comprehensive response to the threats faced by the civilian population in times of conflict and its aftermath. This is the premise for effective stabilisation, post-conflict reconstruction and peacebuilding'.

The Comprehensive Approach (CA) includes a series of specific measures (e.g. political support, training, monitoring and evaluation) to ensure that EU external actions include a gender perspective. The CA outlines the EU's three-pronged approach to gender and peacebuilding as follows:

i) Integrating women, peace and security issues in its policy and political dialogue with partner governments;
ii) Mainstreaming a gender approach in its policies and activities; and
iii) Supporting strategic actions targeting the protection and empowerment of women.

The CA commits the EU at both field and Brussels levels to ensure that staff are sufficiently trained in gender issues; able to strengthen local, national and regional ownership to implement Resolution 1325; ensure 'consultation and cooperation with local stakeholders'; and prepare and implement EU-supported interventions on the basis of a 'solid contextual understanding'. Moreover, the CA commits EU Member States to supporting conflict-affected countries in their efforts to develop their own National Action Plans (NAPs), including supporting local and national consultation processes that engage women's organisations and other civil society representatives.

Pursuant to this document, the EU has now adopted 17 indicators to track implementation of the CA, which are being promulgated by Member States, and has set up an informal Task Force to coordinate across EU institutions and Member States. The interaction between the informal Task Force and the IfP Gender Cluster represents an encouraging example of how EU institutions can begin to engage with civil society and draw from its expertise. For instance, the outcomes and recommendations of a civil society consultation on the implementation of Resolution 1325 were presented during the first EU Member States exchange meeting on Resolution 1325 in 2009. Another civil society consultation reviewed the EU indicators proposed to track the implementation of Resolution 1325 at EU level. The recommendations from the consultation were presented during the meeting of the informal Task Force, which led to a further improvement of the original indicators.

Since 2006 10 EU Member States have developed NAPs[3] for the implementation of UNSCR 1325 and its sister resolutions (see Box 1 for an overview of progress at the global level). Over the last four years these NAPs have become more sophisticated in their approach and have generated stronger commitments in terms of funding, training of their personnel and diplomatic efforts.

---

2   Council of the EU (2008). Available at http://www.consilium.europa.eu/ueDocs/cms_Data/docs/hr/news187.pdf
3   The EPLO study *UNSCR 1325 in Europe: 21 case studies of implementation* provides a detailed overview of progress in Europe. This study, as well as additional information and resources, can be found on the website of EPLO's Working Group on Gender, Peace and Security. Available at http://www.eplo.org/gender-peace-and-security

Box 1. Progress at the Global Level
At the national level, 24 countries have already developed NAPs for the implementation of UNSCR 1325. Furthermore, across the globe, women are using the fact that there is a "women peace and security agenda" to advocate with parties to armed conflicts, the UN and other international presences for inclusion and protection.

Although the participation of women in peace processes and during peacebuilding efforts has received less concerted action, the last two years have witnessed an almost global recognition of the prevalence of sexual violence in conflict. The passing of Resolution 1820 in 2008 saw the Security Council recognise sexual violence as a global security issue. This was followed by the appointment of Margot Wallström as the first Special Representative of the Secretary-General (SRSG) on Sexual Violence in Conflict, and there are reinvigorated attempts to hold international peacekeeping personnel to account.

IMPLEMENTING A GENDER-SENSITIVE APPROACH TO GOVERNANCE, SECURITY AND JUSTICE REFORMS IN FRAGILE CONTEXTS

The basic premise behind the CA is that the adoption of a gender perspective enhances the efficiency and effectiveness of peacebuilding, and that women's peacebuilding efforts are a valuable resource for 'the development of sustainable, inclusive approaches to peace and security'.[4] However, the goal of inclusive peacebuilding continues to be seen as "nice to have" rather than "mission critical". The gaps in understanding are: what *difference* it makes; how the application of a gender analysis is catalytic for peacebuilding success; and how it makes the work of policymakers and practitioners more efficient by improving and optimising peacebuilding initiatives. In view of this challenge, the following section outlines entry points for international actors such as the EU to further develop a gender-sensitive approach to peacebuilding within the domains of governance as well as security and justice. Although peacebuilding encompasses other aspects as well, the main focus of the Gender Cluster's work has been on security, justice and governance, given that these sectors represent critical entry points for peace- and state-building efforts in fragile and conflict-affected contexts.

IMPROVING GOVERNANCE IN FRAGILE CONTEXTS: THE CASE FOR STRONGER PARTICIPATION OF WOMEN

Peacebuilding in conflict-affected contexts involves long-term processes of strengthening the capacity of society and governance institutions to manage and resolve conflicts in a non-violent manner. International efforts to improve governance in fragile and conflict-affected societies are, therefore, geared towards the development of more democratic, transparent and inclusive governance institutions, including the rule of law. Gender equality and women's participation in decision-making are important markers of good governance. Resolution 1325 – in particular Operational Paragraphs (OPs) 1 and 2 – urges the international community to increase the participation and representation of women at all decision-making levels in national, regional and international institutions as well as in governance mechanisms for the prevention, management and resolution of conflict.

The problem, however, is that the promotion of gender equality and women's participation is often perceived as optional or even an additional complication in the context of international support to state-building and governance programmes. Moreover, there remains a view that women need not necessarily be in positions of power themselves to have influence – that they can be the "power behind the throne" while the "throne" is occupied by men. Yet, without adherence to the principle of gender equality – as enshrined in various international legal frameworks – one cannot speak of democratic, inclusive and accountable governance.

Yet, in working with Resolution 1325, it is important to move beyond making the normative argument for gender equality and strengthening women's participation in governance. The promotion of gender equality and women's participation needs to be understood as a critical means to an end – sustainable peace for women and men. There are two reasons why strengthening gender equality and women's participation is an important aspect of strengthening governance institutions in fragile and conflict-affected societies.

---

4   The Comprehensive Approach to the EU Implementation of UNSCRs 1325 and 1820 on Women, Peace and Security (Doc. 15671/1/08). Available at http://www.consilium.europa.eu/ueDocs/cms_Data/docs/hr/news187.pdf

Firstly, the international community, including the EU and its Member States, is heavily involved in international support programmes to build and improve the quality of governance in fragile contexts. The development of accountability mechanisms between the government and its citizens is frequently identified as a critical first step in strengthening state–society relations and building trust in governance systems. It is generally assumed that the legitimacy and sustainability of governance systems hinges on the extent to which these are accountable to and able to deliver to all sections in society, including women. If half of the population is relegated to the margins and excluded from the benefits of improved governance, it is unlikely that the broader end goal of nurturing a more inclusive system of governance will be attained. This, in turn, may have detrimental consequences for the long-term sustainability of peacebuilding efforts. Strengthening the involvement of women and other traditionally marginalised groups in society provides an important avenue to establish inclusive and equitable institutions that are capable of addressing conflict in a non-violent manner. Thus, interventions aiming to strengthen the participation and representation of women in decision-making improve the overall system of governance, which, in turn, improves prospects for enduring peace.

Secondly, in those situations where the international community is involved in providing support to the rebuilding of post-conflict governance institutions, the onus should be on "rebuilding better", rather than simply rebuilding the structures and institutions that led to violent conflict in the first place. The process of recovery and rebuilding during the post-conflict phase may indeed offer opportunities for external actors to strengthen the quality of governance in post-conflict societies. Women's peacebuilding experiences and capacities can be a critical resource in that endeavour. For instance, women may have access to women where men may not and thus have insights into women's priorities and needs, which may differ from those of men. Thus, increasing women's participation and representation in decision-making processes and post-conflict governance institutions can ensure that women have the potential to benefit from improved governance in fragile societies. Conversely, failure to include and represent women in governance and decision-making is likely to undermine the effectiveness and sustainability of peacebuilding and state-building in fragile and conflict-affected situations.

THE FALLACY OF EASY ASSUMPTIONS AROUND WOMEN'S PARTICIPATION IN GOVERNANCE

Although increasing the number of women in formal governance institutions is of critical importance, it is also important to ensure that the quality of women's participation, as well as their influence over decision-making processes, increases. It should be clear that the "add women and stir" approach to governance is unlikely to achieve meaningful outcomes. Real, effective and sustained progress for women in governance institutions relies on a combination of political will, resources and capacity at all levels in governmental and international institutions, a strong and active civil society as well as the involvement of both women and men. Therefore, a number of caveats apply when it comes to increasing the participation of women in governance:

1. While advancing the "1325 agenda" relies on women's civil society organisations (CSOs), this should be seen as complementary to – not a substitute for – women's direct participation in decision-making. In other words, women should not be segregated into the non-governmental organisation (NGO)/civil society sector, nor into the "women's NGO sector". Efforts should be made, therefore, to ensure that women – as well as men – who are operating within the formal decision-making structures are able and willing to ensure that decision-making reflects women's concerns and utilises women's capacities.

2. Women's presence in formal institutions such as political parties or parliament does not necessarily mean that women's concerns are represented adequately or at all. Women may see advancing women's concerns as "softer" and career-threatening, or may simply not be interested in this agenda. In the words of a Bosnian Minister of Foreign Trade in 2002: 'Just because I am a woman, I will not fight for women's rights'. It is important to steer clear of the assumption that women are "natural" peacebuilders, and women should not be expected to work only on "women's issues".

3. It takes more than merely bringing individual women into decision-making structures in order to implement Resolution 1325 in a meaningful way. Even where women do want to support women's concerns, they may be faced with a number of obstacles. Firstly, lack of political experience or technical know-how might be

prohibitive. Secondly, women often meet obstacles such as resistance from their (male) peers. For instance, women may find that standing for public office attracts the threat of violence. The physical protection of women in public office is a critical element to be explored further with women and their communities in order to ensure that women can participate. In addition, the lack of economic resources can operate a systematic deterrent for women seeking to enter the public sphere. This is often compounded by the fact that women often shoulder the burden of care within their households and communities, which can restrict their ability to participate in decision-making.

4. While there does need to be a critical mass of women in these structures, numbers are not enough. Women may need to be reminded by other women (in and out of government) that gender-based discrimination exists. Women in parliaments are also likely to represent the same elites as their male counterparts and need to be reminded that other women experience multiple layers of discrimination. When women do want to address issues of discrimination, they will need this solidarity from outside as well as from their colleagues.

5. It must not be assumed that male politicians and decision-makers cannot or should not represent the interests of women. Parliamentarians are elected to serve the whole population, not only their own gender or sector of society. For example, when male MPs in Rwanda joined their female colleagues in their efforts to address gender-based violence, they sent a message that senior-ranking and influential male parliamentarians also rejected and abhorred violence against women and girls, which subsequently led to legislative changes.

ENTRY POINTS TO STRENGTHEN WOMEN'S PARTICIPATION IN GOVERNANCE

The EU's CA outlines a common EU approach to implement Resolution 1325, including strengthening women's political participation. There are a number of straightforward entry points that can be utilised by the EU to make further inroads with the implementation of its CA. These include:

NATIONAL LEGISLATION AND INSTITUTIONAL MECHANISMS

Gender-equality legislation is an important instrument to increase women's participation and for bringing women's needs and priorities into decision-making processes. Legislative and policy change, combined with high-level commitment, can enable women to participate more effectively in political decision-making structures. In Rwanda, for instance, a combination of legislation, policy and high-level commitment has resulted in the highest proportion of women in parliament in the world. In the Democratic Republic of Congo, on the other hand, the quota for women has failed as an aim, because there is no legislation in place to bring it into force. Legislation alone is not enough. As the IfP case study on Abkhazia[5] shows, institutional mechanisms to support women's inclusion are nominally in place, but there is need for implementation and widespread promulgation across society. Effective implementation of legislation that supports women's participation also requires institutional mechanisms to promote the principle of gender equality in governance institutions and address the lack of awareness within society.

The EU can play a role in providing technical and financial support to national-level institutional mechanisms that are put in place to advance women's participation in governance. These so-called women's or gender-equality machineries can include NAPs, gender units, a gender ministry and national gender-equality commissions, and are pivotal in driving forward both promulgation and implementation of gender-equality legislation. When providing technical assistance and financial support, the EU can identify and support necessary changes in legislation or policies that serve to strengthen women's participation. Institutional capacity-building programmes, in combination with diplomatic engagement when appropriate, can sustain the actual implementation of these policies. In addition, the EU can provide technical assistance and funding to partner governments and civil society to develop an NAP for the implementation of Resolution 1325. EU support to the development of NAPs should highlight the need for an inclusive process that draws from the expertise and practical knowledge of CSOs and women's organisations. Likewise, civil society needs to be included in the process of setting targets and priorities for the subsequent implementation of the NAP. It is important to insist that NAPs should include

5   C. Onslow, J. Schofield and H. Kotecha (2010). 'Supporting women's participation in post-conflict governance: The case of Abkhazia'. International Alert. Available at http://www.initiativeforpeacebuilding.eu/gender.php

specific measures, actions, timelines, benchmarks and accountability mechanisms. Overall, the provision of technical support and capacity-building for relevant ministries represents another intervention strategy to ensure that legislation and NAPs can indeed be implemented.

INTERNATIONAL LEGAL INSTRUMENTS

National constitutions often provide for the direct application and precedence of international law. Almost all states have ratified the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights (ICCPR), the Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination Against Women (CEDAW), or at least the Convention on the Rights of the Child. EU support programmes that contain a rule of law component should use the opportunity for legislative reform to ensure that national legislation is compliant with relevant international instruments, and should do so in a way which engages with citizens in the country concerned. Moreover, the existence of these instruments can assist advocates for gender equality as the imperative is seen to come internationally, not from women advocating their own cause or for political gain. The EU can utilise political and diplomatic opportunities to promote the inclusion of women in decision-making, thereby referring to international legal standards. The EU's interactions with government officials, parliamentarians and ministries can also provide a forum for the conduct of high-level consultations with government officials on the extent to which women's participation is actively promoted.

WOMEN'S ORGANISATIONS, CIVIL SOCIETY AND MEDIA

The nature and language of politics and decision-making can itself be gendered, thus encouraging an assumption that only men will be able to stand for political positions or participate in public life (e.g. "He is the best man for the job"). As explained above, legislation plays an important role in addressing discrimination and gender stereotyping but it cannot be assumed that legislation alone will remove these obstacles. Advancing women's political participation also depends on the capacity of civil society to advocate against and address the political marginalisation of women.

Women's organisations, civil society and media play an important role in fostering the development of a more inclusive political culture which is more open to women's participation in decision-making. The EU can augment these efforts through the provision of resources and capacity-building support to civil society, including women's organisations. For instance, women's organisations provide a good platform for supporting society to articulate current power imbalances which disadvantage women. However, it is important that broader sections of civil society become involved in addressing the obstacles to women's participation. Supporting this process may include the development of public information campaigns to open up public debate on what constitutes good leadership generally, which in turn may lead to a reassessment of attitudes that equate masculinity with leadership. The provision of support to media therefore represents another entry point for creating greater gender awareness and support for women political leaders.

ELECTIONS

The electoral process provides another entry point to advance the participation of women in decision-making. A "virtuous circle" is created when there is a critical mass of women in parliament or other decision-making structures; they can represent positive role models for girls and women and send out a message that discrimination against women is to be eschewed, in turn increasing the possibility of women entering decision-making structures. The EU's involvement in providing support and the monitoring of elections offers opportunities to support women to enter public leadership roles. One important strategy is to provide support to political parties to develop practical policies, which will be gender-responsive (for example, on tackling domestic violence, sexual violence and discrimination), and introduce mechanisms for more balanced gender representation inside parties. In addition, joint public statements by EU representatives and national leaders can have a strong influence on national attitudes and stereotyping of women and men during the run-up to elections. Where national and international leaders support anti-discrimination measures and publicly throw their weight behind women's participation, this can send a message to women and men that women's participation is both acceptable and positive.

The EU can invest in capacity-building programmes and awareness-raising campaigns on women's entitlement to vote and their right to make an independent decision about who they elect (see Box 2 for gender-specific indicators on electoral processes). Such campaigns can help overturn the notion that their vote or participation makes no difference due to their dislocation from decision-makers either geographically or because of central government's lack of effective penetration in their locations. This is a problem where women belong to

marginalised communities or those that have been targeted by the government security actors during the course of the conflict. This should be complemented with capacity-building programmes with the aim of encouraging women's participation in political processes.

> **Box 2. Gender-specific Indicators for Electoral Processes**
>
> Strong indicators can enable effective planning and delivery. The following are sample indicators for electoral processes:
>
> - Percentage of seats held by women in national parliament/in municipalities/at peace negotiations;
> - Percentage of national/regional/local committees chaired by women;
> - Voting registration vs eligibility (sex disaggregated);
> - Budgeting for electoral process – how much is allocated to women's participation;
> - Level of discriminatory or counter-discriminatory provision in draft constitutions, electoral or other legislation;
> - Voting practice of women (e.g. independent or following the husband's vote); and
> - Women's and men's perceptions of whether policies address the issues that concern them the most and on the utility of their vote.

GENDER-RESPONSIVE SECURITY AND JUSTICE SECTORS: BUILDING BLOCKS FOR SUSTAINABLE PEACE

The rule of law and the rule of force can be seen as diametrically opposed. Many conflicts have arisen or endure because the rule of law is absent. Where the rule of force is more powerful, citizens cannot hold duty-holders to account; the powerful can act with impunity, harvest the resources of the country for their own benefit and subjugate civilians according to whim. Ensuring that women's security needs are met entails addressing the whole gamut of security and justice issues that affect the entire community, including freedom of movement, elimination of corruption in the security sector, deterrence of sexual and gender-based violence (SGBV) and prevention of arbitrary detention and killings or maiming. IfP Gender Cluster studies provide examples where, in the realms of justice and security, employing gender expertise, ensuring the participation of women, redressing gross human rights abuses of women following conflict and focusing on the protection of women and girls enhances delivery in these areas across the board.

OP 8 of UNSCR 1325 includes justice and security issues as priority areas for the participation of women in peacebuilding. More specifically, OP 10 of UNSCR 1325 mandates the UN and its agencies to provide protection to women and girls in the context of security sector reform (SSR). Furthermore, the European Council Conclusions (2006) stress the importance of recognising the diversity of security challenges and the need for a 'gender-sensitive, multi-sectoral approach'. The Conclusions also underline the need to harmonise political dialogue on security issues with partner countries with work being done through other instruments. EU support for post-conflict countries has attracted substantial inputs in terms of funding and technical support at field level. The 14 current EU field missions all have justice and security at the heart of their mandate and, at a broader policy level, the EU CA outlines that SSR needs to:

a) Ensure that the reform processes account for the specific security needs of both women and men, and boys and girls…
b) Promote women's inclusion in the staff of the institutions concerned…
c) [Pay] specific attention to the required infrastructure and human resources needed for reception of victims and SGBV and the investigation of these crimes.
d) In […] the justice sector […] enhance the involvement of women and their access to justice, including transitional justice mechanisms.

Furthermore, EU Member States increasingly reference the rule of law as a basic tenet to be promulgated, alongside the provision of essential services such as health, education and shelter, in the immediate aftermath

of violent conflict. The EU and other international donors see the strengthening of state justice systems as an important long-term goal. However, in many countries, particularly in the context of ongoing political instability in Nepal, the legitimacy of the state remains an immediate problem. Accelerating short-term yet visible justice deliverables and peace dividends for citizens through the informal sector is one way donors deal with this. The challenge is to maintain the plurality of justice provision while supporting the development of statutory justice systems, as well as ensuring that informal justice mechanisms do not perpetuate gender discrimination under international law. This is especially important regarding women whose rights may be traditionally infringed by the customary justice and dispute-resolution mechanisms.

Gender-sensitive justice and security sectors are clear exemplars of where integrating gender can be instrumental for peacebuilding and creating citizens' confidence in state governance systems and institutions. To ensure that women receive redress from violations committed during hostilities, that they are protected *and* that they participate in the necessary changes, the security system must be made more responsive and the reform process perceived as responsive and accountable. Public confidence in transitional justice mechanisms, police, military and justice agencies is vital for ensuring such violations are not repeated and for building confidence in the legitimacy of the state/government as a whole. As countries transition from conflict to democratic and sustainable governance, it is essential that trust is built in state institutions and actors, particularly where those institutions may have been involved in the conflict. This can only be done by effective, transparent service delivery on the ground. 'If individuals and communities do not see an improvement in their day-to-day security then they are unlikely to back any national, Kathmandu-led initiatives'[6] (Nepal). In both Nepal and Liberia, the IfP studies found that security sector institutions were part of the deterioration that led to the conflicts and that, unless legitimised and reformed, the whole government and its institutions will be perceived as no different from the "old days".

ENTRY POINTS FOR GENDER-SENSITISING SECURITY AND JUSTICE SYSTEMS

Advancing a "well-functioning" security framework involves political, institutional, economic and societal dimensions, including the role of parliament and civil society in providing oversight for the security system. The following entry points provide examples where applying gender expertise, ensuring the engagement of women and focusing on the protection of women and girls enhances delivery of longer-term state-building goals.

INSTITUTIONAL POLICY, PERSONNEL AND CONDUCT

Too often, security sector personnel have been responsible for egregious human rights violations. Attention to gender and responding to gendered needs of the population in security provision is integral to rendering state security institutions more accountable and democratic. The creation of a system of accountability to civilians, including women, complements a merit-based system of promotion and in turn the latter creates opportunities for incentivising gender-responsive behaviour on the part of security sector personnel.

Men's and women's relationships to formal (and informal) justice mechanisms also vary according to their gender. While obstacles to accessing formal justice mechanisms are felt by both women and men (e.g. corrupt professionals, expense of hiring lawyers, difficulty of getting to court, lack of presence of formal justice structures outside provincial or national capitals, intimidation, shame because of illiteracy, poverty, lack of the language of the law, etc.), women's access is further compounded by lack of gender-sensitivity in the justice sector. Building women's trust in the justice system can be done through investing in justice personnel and supporting their understanding of the serious and pervasive nature of SGBV. Institutional treatment of victims must be dignified and sensitive. Impunity for crime will only be reduced if the capacity of security and justice sector staff are built in parallel, allowing citizens to navigate with confidence from the point of entry to prosecution.

INFORMATION FOR SECURITY PLANNING

The security needs of men and women are determined by their own experience and those of their communities. Women's security needs are, therefore, both the same as and different from men's. In Liberia, women's immediate

---

6   K. Barnes (2009). 'Building an inclusive security sector: How the EU can support gender-sensitive security sector reform in conflict-affected contexts'. IfP Gender Cluster. p.12.
     Available at http://www.initiativeforpeacebuilding.eu/pdf/BUILDING_AN_INCLUSIVE_SECURITY_SECTOR.pdf

concerns relate more to safety at home and in the community than with national security issues. In some contexts, the majority of women were subjected to rape or other forms of sexual violence during the conflict. Compounded with near silence from the security and justice sectors, this has led to SGBV being considered "no big deal" in Liberia. Data needs to be disaggregated on the types of threats faced and information gained through local surveys, women's CSOs and information held by female and male security sector or justice personnel. Nuanced analysis of such information and its incorporation into security reform planning enables interventions to address gender-specific security threats and to make sure that general security interventions benefit from being gender-sensitive by improving service delivery to the community at large (see Box 3 for a gender-sensitive checklist for security sector planners).

Box 3. Checklist for Gender-sensitive SSR

- Is gender integrated into SSR and justice programming at design, delivery and monitoring and evaluation (M&E) stages?
- Do gender-based initiatives include security and justice sectors?
- Do reforms create demand for a good security sector and effective justice system, increasing legal and rights literacy or at least collaborate with projects that do this?
- Is SSR addressing the need to prevent and respond to SGBV?
- How gender-responsive are civilian security sector oversight mechanisms?
- Do security assessments address women and girls as well as men and boys?
- How are reform initiatives targeting men and involving them as agents for change regarding SGBV and other forms of discrimination against women and girls?
- How are women integrated into the security and justice sectors? Are working environments accessible and attractive to female and male recruits (e.g. separate accommodation, incentives for women to join, appropriate uniforms, zero-tolerance on pornography and other sexual harassment)?
- Do M&E mechanisms and frameworks contain gender-appropriate indicators and indicators that integrate gender?
- How are reform initiatives supporting women's CSOs? Is use being made of capacity-building, expertise and "security literacy" training/mentoring?
- What lessons are being learned from "informal" justice mechanisms to improve the accessibility of formal structures? Are formal and informal justice sectors operating complementarily?
- How successful are efforts to address weaknesses in the formal justice system as a whole (e.g. case management, bookkeeping, trained personnel)?
- How are reform initiatives addressing the stigmatisation of SGBV?

COMMUNITY ENGAGEMENT

SSR efforts benefit from community-based approaches which can ensure sustainability and effectiveness. Community-based policing implies a police force that is integrated into society, servicing the general public, and working with communities, organisations, institutions and associations to find solutions that focus on addressing the local causes of insecurity. IfP research in Burundi found that increasing communication between police and women facilitated greater and easier communication with society as a whole. In a similar vein, recognising women's need for justice within SSR programming maintained the focus on SSR as a civilian process and helped to bring justice into security sector programming as a whole and put human security at the heart of reform efforts.

Collaborating with women's organisations is key. With the right kind of support, these organisations can:

- Raise public awareness of reforms and enhance local ownership;
- Monitor whether the security sector is providing security to women through outreach and service provision, and report back on the results;
- Provide policy advice and technical support to international personnel, including advice on how to reach women and men in communities; and
- Ensure that women's knowledge and views are transmitted to the national level.

Box 4. Community Policing in Burundi

Important lessons can be learned from the positive example of a community-based security programme supported by the Peacebuilding Fund (PBF), which was implemented by Dushirahamwe, a local women's organisation.

A network of more than 20 Burundian CSOs came together to promote more gender-sensitive peacebuilding. The lead organisation reviewed strategy documents and made recommendations for including gender in the work of the Peacebuilding Commission and the PBF.

Their recommendations included:

- Integrating protection of women and girls in the French and Kirundi version of police training manuals;
- Periodic meetings between police and community where women are able to participate freely and effectively to express their concerns; and
- Providing gender-disaggregated data on the number of participants in trainings and sensitisation meetings that are planned under this and other PBF projects.

EXPERTISE AND AWARENESS

In order to ensure that the justice and security sectors are gender-responsive and effective in meeting short-, medium- and longer-term needs of the community, expertise across the sectors is key. This may be met by training for security and justice sector personnel as well as by targeting resources and personnel to ensure that there is sufficient expertise within Common Security and Defence Policy (CSDP) missions. Adequate expertise means that missions can integrate gender analysis into security-related policies (e.g. defence policies, national security frameworks and interventions), that technical assistance can be provided for review of legislation where necessary and that appropriate indicators can be built into the programme cycle.

The lack of women in formal justice structures means that women are obliged to interact only with men to pursue a court case. This can be prohibitive culturally or simply be prohibitively intimidating. The training, recruitment and retention of women as well as men at all levels in the security and justice sectors can be addressed at the early stages of SSR and justice sector reform. This is vital to ensure that women and other marginalised groups have confidence in these sectors and thus in the state machinery as a whole.

LINKING IMMEDIATE SECURITY NEEDS TO MEDIUM- AND LONG-TERM PEACEBUILDING GOALS

'The initial response strategies should address the immediate needs of the population, even if strategic responses need to focus on the long term. For this, it is crucial to understand how fragility affects the different groups in a society, in particular women and vulnerable groups.'[7]

It is increasingly acknowledged that SGBV is an obstacle to peacebuilding. Indeed, in Nepal, security personnel (state and non-state) were themselves responsible for incidences of SGBV. Besides the immediate consequences for personal wellbeing and the negative spill-over effects, the threat of SGBV (by security personnel, the community or family members) can prevent women from voting or standing as electoral candidates. In these cases, the comprehensiveness and credibility of the whole electoral process and results are compromised. It is important to remember that, while SGBV may be the most obvious area where justice and security intersect for women, effective security and justice sectors address all areas of women's and men's lives, including access to politics, land-use, employment, taxation, civil disputes and access to services. The response of the justice and security sectors in the short-term, stabilisation or immediate peacebuilding phases has a profound impact on public confidence in the governing authorities – perhaps even more than governance initiatives.

---

7   Commission of the European Communities (2007). 'Towards an EU response to situations of fragility – engaging in difficult environments for sustainable development, stability and peace'. Doc. SEC(2007) 1417. p.7.
     Available at http://eur-lex.europa.eu/LexUriServ/LexUriServ.do?uri=COM:2007:0643:FIN:EN:PDF

TAKING THE EU'S APPROACH TO GENDER-SENSITIVE PEACEBUILDING TO THE NEXT LEVEL

There has been an undeniable shift in the EU's policy, commitments and attention to the importance of women's participation and protection in all stages of conflict and peacebuilding. The 10th anniversary of Resolution 1325 should provide further impetus to the EU's efforts to implement its CA. The challenge now is to develop and implement a forward-looking agenda for action so that the steps the EU has taken so far generate real impact at ground level. Within the EU, the question is rarely "why" should there be a gender analysis or gender expertise at all levels of the EU's work, but "how", concretely, can it be done. This synthesis paper has identified practical entry points to apply a gender perspective to the EU's involvement in fragile and conflict-affected countries.

Although national stakeholders in fragile and conflict-affected countries should take the lead in advancing a domestic "1325 agenda", the EU's external actions can influence and bolster these efforts. The EU has a major funding role and an important diplomatic role (both as an entity and as Member States), and it has EU missions in fragile and conflict-affected countries where it provides direct, technical and funding support to national structures and civil society. In addition, there are concrete opportunities for the EU to exercise its diplomatic power at peace negotiations and during other political interactions to ensure that women's participation in peace processes is meaningful and effective. This can entail the provision of support to women's organisations and other CSOs involved in Track II or "people to people" diplomacy, insisting on women's participation as a key requirement of inclusive peace processes and including explicit references to the importance of women's participation in partnership agreements. Furthermore, in efforts to adhere to principles of good donor practice, the EU and its Member States have a role to play in ensuring that donors are paying effective attention to gender issues.

However, one of the key points to make here is that the focus on integrating a gender perspective into the EU's external actions should not distract from the need to implement Resolution 1325 at EU and Member States level. In other words, the extent to which the EU's *external* actions are gender-sensitive and strengthen women's peacebuilding efforts depends in large measure on its *internal* actions to adequately implement Resolution 1325. In order to advance the implementation of the EU's CA, there are a number of overarching priorities with corresponding strategic entry points to be considered:

STRENGTHENING THE EU'S INSTITUTIONAL SET-UP FOR GENDER-SENSITIVE PEACEBUILDING

- **European External Action Service:** The European External Action Service (EEAS) has the potential to harness the EU's peacebuilding efforts in fragile and conflict-affected contexts. The proposition that gender-sensitive peacebuilding amounts to effective and sustainable peacebuilding, as put forward in the CA, needs to be reflected in the EEAS. The implementation of the CA depends first and foremost on the extent to which the EU's institutional set-up is geared towards a gender-sensitive approach to peacekeeping, conflict prevention and peacebuilding. Gender, Resolution 1325 and subsequent resolutions need to be positioned centrally rather than at the margins in the new set-up. The basic outlines of this include sufficient human as well as financial resources; recognition that integrating gender requires expertise; responsibilities for gender attributed to senior rather than junior positions; and a concerted effort towards having more women in high-level positions.

- **EU Task Force on Women, Peace and Security:** The CA has mandated the establishment of a Task Force in order to strengthen the coordination around the implementation of Resolution 1325 across the EU. The Task Force represents an important institutional mechanism for interaction between European Commission Directorate-Generals, the Council and EU Member States as well as engagement with civil society. The Task Force needs to be regarded as a critical instrument to drive forward the implementation of the CA. A review of the work, achievements and experiences of the Task Force can help to further define and strengthen its coordinating role. In addition, the Task Force should continue its efforts to actively bring the expertise of civil society, including from conflict-affected contexts, into its work through regular consultations.

- **EU delegations:** One of the key operational challenges that need to be addressed in the EU's institutional framework is the prevention of policy evaporation during implementation. It is important that the EU's conflict-prevention and peacebuilding efforts strike the right balance between Brussels and EU delegations. Too much focus on bringing gender analysis into institutional processes in Brussels may result in ever more gender-specific policies and plans, while the need to integrate gender into the EU's operational practices receives scant attention. Thus, there is a need for Resolution 1325-focused strategies at the level of EU delegations. Overall, the EU's focus should also be on capacitating EU delegations in terms of staff expertise, incentives, resources and responsibilities in order to make a difference at field level.

IMPROVING THE EU'S CAPACITY TO DELIVER GENDER-SENSITIVE PEACEBUILDING RESULTS

- **M&E mechanisms:** Effective, sustainable peace and security programming depends on strong M&E mechanisms and robust indicators. The EU's recent adoption of indicators to track the implementation of the CA is an important step forward. However, the EU's monitoring efforts should not evolve into a "box-ticking" exercise, i.e. simply measuring process and outputs such as the number of women participating in a meeting or the number of meetings with women's organisations. The EU's focus for the development of M&E mechanisms should also be on ensuring that the monitoring of its external actions leads to improved and gender-sensitive peacebuilding results. It is thus important that M&E mechanisms that are in place are able to guide the EU and its Member States towards appropriate and effective action on women, peace and security. This depends on the establishment of clarity on monitoring responsibilities as well as clear lines of responsibility for collecting data, tracking and reporting progress. In addition, existing accountability structures need to be utilised or put in place, in order to ensure that effective action is taken based on the information received.

- **Staff competencies and expertise:** Effective peacebuilding relies on the expertise of those involved, yet levels of expertise across EU, bilateral and UN missions and at headquarter levels remain inconsistent. Gender advisers vary in seniority, experience and influence. Many staff members are not trained or given information about how and why to integrate a gender analysis; the "gender" agenda falls only to the gender adviser or to others with a pre-existing personal commitment. Improved training with increased transparency and rigour regarding attendance at training, selection of trainers and measurement of the impact of training in order to ensure that it meets gender objectives has positive results across the board.[8] Good training equips those involved in peacebuilding to integrate gender analysis either as discreet training in integrating gender or by including gender in other training. Expertise needs to be mainstreamed across all directorates and components of EU country missions, and there also needs to be a leadership position specifically at senior level to influence and advise high-level decision-makers.

- **Engagement with civil society:** The EU should continue to deepen the involvement of civil society to provide input to its strategies, policies and institutional practices, particularly at the local level. So far, efforts to organise consultation with civil society remain ad hoc and patchy across EU institutions at all levels. Many of these consultations are symbolic, tokenistic and are not considered to be an integral aspect of effective peacebuilding. Effective and responsive planning and decision-making depends on full and accurate information from the widest pool. Gaining access to civil society, including women's organisations, provides

---

8   The IfP reports identified instances where training was provided by private security company personnel with little or no knowledge of the country and no knowledge of gender relations.

better "ground-truth" for civilian planners. When EU institutions rely on the usual interlocutors – confident, educated, middle-aged men – their information will remain patchy if not flawed. In terms of early-warning mechanisms and conflict prevention, soliciting information from and engaging with women's organisations can provide critical insights into the potential for conflict.

MAKING THE NECESSARY INVESTMENTS AND OPTIMISING RESOURCE ALLOCATIONS FOR IMPACT ON THE GROUND

- **Investing in gender-sensitive programming:** Resources are always in short supply, but it is cost-efficient to invest in women. For example, women's CSOs can provide information, expertise and context-based reality checks for international personnel and will ensure that international efforts are sustained after the last EU vehicle has left. Integrating gender analysis and gender expertise is catalytic for other change across the board of security, justice and governance; failure to do so is costly and time-consuming, and fails to provide communities with a stake in peacebuilding. Making the investments necessary to design and deliver development programmes that have governance impacts locally.

- **Informed decision-making and planning:** Investments in gender-sensitive peacebuilding need to be complemented with adequate planning and programme design. Ad hoc allocation of gender-focused resources (financial and professional) is likely to result in missed opportunities to make peacebuilding efforts more effective and sustainable. As the saying goes: "If you fail to plan, you plan to fail". Gender-sensitive conflict analysis should underpin decisions on operational practice. At the level of the EU's in-country missions, there remains a need for baseline assessments of the governance, justice and security dimensions of women's and men's differential needs and priorities. The EU needs to conduct a review of resources currently allocated against what is needed. Priorities can then be identified at headquarter and field levels, as well as at Member States level, in order to guide resource allocations. In addition, applying gender-specific performance criteria to all EU-funded programmes would provide an incentive at all levels to institutionalise a gender-sensitive approach.

- **Resource allocations:** Directing resources to the right places remains an ongoing challenge, particularly in fragile and conflict-affected contexts. A first step, however, is to ensure that the EU's existing financial instruments are geared towards supporting the global "1325 agenda". This involves a number of elements. To begin with, financial instruments such as the Instrument for Stability should include a provision and subsequent budget allocation for gender, peace and security in order to prevent gender and Resolution 1325 from falling through the cracks. In addition to integrating gender and Resolution 1325 into the EU's financing instruments, providing financial support to women's peacebuilding initiatives in conflict-affected countries should be regarded as a funding priority. As well as giving support to larger CSOs with more absorptive capacity, it is important to ensure that smaller organisations with less capacity are also able to access funds. Given the complexity surrounding funding of the provision of technical support to CSOs, rendering EU funding more accessible to CSOs in conflict-affected countries should be regarded as a critical element. Funding also needs to be made available for consultations, action plans or strategies, and, in turn, should include concrete funding provisions, including for M&E.

INITIATIVE FOR PEACEBUILDING

THIS INITIATIVE IS FUNDED
BY THE EUROPEAN UNION

PARTNERS

adelphi

nederlands instituut voor internationale betrekkingen
netherlands institute of international relations
clingendael

CRISIS
MANAGEMENT
INITIATIVE
Building Bridges for Sustainable Security

ΕΛΙΑΜΕΠ
ELIAMEP
ΕΛΛΗΝΙΚΟ ΙΔΡΥΜΑ ΕΥΡΩΠΑΪΚΗΣ & ΕΞΩΤΕΡΙΚΗΣ ΠΟΛΙΤΙΚΗΣ
HELLENIC FOUNDATION FOR EUROPEAN & FOREIGN POLICY

EPLO
European Peacebuilding Liaison Office

FRIDE
FUNDACIÓN
PARA LAS RELACIONES INTERNACIONALES
Y EL DIÁLOGO EXTERIOR

International Alert.

international center for
TRANSITIONAL
JUSTICE

PDCI
Partners
for Democratic
Change International

SAFERWORLD