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### Towards More Effective Gender Mainstreaming in EU Security and Defence Policy

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#### Keypoints

- The European Union (EU) has made commendable efforts towards incorporating the UN Security Council Resolution 1325 (2000) on women, peace, and security in its Common Security and Defence Policy (CSDP). The EU has also made decisions to mainstream gender sensitive policies throughout CSDP.
- Although the policy framework on gender policies is well developed, its implementation in EU military and civilian crisis management operations has proved a real challenge. This is not only a problem from the point of view of human rights, but the deficiencies in implementation also create an obstacle to the effectiveness of operations.
- Gender policy mainstreaming can only succeed if more rigorously and systematically implemented from the planning to operational phases as well as in the monitoring and Lessons Learned processes; and not only on the EU level but also in the member states, especially with regard to the training of crisis management personnel. Sustainable effects on the ground can be achieved only when general attitudes of the personnel – and their interlocutors in the field – have become receptive to questions of gender and human rights more generally.
- To improve gender mainstreaming in operations in the short term, operation mandates ought to be provisioned with gender-specific objectives. The appointed gender specialists should be guaranteed direct access to Operation and Force Commanders and Heads of Mission who bear the responsibility for their implementation. This should be reflected in a set of guidelines for gender advisors. A more equal recruitment of men and women in operations would ensure an effective interaction with all parts of population in the field.

The Geneva Centre for Security Policy (GCSP) is an international foundation with over 40 member states that promotes the building and maintenance of peace, security and stability through training, research and dialogue. The GCSP trains government officials, diplomats, military officers, international civil servants, NGO staff and business executives in all fields of international and national security policy.

The implications for girls, women, boys, and men in crisis situations differ, as do their responses. Women and girls are particularly affected because of their gender and status in society, for example, because of the generally increasing assaults on civilian population, the high proportion of women and children among the refugees and internally displaced persons (IDPs), and the use of sexual violence as a means of war and ethnic cleansing.<sup>1</sup> It is thus essential that crisis management operations are sensitive to these differences and that women participate in conflict resolution and peace processes. This was recently highlighted by the Norwegian Nobel Committee as it awarded the 2011 Peace Prize to Ellen Johnson Sirleaf, Leymah Gbowee, and Tawakkol Karman “for their non-violent struggle for the safety of women and for women’s rights to full participation in peace-building work”.<sup>2</sup>

Realising the above, the European Union (EU) has decided to embrace gender policies in the planning and conduct of its international crisis management missions, especially in the context of the Common Security and Defence Policy (CSDP).<sup>3</sup> This includes the implementation of the UN Security Council Resolution (UNSCR) 1325 (2000) on women, peace, and security and the mainstreaming of gender policies – or “diversity policy” – in the CSDP (see Table 1). In both interrelated and overlapping areas – one with the particular emphasis on the role and participation of women and the other on general sensitivity of implications to gender – EU policy concepts are fairly developed. However, in spite of the various agreed principles, there is still much to do in the implementation of gender policies in EU operations and the real challenge is to ensure their effectiveness on the ground.

**Table 1: UNSCR 1325 (2000) and Gender Mainstreaming Policy**

<p>UNSCR 1325 (2000)</p> <p>The first UN Security Council resolution to specifically address the impact of armed conflicts on women and women’s contribution to peace.</p>	<p>Main objectives in the resolution:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- to increase the participation of women in decision-making;</li> <li>- to incorporate a gender perspective into peace operations by e.g. supporting relevant training, including more women in the personnel, and protecting women and girls in areas of operation;</li> <li>- to adopt a gender perspective in post-conflict processes by e.g. involving women in the implementation mechanisms and ensuring the protection of human rights of women and girls in state-building; and</li> <li>- to include a gender perspective and other aspects relating to women and girls in UN programming and reporting.</li> </ul>
<p>Gender Mainstreaming (a.k.a. Diversity Policy)</p>	<p>Gender refers to social attributes that are ascribed to being female and male in a particular context. These are socially constructed and determine to a large extent the roles that are performed by women and men and are an important factor in determining one’s ability to exercise and enjoy one’s human rights.</p> <p>Gender mainstreaming is a process of assessing implications for women and men of any planned action, and making their concerns part of the design and implementation of policies. The ultimate goal is gender equality.</p> <p>Diversity policies capture the complexity of gender mainstreaming, which should be sensitive to specific implications for women, men, girls, and boys as they all are likely to have different roles and experiences in crises. For example, women and girls are specifically vulnerable to gender-based violence and exploitation, men and boys have a particular risk of being forced to join fighting parties, detained, or killed. Diversity policies also address lesbian, gay, bisexual, and transgender people whose human rights may be the most threatened during crises.<sup>1</sup></p>

<sup>1</sup> See UN General Assembly, Report of the Economic and Social Council for 1997, A/52/3, 1997; N. Nordberg, *Human Rights and Crisis Management. A Handbook for Members of CSDP Missions*, Ministry for Foreign Affairs of Finland, Helsinki, 2010; J. Valenius, “Gender Mainstreaming in ESDP Missions”, *Chaillot Paper* 101, EU Institute for Security Studies, Paris, 2007; Council of the European Union, Council Conclusions on Promoting Gender Equality and Gender Mainstreaming in Crisis Management, doc. 14884/1/06, 7 November 2006.

The EU only conducts military operations under the CSDP. In the civilian field of crisis management, capacity building projects supported by the European Commission (EC) often have objectives similar to the CSDP. However, the EC and individual member states’ activities as well as related aspects, e.g. implications for children in armed conflicts or other human rights issues, fall outside the focus of this paper. Unlike EC projects, CSDP missions

emphasise EU’s and member states’ political engagement in the partner country and mainly rely on the capabilities made available by member states’ instead of entrusting the operation to a UN agency or a non-governmental organization (NGO), for example. This makes it particularly important that CSDP operations follow appropriate standards and are effectively executed.

## Well-Developed Gender Policy Concepts

Based on its values enshrined in the constitutional treaties, the EU has actively aimed at developing policies that address gender questions. During the past six years, the Council of the EU has approved a set of documents on promoting gender equality and gender mainstreaming in crisis management. These include agreements on the main principles and policy objectives, a checklist to ensure their implementation, and various follow-up documents and related policies.<sup>4</sup> This development of gender policies has followed a rich source of related reports and promotional material both on human rights and the role of women in crisis management, as well as gender mainstreaming in the field of CSDP. Thirteen EU member states have drafted a national action plan to implement the UNSCR 1325. Many of the policy documents not only target issues of gender, peace, and security, but also often address questions more widely related to development and humanitarian action.

It has become increasingly acknowledged among policy makers within the EU that the implementation of UNSCR 1325 – and related resolutions, especially 1820 (2008), 1888 (2009), 1889 (2009), and 1960 (2011) – and gender mainstreaming in CSDP are essential, not only from the human rights perspective, but also for successful conflict prevention, crisis management, and peacebuilding. The human rights perspective to gender is particularly relevant for the EU, as it often operates in situations where gross human rights violations have taken place, where the interlocutors of the mission themselves may be guilty of such violations or they may be in a key role in preventing them. Often the operations take place in areas where peacebuilding processes such as demobilisation and reintegration of child combatants and implementation of transitional justice are taking place or the operations are directly involved in them. Typically, the very objective of a CSDP operation may be to ensure security to local population and to build peace. Gender perspective is also important when passing the key message to the local population in order to build trust and acceptance of the mission. Importantly, gender policies have thus also been recognised to be essential for operational effectiveness. In fact, in many cases the military has been particularly receptive to gender considerations as part of their effects-based approach to operations.

## The Challenge of Implementation

Crisis management operations of the EU vary greatly, from a – for a long period of time suspended – border assistance mission, EUBAM Rafah, in the Palestinian territories with 20 personnel, to the 2,800-strong EULEX Kosovo and EUFOR Althea with 1,600 personnel, both with an executive mandate. Whereas the soldiers of EUFOR Althea operate in the stable security environment of Bosnia and Herzegovina, the 50 advisors of EUSEC RD Congo continuously come across cases of sexual violence in the eastern part of the country. Also, some 1,400 men and women serve in the naval anti-piracy mission EUNAVFOR Atalanta, of which the area of operation comprises the coastal waters of Somalia and part of

the Indian Ocean representing an area comparable to that of the Mediterranean. In October 2011, the EU was conducting ten civilian and three military crisis management operations with a staff of altogether over 7,500 members (international and local), of which 4,500 are serving in the civilian and 3,000 in military missions.<sup>5</sup> At the same time, eleven CSDP operations had been completed. With such a variety of activities, it is not a surprise that the EU policy concept papers are generic and offer little practical advice on how to conduct the duties in the field.

Due to the heterogeneity of the CSDP missions, their planning documents address the gender issues in various ways. By the rule, the Concepts of Operations (CONOPS), the Operation Plans (OPLAN) and other main documents make a reference to the agreed relevant policy papers endorsing their provisions. In principle, the reference is made in relation to both internal aspects of the mission – including recruiting, training, supervision, reporting, disciplinary measures – and to its external projection – how to translate the gender perspective in the activities in the field and best channel its principles in the host population.

In some occasions, the operation's mandate includes specific provisions which address gender issues, often as a specific part of addressing human rights as has been the case, for example, in the monitoring missions in Aceh, Indonesia (AMM, 2005-2006) and Georgia (EUMM, as of 2008), the police capacity-building missions in Afghanistan (EUPOL) and Bosnia and Herzegovina (EUPM), the rule of law mission in Kosovo (EULEX), and the military operation in Chad and Central African Republic (EUFOR Tchad/RCA, 2008-2009). Both CSDP missions in the Democratic Republic of Congo (DRC) – the police advisory and assistance mission EUPOL and EUSEC that supports reforms in the Congolese armed forces – have a direct mandate to work towards gender equality and the fight against sexual violence and impunity in the DRC. They have implemented this, for example, by nominating gender focal points in different units of the missions, promoting the participation of women personnel in the interaction with the local populations, financing women's micro-projects, informing local relevant organizations about cases on gender-based violence, keeping contacts with local women's groups, and including gender aspects in the advisory work of the mission and in dialogues with international organizations.<sup>6</sup>

In some cases, the mandate of the mission presents an obstacle to the satisfactory implementation of gender policies. The mandate of EUTM Somalia, for example, is to train recruits of the security forces of the Somali Transitional Federal Government. The training takes place in Uganda, where the trainees stay under the auspices of the Uganda People's Defence Force (UPDF). As everything except training falls outside of the mandate, it has not been possible for the mission to intervene in any human rights violations committed by the UPDF, although the mission has received information on such instances.<sup>7</sup> In many cases, the mandate text is too ambiguous and only asks to "consider" or "pay due respect" to gender aspects. An explicit mandate that enables the tackling of the specific gender-related issues in operations best guarantees that due attention is paid to them. This does not reduce the

simultaneous need for an effective mainstreaming of gender policies.

More positive examples of successful gender policy implementation include the sizable EULEX Kosovo mission which boasts with an entire Human Rights and Gender Office. It is to ensure that the mission policies and decisions comply with the relevant standards. It has also established an Internal Investigation Unit for related complaints. Some missions have come up with innovative arrangements, such as the Family Protection Units (FPUs) established by the police support operation in the Palestinian Territories (EUPOL COPPS) to address family protection issues and violence against women; whereas the Mobile Support Unit of the EUPOL Afghanistan trains female police officers outside the mission compounds.<sup>8</sup> Many missions are involved in the organization of gender-related conferences and other expert or public events.

Most challenges in the encounters between the mission staff and the local partners are related to practical circumstances such as language skills or, indeed, gender. In addressing this, missions should pay due attention to a more balanced recruitment between male and female personnel – both in order to guarantee equal opportunities and gender balance within the missions, and to ensure the effectiveness of the mission, especially when making

contact with local women. Women personnel can also help in tackling the often dominant masculine culture of missions that tends to exclude women colleagues outside the core social, including decision-making, groups.<sup>9</sup> To date, no woman has been nominated as the Commander or the Head of Mission of a CSDP operation.

Nearly every CSDP mission, however, includes a gender advisor, liaison officer or focal point (EUBAM Rafah being the only exception), but often the task has been added to the portfolio of a mission member already burdened with other duties. Only a few CSDP missions have or have had an appointed gender advisor working solely with issues related to gender mainstreaming and the implementation of the UNSCR 1325 (see Table 2). Furthermore, the EU has debated whether an appointed specialist is the most appropriate solution for promoting policy that is to be implemented by each individual in the mission, from the planning to operational phases as well as in the monitoring and Lessons Learned processes. However, according to most evaluations, such experts have indeed been proven useful. It is important to determine, according to the special characteristics of the operation, whether the gender expert should work in the planning team, on the Headquarter level or in the field – or in all of these. It has been proven necessary for the planning group (and the fact-finding mission team) to always include gender expertise.

**Table 2: Full-time Gender Advisors in Current CSDP Operations<sup>10</sup>**

Operation	Gender Advisor
EUPM/ Bosnia and Herzegovina	No (task given to Human Rights & Legal Advisor)
EUMM Georgia	Yes
EUBAM Rafah/ Palestinian Territories	No
EUPOL COPPS/ Palestinian Territories	No (part-time position)
EUSEC RD Congo	Yes
EUPOL RD Congo	Yes
EUJUST LEX/ Iraq	No (task given to Human Rights & Rule of Law Expert)
EULEX Kosovo	Yes
EUPOL Afghanistan	No (part-time position)
EUFOR Althea/ Bosnia and Herzegovina	Yes
EUNAVFOR Atalanta/ Somalia	No (task given to Legal Advisor)
EU Training Mission Somalia	Yes

It is natural that as the characteristics and objectives of missions greatly vary, so does the role of the gender advisor. Nevertheless, some broad guidelines on tasks required and entrusted to the advisor in CSDP operations – more specific than the brief job descriptions – would prove helpful. Most importantly, these should take into account that the gender advisor has direct access to the higher level of operation command and sufficient independence and resources to carry out his or her tasks. The advisor should also be provided with sufficient political and practical support from both the sending government and from EU institutions in Brussels.

### Training: a Key to Successful Implementation

Perhaps even a bigger challenge than the diversity of theatres and objectives among operations is the diversity of the mission personnel. Most women and men in missions are provided – and, thus, trained and contracted – by the EU member states or third countries. In civilian missions, more than half of the personnel are seconded from member states' or third countries' governments. In military operations, only a fraction of the staff is recruited by the EU. In some countries and in some fields of expertise the personnel receive comprehensive training in gender issues. However, in many cases the training is insufficient or

non-existent.

The EU is developing training standards on gender for the member states focusing on human security dimension, the concept of gender, the legal and policy framework, and gender mainstreaming in the practice of missions. However, until now their implementation has been modest and there is no systematic pre-mission training for the personnel. The scarcely resourced European Security and Defence College (ESDC) has been involved in the organization of courses related to gender aspects and crisis management operations. The EC has also supported related courses in member states through the European Group on Training (EGT) funding scheme and the recently established arrangement, Europe's New Training Initiative for Civilian Crisis Management (ENTRI). In addition, some CSDP missions have conducted in-mission training, such as in the largest CSDP mission, EULEX Kosovo, for example. In many cases, an appointed gender or human rights advisor has needed to take on training responsibilities within the missions.

In addition to the personnel seconded from member states or third countries and the experts contracted by the missions themselves, it is important to target training to people involved in planning and management of missions. This includes not only officials in the European External Action Service (EEAS) and the capitals, but also the members of the relevant Council decision-making bodies, such as the ambassadors representing the member states in the Political and Security Committee (PSC) that is entrusted with the political control and the strategic direction of the operations and the representatives to the EU Military Committee (EUMC), the Committee for Civilian Aspects of Crisis Management (CIVCOM), the Politico-Military Group (PMG) and the Working Party on Human Rights (COHOM). In order to improve the understanding of linkages between crisis management and gender, more frequent joint sessions between the bodies, e.g. COHOM and PMG, would prove useful.

Above all, the Operation and Force Commanders and Heads of Mission are responsible for the implementation of the provisions on gender in operation mandates. In addition to the need to understand their various implications to the operation and local population, they are to ensure an efficient functioning of the mission in this regard, including the appropriate organization, standards of behaviour, reporting, resources, and internal and external information policies.

Finally, it is fair to realise that it is not possible to fundamentally change people's attitudes towards gender issues even with the most effective pre-mission or in-mission training. A successful policy implementation is possible only once the general attitudes of the personnel – and their interlocutors in the field – have become receptive to questions of gender and human rights in general. Nevertheless, any step in this direction is important and worth pursuing.

## **Conclusions: Towards Real Effects from Gender Policies?**

The work of the EU in the field of CSDP and gender is currently focused on a more effective implementation of the agreed policies. Recently, the Council identified a list of indicators for the follow-up of the Comprehensive Approach to the implementation of UNSCRs 1325 (2000) and 1820 (2008).<sup>11</sup> Many of the objectives are directly relevant to CSDP: to train a proportion of men and women participating in CSDP missions – and in the EU institutions generally – in gender equality; to increase the number of mission mandates that explicitly refer to gender and/or women, peace and security; increase the number of gender advisors or focal points in missions; report and act upon cases of sexual abuse or exploitation more rigorously; and to include relevant information in the activity reports of the EU Special Representatives.

The EU also plans to facilitate the networking between the gender advisors and focal points employed in the missions, create a specific website to facilitate gender policy related activity in the missions, and frequently review its policies. In collaboration with the EEAS, Finland has produced a field manual for the use of personnel in CSDP operations.<sup>12</sup> Member states governments are urged to develop and update National Action Plans to implement the UNSCR 1325. Within the EU institutions, the implementation work is followed and promoted by the Women Peace and Security Task Force, an informal group of officials from the EEAS, the EC and interested member states established in 2009. As part of the follow-up work, the EU seeks to intensify its partnerships with international organizations such as the UN, NATO, African Union and OSCE, and make better use of the relevant funding instruments, especially the Instrument for Stability (IFS) and the European Instrument for Democracy and Human Rights (EIDHR).

Furthermore, through its emphasis on a Comprehensive Approach, the EU increasingly aims to coordinate its activities across institutional divisions, policy areas, and levels of activity (strategic, operational, and tactical or field levels). This will potentially have a considerable effect on the future of planning and conduct of EU's crisis management. It is important that the best practices and policies are identified and adopted EU-wide, rather than lowering standards in some fields in order to create common policies among different institutions.

NB: The views expressed in this paper are entirely and solely those of the author and do not necessarily reflect the views of the GCSP or the Finnish Government.

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## Endnotes

1. United Nations Security Council Resolution 1325 (2000).
2. 2011 Nobel Prize Announcements, 30 October 2011.
3. The text refers to CSDP also when addressing the EU's security and defence policy before the entry into force of the Lisbon Treaty. In the Treaty, European Security and Defence Policy (ESDP) was renamed CSDP.
4. Council of the European Union, Implementation of UNSCR 1325, doc. 11932/2/05, 29 September 2005; doc. 14884/1/06, 7 November 2006; Checklist to Ensure Gender Mainstreaming and Implementation of UNSCR 1325 in the Planning and Conduct of ESDP Operations, doc. 12068/06, 27 July 2006; Comprehensive Approach to the Implementation of the UNSCRs 1325 and 1820 on Women, Peace and Security, doc. 15671/1/08, 1 December 2008; Implementation of UNSCR 1325 as Reinforced by UNSCR 1820 in the Context of ESDP, doc. 15782/3/08, 3 December 2008; EU Guidelines on Violence against Women and Girls and Combating all Forms of Discrimination against them, 2008, Brussels; Report on the EU-indicators for the Comprehensive Approach to the EU Implementation of the UNSCRs 1325 & 1820 on Women, Peace and Security, doc. 9990/11, 11 May 2011; General Secretariat of the Council – CMPD, Lessons and Best Practices of Mainstreaming Human Rights and Gender Equality into CSDP Missions (Military and Civilian), Brussels, 2010.
5. EEAS, Overview of the Missions and Operations of the EU – October 2011.
6. General Secretariat of the Council – CMPD, 2010, *op. cit.*; G. Gya, C. Isaksson, and M. Martinelli, *Report on ESDP Missions in the Democratic Republic of Congo (DRC)*, UNIFEM, Brussels, 2009.
7. K. Grekula, "Working as Gender Advisor in the EU Training Mission in Somalia", in T. Koskenniemi (ed.), *Security Sector Reform – Beyond Civil-Military Cooperation*, FINCENT, Tuusula, 2010.
8. General Secretariat of the Council, "Women, Peace and Security – The EU in Action", Brussels, 2011; N. Nordberg, 2010, *op. cit.*, p. 54; European Union Police Mission in Afghanistan, "EUPOL – Serving Afghanistan", *Newsletter of the EUPM Afghanistan* 05-11, Kabul, 2011.
9. K. Grekula, 2009, *op. cit.*; T. Tallberg, *The Gendered Social Organisation of Defence. Two Ethnographic Studies in the Finnish Defence Forces*, Hanken School of Economics, Helsinki, 2009, pp. 44-46.
10. Council of the European Union, doc. 9990/11, 11 May 2011.
11. *Ibid.*
12. Nordberg, 2010, *op. cit.*

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