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Gender mainstreaming in ESDP missions

Johanna Valenius

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Preface

Judy Batt

As Johanna Valenius points out in this Chaillot Paper, *the concept of 'gender mainstreaming' is still not well understood by policy-makers and practitioners in ESDP. This was recognised by the Council of the European Union in 2005 when it tasked the EU Institute for Security Studies with the preparation of a report on how the ESDP missions in Bosnia-Herzegovina were implementing gender mainstreaming. While several member states are leading the field internationally in implementing the commitments made in 2000 in UN Security Council Resolution 1325* On Women, Peace and Security, *there was room for concern about the extent to which ESDP missions had fully incorporated the principles and best practices of gender mainstreaming.*

The EUISS report was prepared in March-April 2006 by Johanna Valenius, an expert on gender issues in the military at the University of Turku, Finland. Johanna Valenius has now reworked this report for a wider audience, including an extensive review of the basic rationale of gender mainstreaming, as debated and elaborated among academic specialists over several years. A key purpose of this Chaillot Paper *is to present in a clear and accessible way the 'state of the art' in current specialist debates on the issue in order to improve understanding of the vital* practical *implications of gender mainstreaming for ESDP missions.*

As this Chaillot Paper *shows, gender mainstreaming has very widespread ramifications. It is by no means just a matter of equal opportunities for women in ESDP missions, but primarily a matter of establishing from the outset a firm basis for* more effective *missions that are properly prepared for the human challenges presented by intervention in conflict situations, and capable of upholding and restoring human rights in deeply traumatised societies. Gender mainstreaming is not just about and for women, as Johanna Valenius rightly argues – it is about men too, who, after all, for the foreseeable future are likely to constitute the overwhelming majority of the personnel of security missions.*

Paris, May 2007

Introduction

Crisis management and other international operations are new fields for the EU, and the EU's practices concerning international operations are just evolving (see Annex 4). Traditionally it has been the United Nations (UN), and during the last few years also NATO, that have engaged in crisis management.[1] The EU's involvement is taking place at a time when crisis management operations, more familiarly known as peacekeeping operations, have been changing in nature. During the last couple of decades, peace operations have become more multi-faceted. The chain of events that led to the deployment of troops has been quite simple: (i) war; (ii) ceasefire; (iii) monitoring the ceasefire. Building a lasting peace was not a part of UN peacekeeping mandates, and peacekeeping forces had little or nothing to do with the local population of the host country. This meant that the operations were relatively safe and low-cost. One problem with traditional operations was that they dealt with the consequences rather than the sources of conflicts. Their purpose was to prevent a new war. Traditional operations did not have an exit strategy and therefore some operations, such as those in Cyprus and India/Pakistan, have remained *in situ* for decades.[2] It has become clear that in such cases the mere presence of soldiers without any plans for economic and social reconstruction will not lead to a lasting peace.

Peacekeeping operations have become more complex because conflicts – or at least our understanding of them – have become more complex,[3] and we have started to talk about 'crisis management'. The new conflicts are often transnational in character. In addition to state actors, other protagonists such as local political patrons, arms vendors, black market dealers, regional powers that send their own forces to the conflict, and neighbouring states that host refugees, are involved in conflicts. Peacekeeping troops are sent into unstable settings, in which conflicts have not ended with one side's victory. Armed battles have merely ceased due to military stalemates or international pressure. Thus, compared to

1. Between 1948-2004 there have been 58 UN-led peacekeeping operations. See Birger Heldt and Peter Wallensteen, *Peacekeeping Operations: Global Patterns of Interventions and Success, 1948–2004* (Stockholm: Folke Bernadotte Academy Publications, 2005), p. 13.

2. United Nations, *Mainstreaming a Gender Perspective in Multidimensional Peace Operations* (New York: Department of Peacekeeping Operations, 2000), pp 2-3; See also United Nations, Report of the Panel on United Nations Peace Operations. Comprehensive Review of the whole question of peacekeeping operations in all their aspects (New York: United Nations General Assembly & Security Council A/55/305–S/2000/809, 2000), p. 3.

3. See e.g. Mary Kaldor, *New and Old Wars: Organized Violence in a Global Era* (Cambridge: Polity Press, 1999).

4. United Nations, *Mainstreaming a Gender Perspective in International Peace Operations*, op. cit., pp. 3-5.

5. Petteri Kurkinen, *Civilian-Military Cooperation in Crisis Management Operations* (Helsinki: National Defence College, 2004), p. 11.

6. Rape is often referred to as a 'weapon' of war, but, 'in grammatical terms, weapons are objects, whereas to rape or to starve is a course of action. Rape and starvation do not exist in the world as weapons, what does exist is rape and starvation as methods of warfare. Secondly, the technical understanding of a weapon is an instrument of combat used to inflict a wound, defined, under the auspices of pathology, as a "breach or a disruption of the continuity of tissues". Rape in wartime, however, is used for (…) many other reasons more complex than the direct infliction of a wound.' Marie Vlachová and Lea Biason (eds.), *Women in an Insecure World. Violence against Women: Facts, Figures and Analysis* (Geneva: Geneva Centre for the Democratic Control of Armed Forces, 2005), p. 113.

7. See e.g., Canadian Department of National Defence, Report of the Somalia Commission of Inquiry. Available online at: http://www.dnd. ca/somalia/somaliae.htm

8. See: http://www.peacewomen. org/un/pkwatch/News/05/fears. html.

9. The author puts 'client' in inverted commas because the term refers to a contract between a buyer and a seller. In trafficking and forced prostitution, the transaction takes place between the buyer and the trafficker. The woman is just a commodity to be bought and sold.

10. Amnesty International, '"So does this mean I have rights?" Protecting the human rights of women and girls trafficked for forced prostitution in Kosovo', (2004). Available online at: http//www.amnesty.org.; Panagiota Tritaki, *Peacekeepers and Sex Trafficking: Supply and Demand in the Aftermath of the Kosovo Conflict* (an

traditional peacekeeping forces, the current ones, crisis management operations, are deployed in more dangerous settings. Their objective is often to resolve the conflict. Sometimes the troops are given escort duties in areas where the security situation is too dangerous for humanitarian personnel. Mandates may also include the protection of civilian victims and the control of heavy weaponry. In Kosovo and East Timor the UN operations were given executive law enforcement and administrative authority.[4]

Consequently, peacekeeping missions have become transformed into intricate civilian-military crisis management operations. Perhaps the most visible form of this collaboration is the Civil Military Cooperation (CIMIC) that has been adopted as one branch of the operation in Kosovo and Afghanistan.[5] The EUFOR *Althea* mission in Bosnia-Herzegovina has adopted the LOT concept, i.e. Liaison Observation Teams that work in close contact with the host society. Because international personnel is increasingly involved in local civilian life, cultural awareness and sensitivity to gender issues is required, especially in regions where sexual violence has been used as a method[6] of warfare.

During the last few years the actions of peacekeeping forces have also attracted media attention, and what is revealed in the news does not always correspond to the image of friendly peacekeepers that many of us may have. In Somalia, for instance, Canadian soldiers were guilty of killing local people. The most famous case is that of the torture and murder of sixteen-year-old Shidane Arone in 1993.[7] Peacekeepers have been involved in sexual exploitation and abuse of women in the Democratic Republic of Congo, Burundi, Liberia and Haiti.[8] Trafficking, especially trafficking in women and prostitution, have increased because of the presence of male peace operations personnel. Reports by human rights organisations show how Bosnia-Herzegovina as well as Kosovo used to be so-called transit countries for trafficking, but once international personnel arrived in the region those countries became *destinations* for trafficked women. The majority of the 'clients'[9] of the trafficked women consisted of the international male personnel.[10] According to more recent reports, the international male personnel no longer comprises the majority of the 'clientele'.[11] However, the problem of trafficking and forced prostitution continues to exist.

One remedy for the exploitation and abuses of local populations, especially of local women, is gender mainstreaming of crisis management operations. Gender mainstreaming refers to a set of gender-sensitive practices which ensure that operations are made more effective and safe for all parties involved. This *Chaillot Paper* focuses on this very important aspect of modern crisis management. The call for gender mainstreaming in military and civilian operations dates back to the 1990s when the UN and women's organisations started to emphasise women's perspectives in peace processes. This development reached its highest peak to date in 2000 when the UN Security Council passed the Resolution 1325 *Women, Peace and Security* (see Annex 2).

Within the EU, gender mainstreaming in crisis management operations became topical in 2005 when the European Council welcomed a paper by the General Secretariat on *Implementation of UNSCR 1325 in the context of ESDP*.[12] The Council also tasked the European Union Institute for Security Studies (EUISS) to write a report on gender mainstreaming in the ESDP missions in Bosnia-Herzegovina (EUFOR *Althea*, EUPM and EUSR), which was presented to the Political-Military Group on 6 July. Subsequently, on 13 November 2006, the General Affairs and External Relations Council (GAERC) adopted conclusions on 'Gender equality and gender mainstreaming in crisis management' (see Annex 3).

This paper is based on the EUISS report for the Council, but extends it by presenting a general introduction to the issues and explaining the rationale for implementing gender mainstreaming. It draws on research done for the EUISS report on the missions in Bosnia-Herzegovina, but also adds in material from an earlier 2004 study on Finnish peacekeepers in Kosovo.

The structure of this paper is outlined as follows. Chapter One, 'Gender Mainstreaming – what and why?', provides an overview of gender mainstreaming, especially in the context of crisis-management operations and UNSCR 1325. The examination of the latter resolution focuses on its strengths and weaknesses. The analysis of gender mainstreaming in the context of crisis management concentrates on the United Nations, because the UN has implemented gender policies for some time, and the lessons learned are available for analysis. This chapter also explores gendered securities and insecurities in conflict and post-conflict

unpublished MALD thesis, The Faculty of the Fletcher School of Law and Diplomacy, 2003); Human Rights Watch, *Hopes Betrayed: trafficking of women and girls to Post-Conflict Bosnia-Herzegovina for forced prostitution* (November 2002), see http://www.hrw.org.

11. Amnesty International, op. cit., p. 8.

12. Council General Secretariat, *Implementation of UNSCR 1325 in the context of ESDP* (doc. 11932/2/05); See also 'Gender-related aspects of prevention of armed conflicts', European Parliament Resolution on Participation of Women in Peaceful Conflict Resolution (2000/2025 (INI)).

settings. Considerable attention is given to gender-based violence against women and men because, although armed battles have ended when crisis management troops arrive at the mission area, the long shadow of the war continues to create chronic insecurity for the victims. This chapter thus presents the general case for gender mainstreaming.

Chapter Two presents the research findings from fieldwork in Bosnia-Herzegovina conducted for the purposes of the EUISS report by two researchers, Judy Batt and Johanna Valenius, supplemented by findings from similar research done by others, including that conducted by Johanna Valenius among Finnish peacekeepers in Kosovo.

The concluding chapter consists of recommendations of how to implement UNSCR 1325 in the context of ESDP missions.

Gender mainstreaming
– what and why?

The definition of sex/gender

'Gender mainstreaming' is a concept that still does not enjoy wide currency, and its applications and purposes are often misunderstood. Among the uninitiated, it tends to elicit reactions ranging from amused bafflement to scepticism, irritation and outright hostility. For many, the term has off-putting connotations of sterile 'political correctness' or allegedly strident 'feminist dogma'. This is unfortunate, because, once the objectives are explained in plain language, the vast majority of people readily accept the point of gender mainstreaming.

Without going too deeply into theorising about gender, a brief explanation of the concept is needed in order to understand what is meant when we talk about *gender mainstreaming*. In gender research the basic division is made between 'sex', which refers to biology (a human being is either male or female depending on sexual organs he or she has), and 'gender'. 'Gender' refers to socially constructed roles, ways of behaviour, skills, interests, etc., that men and women are expected to have because of their biological sex. The conditioning into gender roles starts early in life. One could say that it starts in the delivery room when the obstetrician declares 'it's a boy/girl!'.

The core of the gender roles theory is that men and women are considered to be *different* and *opposite to each other* on the basis of sex. To voice a critical view of this construction does not mean that one is arguing that men and women are the same. As is maintained in the course of this paper, poeple are indeed different from one another, but these differences cannot be automatically ascribed to gender; we have different backgrounds, skills and interests. What is questioned is that the differences are automatically assigned to groups of people, i.e. they become stereotypes, and these (assumed or real) differences are used to exclude people *as members of certain groups* from certain tasks and positions, or conversely, a person is

considered to be suitable for a position or a job just because of his/her sex, regardless of actual skills he or she has.

In the field of defence and security one prevailing gender stereotype is that of peaceful women and belligerent men.[13] It is assumed that the biological ability to bear children and to nurse them makes women more ethically-minded and responsible than men. This is not supported by historical facts. Women are known to participate in conflicts as armed fighters and instigators of violence.[14] In some cultures even women who stay at the home front may be eager to encourage their male relatives, sons in particular, to participate in battles. As for the alleged male belligerence, let us note that not all men are willing to bear arms and participate in armed battles and there are some who opt for pacifism and conscientious objection. In the disintegration wars of Yugoslavia for instance, about fifteen to thirty percent of men living in Belgrade and fifty percent of all Serbian men joined the armed forces when they were called up. This means that 20,000 - 30,000 young men evaded the draft and fled abroad.[15] Another source estimates that in the former Yugoslavia, approximately 700,000 people from all sides fled to avoid conscription.[16] Researchers have also pointed out that if men were inherently aggressive and violence was an integral part of male nature, strict discipline, even coercion in military basic training, would not be needed.[17] What in fact happens in basic training is that men are taught to be aggressive in certain situations, and more importantly to control and use that aggression in an effective manner.

The stereotypical views of peaceful women and belligerent men affects the ways we in which we view the interests of men and women have with regard to the issues of defence and security. We easily think that women are not interested in defence and security issues and politics. Again, this is not true. There are, for instance, many women academics and politicians whose expertise is in security issues.[18] The unfortunate side-effect of gender stereotyping is that persons with the best skills are not necessarily recruited to the field of defence and security. In other words, this is not mainly a question of gender equality, or of some kind of 'dogmatic feminist project' as some might suspect, but a question of efficiency.

A quite peculiar example of the use of these stereotypes in trying to exclude women from decision-making positions in interna-

13. See Inger Skjelsbæk, 'Is femininity inherently peaceful? The construction of femininity in war' in Inger Skjelsbæk and Dan Smith (eds.), *Gender, Peace and Conflict* (Oslo: International Peace Research Institute and SAGE Publications, 2001), p. 62; J. Ann Tickner, *Gendering World Politics. Issues and Approaches in the Post-Cold War Era* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2001), pp. 58-9.

14. See e.g. Ana Cristina Ibáñez, 'El Salvador: war and untold stories women guerillas', in Caroline O.N. Moser & Fiona C. Clark (eds.), *Victims, Perpetrators or Actors? Gender, Armed Conflict and Political Violence* (London: Zed Books, 2001); Joshua S. Goldstein, *War and Gender: How Gender Shapes the War System and Vice Versa* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2001), pp. 59-127.

15. Wendy Bracewell, 'Rape in Kosovo: masculinity and Serbian nationalism', *Nations and Nationalism*, vol. 6, no. 4, October 2000, footnote 18. See also p. 579.

16. R. Charli Carpenter, 'Recognizing gender-based violence against civilian men and boys in conflict situations', *Security Dialogue*, vol. 37, no.1, 2006, p. 92.

17. See e.g. Cynthia Enloe, *The Morning After: Sexual Politics at the End of the Cold War* (Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 1993), p. 52; Jill Steans, *Gender and International Relations: An Introduction* (Cambridge: Polity Press, 1998), pp.81-6.

18. There is for instance Women in International Security (WIIS), an international association for female and male academics, activists and policy-makers. The number of members exceeds 1,200 in 35 countries. For more on WIIS, see: http://wiis.georgetown.edu.

tional politics is Francis Fukuyama's 1998 article 'Women and the Evolution of World Politics' in *Foreign Affairs*.[19] In it he argues, basing his points on evidence drawn from studies of chimpanzees, evolutionary sciences and biology that, as in the world of chimpanzees, also in the human world the males of the species are aggressive and females peaceful; this, according to Fukuyama, is an immutable biological fact. He writes,

> It is very difficult to watch Muslims and Serbs in Bosnia, Hutus and Tutsis in Rwanda, or militias from Liberia and Sierra Leone to Georgia and Afghanistan divide themselves up into what seem like indistinguishable male-bonded groups in order to systematically slaughter one another, and not to think of chimps at Gombe.[20]

In groups 'female chimps have relationships; male chimps practice *realpolitik*'.[21] What follows from this is that human males will always dominate national and international politics, and that, in his view, is how it should be. In an *ideal* world it would be excellent if peaceful women participated in decision-making more, but in the *real* world one has to think about the survival of the West. If international politics were dominated by women, the 'macho cultures' of Asia, Africa and the Middle East would take over the West.[22]

In recent years, gender researchers have been shifting away from the polarising dichotomy of 'men' and 'women' and have started to talk about masculinities and femininities, about those 'negotiated interpretations of what it means to be a man or a woman.'[23] In layman's terms, this means that there are ways of behaviour that are seen either as feminine or masculine. For instance, assertiveness is considered to be masculine and crying feminine. People express both qualities and traits, but cultural conditioning compels men to behave mostly in a masculine and women in a feminine way. When people express the type of behaviour that is expected predominantly from the opposite sex, women for instance the above-mentioned assertiveness and men emotionality, it destabilises certain cultural foundations, and we tend to judge the 'misbehaviour' as a sign of the person not being a real woman or a real man, but an anomaly.

19. For responses to Fukuyama, see *Foreign Affairs*, vol. 78, no. 1, January/February 1999: Barbara Ehrenreich, 'Men Hate War Too'; Katha Pollitt, 'Father Knows Best'; Brian R. Ferguson, 'Perilous Positions'; Jane S. Jaquette, 'States Make War'; Lionel Tiger, 'Prehistory Returns'. The latter author tended to support Fukuyama's theses. See also J. Ann Tickner, 'Why Women Can't Run the World: International Politics According to Francis Fukuyama', *International Studies Review*, vol. 1, no. 3, 1999; Lily Ling, 'Hypermasculinity on the Rise, Again. A Response to Fukuyama on Women and World Politics', *International Feminist Journal of Politics*, vol. 2, no. 2, 2000.

20. Francis Fukuyama, 'Women and the Evolution of World Politics', *Foreign Affairs*, vol. 77, no. 5, September/October 1998, p. 33.

21. Ibid., p. 25.

22. Ibid., pp. 33-40.

23. Inger Skjelsbæk, op. cit., p. 47.

Gendered securities and insecurities

The definition and objective of gender mainstreaming is given in the 1997 report by the United Nations Economic and Social Council (ECOSOC). It states that

> mainstreaming a gender perspective is the process of assessing the implications for women and men of any planned action, including legislation, policies or programmes, in all areas and at all levels. It is a strategy for making women's as well as men's concerns and experiences an integral dimension of the design, implementation, monitoring and evaluation of policies and programmes in all political, economic and societal spheres so that women and men benefit equally and inequality is not perpetuated. The ultimate goal is to achieve gender equality.[24]

Gender mainstreaming is thus a tool for achieving equality between men and women. It is important to note that gender mainstreaming does not focus solely on women, although women usually are the targets and beneficiaries of mainstreaming practices due to their disadvantaged position in many societies.

The other terms associated with gender mainstreaming are *gender equality* and *gender balance*.

Gender equality

> refers to the equal rights, responsibilities and opportunities of women and men and girls and boys. It is a human rights issue and a precondition for and indicator of sustainable people-centred development.[25]

Equality is not, however, *sameness*. The objective is not to deny and erase differences between men and women, or between people in general, but to take advantage of those differences and put them to use constructively in a way that benefits the whole society.

Gender balance

> refers to the degree to which men and women hold the full range of positions in a society or organization.[26]

In short, gender balancing and gender mainstreaming are closely related and work towards gender equality. They, however,

24. UN ECOSOC, Report of the Economic and Social Council for 1997, A/52/3, September 1997.

25. United Nations, *Mainstreaming a Gender Perspective in Multidimensional Peace Operations*, op. cit., p. 6.

26. Ibid.

are not the same thing, although there is much evidence that gender balance increases gender mainstreaming.[27]

Gender mainstreaming is a practice that can be, and has been, implemented in many aspects of society, in workplaces, education, legislation, organisations etc. Gender mainstreaming was first introduced in crisis management operations in the late 1990s. Due to pressure from women's NGOs and the dedication of many member states, the United Nations started to pay more attention to the roles of women in conflicts and peace processes. As a result, in 2000 the UN adopted three documents that call for gender awareness in peace operations – (i) *Mainstreaming a Gender Perspective in Multidimensional Peace Operations*, (ii) the Windhoek Declaration and the Namibia Plan of Action on Mainstreaming a Gender Perspective in Multidimensional Peace Support Operations and (iii) the Security Council Resolution 1325 *Women, Peace and Security*.

The Windhoek Declaration was formulated at a seminar entitled 'Mainstreaming a Gender Perspective in Multidimensional Peace Operations' organised by the Lessons Learned Unit of the UN Department of Peacekeeping Operations (DPKO) in Namibia in 2000. The Declaration calls for: women's increased participation in peace negotiations, in peacekeeping troops and in leadership positions; mandates that include provisions for gender mainstreaming and gender expertise such as gender advisors and gender units; introducing the gender perspective and expertise into every stage of an operation from planning to lessons learned; instilling gender awareness and code of conduct training before deployment and commitment to gender issues at the highest level.[28] *Mainstreaming a Gender Perspective In Multidimensional Peace Operations* is a research and policy paper by the DPKO Lessons Learned Unit where the points put forward in the Windhoek Declaration are elaborated.

These documents were born in a particular historical situation. War rapes and other kinds of sexual violence against women in the Yugoslavian and Rwandan wars received worldwide attention. For the first time, it was recognised that the rape of women in armed conflicts was an organised activity, even a method of warfare. Until then, war rapes were considered to just be an unavoidable side effect of armed conflicts, a part of the general mayhem of war Cynthia Enloe calls 'lootpillageandrape'[29]. It became evident that male soldiers did not rape because violence is somehow a fixed

27. Ibid.

28. The Windhoek Declaration can be downloaded from http://www.peacewomen.org/un/pkwatch/WindhoekDeclaration.html (accessed 27 July 2006). The Declaration is also included in Annex 1 of the United Nations Report of the Panel on United Nations Peace Operations, op. cit.

29. Cynthia Enloe, *Maneuvers: The International Politics of Militarizing Women's Lives* (Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 2000), p. 108.

part of 'uncontrollable male nature', but that some men raped because they were ordered to by their superiors and because of peer pressure. Some men, in turn, refused to rape.[30] As a result, rape is now designated as a war crime.

The 'new wars' of the 1990s thus showed the gender-related effects of armed conflicts. Peace negotiations and post-conflict reconstruction work also showed that women were excluded from peace negotiation tables and that women's needs were often overlooked in post-conflict societies. In addition, the misconduct of international male civilian and military personnel led to increased prostitution, trafficking and other forms of abuse of local women and men. Because international personnel are increasingly in contact with the local population, it was realised that knowledge about the roles men and women have in the host culture is important for the effectiveness of the operation. It is in this historical situation that *UNSCR 1325 on Women, Peace and Security* was passed in 2000, and this has to be taken into consideration when reviewing it.

UNSCR 1325 (see Annex 2) is the most significant among the three aforementioned UN documents on women and conflict because, as a Security Council resolution, it is one of the few UN documents that are actually binding.[31] What is also important is that for the first time in the history of the UN, the Security Council devoted an entire session to issues concerning the impact of conflicts on women's lives.[32] Before proceeding to a discussion of this document, it is worth noting some major pitfalls in the UN system that we need to take seriously. There is, first of all, a gap between policy statements and research papers on the one hand, and the reality 'on the ground' on the other. For instance, there has been very little assessment of whether gender mainstreaming is actually implemented in the operation, at what levels etc. Secondly, there is very little information about whether mainstreaming policies really do have any impact on the lives of the local women and men, and if they do, what kind of effects those policies have. Thirdly, in spite of pre-deployment training on gender issues, very few people actually know what mainstreaming gender entails in their area of responsibilities even if those people were committed to mainstreaming a gender perspective. This was an impression that the researchers also got when conducting the interviews with EUFOR, EUPM and EUSR officials. And finally, the resources, both in terms of money and staff, devoted to gender

30. Lisa S. Price, 'Finding the Man in the Soldier-Rapist: Some Reflections on Comprehension and Accountability',. *Women's Studies International Forum*, vol. 24, no. 2, 2001.

31. Sandra Whitworth, *Men, Militarism and UN Peacekeeping: A Gendered Analysis* (Boulder CO: Lynne Rienner Publishers, 2004), p. 122.

32. Carol Cohn, Helen Kinsella and Sheri Gibbins, 'Women, Peace and Security. Resolution 1325', *International Feminist Journal of Politics*, vol. 6, no. 1, 2004, p.130.

issues have been insufficient to meet the goals set by the UN itself.[33]

One reason for the gap between policy papers and the reality is that gender issues in general are considered less important than 'hard issues' such as security, and they are often greeted with ridicule, even hostility. 'Gender' is also often misunderstood as referring only to women. Blame can be placed on every party. The academic community and NGOs have certainly not been able to clearly explain what 'gender' is really about, and how security cannot be talked about and practised without addressing gender.[34]

When gender mainstreaming is implemented correctly and with expertise it will not remain a women's issue only. Women have been targeted as the main beneficiaries of gender mainstreaming strategies, which in many cases is justified. But ignoring men is detrimental to the success of gender policies as well as not being wholly effective in terms of human development. Societies are shaped by men and women; by gender relations, division of labour and gendered access to power. Getting men involved in gender mainstreaming both as beneficiaries and agents will lead to more successful policy results. Focusing gender mainstreaming solely on either sex is a totally inadequate approach.[35]

The language in which UNSCR 1325 is written unwittingly consolidates the misconceptions of 'gender' referring only to women. The title of the document, *Women, Peace and Security*, hints at the angle from which the effects of conflicts are approached. As mentioned before, the resolution was passed at a unique time in history when the victimisation of women in armed conflicts had been documented and had become well known, and as a result the resolution is based on a view of women as victims of wars.[36] The document states

> that civilians, particularly women and children, account for the vast majority of those adversely affected by armed conflict

and recognises

> the importance of the recommendation contained in the statement of its President to the press (…) for specialized training for all peacekeeping personnel on the protection, special needs and human rights of women and children in conflict situations.

33. Sandra Whitworth, op. cit., p. 120; Hilary Charlesworth and Mary Wood, 'Women and Human Rights in the Rebuilding of East Timor', *Nordic Journal of International Law*, vol. 71, 2002.

34. For illuminating discussions of gender and security, see, for example, Heidi Hudson, '"Doing" Security As Though Humans Matter: A Feminist Perspective on Gender and the Politics of Human Security', *Security Dialogue*, vol. 36, no. 2, 2005; Terry Terriff, Stuart Croft, Lucy James and Parick M. Morgan, *Security Studies Today* (Cambridge: Polity Press, 2004); Lene Hansen, 'The Little Mermaid's Silent Security Dilemma and the Absence of Gender in the Copenhagen School', *Millennium: Journal of International Studies*, vol. 29, no. 2, 2000.

35. Sylvia Chant and Matthew Guttman, *Mainstreaming Men into Gender and Development* (London: OXFAM, 2001)

36. See also Anne Orford, 'Feminism, Imperialism and the Mission of International Law', *Nordic Journal of International Law*, vol. 71, no. 2, 2002, pp. 281-83.

UNSCR 1325 thus concentrates on the special needs of women and children. 'Men' appear in the text only once: the Security Council

> encourages all those involved in the planning for disarmament, demobilization and reintegration to consider the different needs of female and male ex-combatants and to take into account the needs of their dependants.

Take for example the sexual abuse of women as a tactic in the conduct of war that has received well-deserved public attention. Sexual violence against men in conflicts has, however, received less attention. This issue will be addressed later in this paper. One reason for its invisibility is the fact that, due to cultural taboos, male victims talk about torture rather than rape or sexual abuse.

According to the *Human Security Report* produced by the Human Security Centre at the Liu Institute for Global Issues, public conceptions of armed conflicts and their effects are saturated with myths and misunderstandings due to the unavailability of reliable data. Among these unsubstantiated myths are the claims that the number of armed conflicts is increasing; that wars are getting deadlier; the number of genocides is increasing; ninety percent of those killed in connection with armed battles in modern wars are civilians; eighty percent of refugees are women and children; women are the primary victims of war; there are 300,000 child soldiers serving around the world today.[37]

This is not to say that some or all of these assumptions are necessarily false, just that there is no data available to confirm the claims.[38] Some of these claims may be propagated on political grounds, for instance NGOs may want to reiterate the numbers of victims to further their own agenda.[39] The media increasingly pays attention to erupting armed conflicts, which creates the illusion that the number of wars is on the increase.[40] The way in which the Western media and some feminist activists handled the war rapes in Bosnia and Kosovo generated tension between feminists in the West and in the former Yugoslavia. Several activists and researchers from the Western Balkans argue that the Western media and feminists were duped by nationalistic propaganda and became embroiled in what amounted to an 'auction' about the numbers of raped women.[41] The rape of Bosnian women became the most documented and investigated in history. Tragically, the war rapes also became an opportunity for breaking news, which

37. Liu Institute, *Human Security Report 2005: War and Peace in the 21st Century* (Human Security Centre: University of British Columbia, 2005), pp. 2, 15-54, see: http://www.ligi.ubc.ca.

38. What can be substantiated at least is that since the Cold War the number of armed conflicts has declined and that the majority of conflicts take place within states and not between them. The number of people killed in battle has also declined since the 1950s as well, rather surprisingly, as has the incidence of genocides since the 1980s. Liu Institute, *Human Security Report 2005*, op. cit., pp. 15-33, 40; Vlachová and Biason, *Women in an Insecure World*, op. cit., p. 115.

39. Liu Institute, *Human Security Report 2005*, op. cit., p. 2.

40. Ibid., p. 17.

41. Kesic Vesna, 'Muslim Women, Croatian Women, Serbian Women, Albanian Women...', in Dušan I. Bjelic and Obrad Savic (eds.), *Balkan as Metaphor. Between Globalization and Fragmentation* (Massachusetts: The MIT Press, 2002); Marina Blagojevi, Preface, in Vesna Nikolic-Ristanovic (ed.), *Women, Violence and War. Wartime Victimization of Refugees in the Balkans*. translated by Borislav Radovic (Budapest: Central European University Press, 2000); Vesna Nikolic-Ristanovic, 'Definitions of violence in war and the experience of women: the subject of research', ibid.

served only to present the women as victims once again.[42]

Some misunderstandings may result from unfortunate gaffes, as happened with the number of civilian victims,

> In 1991 Uppsala University published *Casualties of Conflict*, which contained the claim that 'nine out of ten victims (dead and uprooted) are civilians'. On the back cover of the book, however, the parenthetical words were dropped, leaving only the statement that 'nine out of ten victims of war and armed conflict today are civilians'. For Uppsala, the category of 'victim' included refugees as well as war dead. But some readers wrongly equated 'victim' with 'fatality'. What the Uppsala data suggested was far less dramatic [than 90%]: approximately 67% of those killed in conflicts during 1989 were civilians.[43]

The Liu Institute report suggests that, with the exception of sexual violence, men, not women, might be more vulnerable to the effects of armed conflicts. Men are vulnerable not only because they constitute the majority of armed combatants, but civilian men are more likely to be victims of 'collateral damage' and mass executions, and more likely to die from the side-effects of war such as malnutrition and diseases than women.[44]

Gender-based violence against women and men in conflicts

Not only do armed conflicts and their aftermaths devastate and end lives, but they do so in gender-specific ways. In peacetime, men and women still have different responsibilities and privileges in societies, but during armed conflicts women themselves may want to take on new roles. In general, men are the ones who take up arms whereas women remain at home or perform auxiliary duties such as nursing, cooking and disseminating information or propaganda, but sometimes women too take part in fighting as armed combatants. Sometimes unfamiliar roles can be forced on women due to the grave circumstances of a conflict, for which neither they nor their communities are prepared. These women may have to confront attacks and violence from the community that tries to coerce them back into positions that are more in step with traditional gender roles.[45]

42. Vlachová and Biason (eds.), *Women in an Insecure World*, op. cit., p. 118.

43. Liu Institute, *Human Security Report 2005*, op. cit., p. 75.

44. Ibid., p. 102; See also The World Health Organization, *The World Health Report 2004: Changing History* (Geneva: World Health Organization, 2004), Annex, table 2.

45. Vlachová and Biason (eds.), *Women in an Insecure World*, op. cit., pp. 109-110.

Both men and women encounter gender-based violence in conflicts. Gender-based violence

is violence that is targeted at women or men because of their sex and/or their socially constructed gender roles. Gender violence disproportionately affects the members of one sex more than another. The recent conflicts in the former Yugoslavia and Rwanda have seen many examples of gender violence. Examples include: the forcible recruitment of young boys into the army who are put through violent indoctrination, and then made to perform suicidal missions in order to prove their masculinity; and the killing of pregnant women by the slashing of their wombs and removal of their fetuses. (...) Women's bodies, security or livelihood may be targeted because of their role as guardians of cultural traditions and because of their reproductive capacity. Men and boys may be targeted because they are identified as powerful or prominent, or as potential leaders or soldiers. Men may also be raped to humiliate them by forcing them into the position of women and thereby rendering them weak or inferior according to the prevailing stereotype.[46]

Gender-based violence against women

Women are particularly susceptible to sexual violence.[47] Sexual violence and rape are often used as synonyms, although sexual violence encompasses in addition to rape many other types of violence: forced prostitution, sex slavery as 'comfort women',[48] forced impregnation, forced maternity, forced termination of pregnancy, forced sterilisation, indecent assault, trafficking, strip searches and inappropriate medical examinations.[49]

For a long time, rape was considered to be an inevitable side-effect of war.[50] On some occasions, war rapes and rapes perpetrated by soldiers are excused on the grounds that 'boys will be boys'[51] and abuse is explained by referring to the 'wild sexuality of young men'.[52] Although rapes were used as a method of war in Burma/Myanmar and Rwanda it was the Bosnian and Kosovo wars and the rape camps in Bosnia that brought the issue of war rapes fully into the international limelight. The attention paid by the Western media to the atrocities in the Balkans can be explained by the fact that the violence took place where it should not have – in Europe.

46. Women's Caucus for Gender Justice, 'Clarification of the term "Gender."' Available online at: http://www.iccwomen.org/resources/gender.htm.

47. Liu Institute 2005, *Human Security Report 2005*, op. cit., p. 102. The term 'sexual violence' is somewhat misleading because of its connotations of sex and sexuality. Some prefer the term 'sexualised violence', i.e. violence performed through sexual means.

48. The euphemism 'comfort women' originally refers to Asian women who were forced by Japanese troops into prostitution in 1934-1945. The exact number of comfort women is not known, but the estimates range between 50,000 and 200,000. A 1994 UN estimate indicates that 80% of the comfort women were Korean and about 30% survived the war. Today the issue is highly politicised in Japan. Chunghee Sarah Soh, 'Human Rights and the "Comfort Women"', *Peace Review*, vol.12, no. 1, 2000, pp. 123-24.

49. Vlachová and Biason (eds.), *Women in an Insecure World*, op. cit., p. 113.

50. Susan Brownmiller, *Against Our Will: Men, Women and Rape* (New York: Bantam Books, 1981), pp. 23-4.

51. Cynthia Enloe, *Maneuvers: The International Politics of Militarizing Women's Lives*, op. cit., p. 512.

52. Lisa S. Price, 'Finding the Man in the Soldier-Rapist', op. cit., p. 222.

Sexual violence against women in conflicts carries many gendered meanings of which the international community needs to be aware when involved in a crisis management operation. Rape is an act of violence and control that is performed with sexual means. In war, the rape of (enemy) women is a way to humiliate and demoralise the enemy: by raping the enemy women, male soldiers are telling the enemy men that they are not 'manly enough' because they fail to protect 'their' women. Especially in traditional societies, women are treated as property of men to be used as currency in transactions between men. Also, even in cultures with more liberal values, women are relegated to a position of a symbol that men have to protect.[53] Enloe writes how men go to wars for the sake of 'women and children', referring to nationalist rhetoric that is used to legitimise war and aggression.[54]

The so-called strategic rape[55] is a powerful method against societies, such as Kosovo and Bosnia-Herzegovina, where the honour of the whole community depends on the sexual purity of women. Victims of sexual violence also contract deadly diseases such as HIV/AIDS and venereal diseases that may cause infertility. Raped women, and their children conceived in rape, are stigmatised and re-victimised when their families reject them as defiled.[56] Hardly ever is it thought that the only person who should be 'dishonoured' is the perpetrator.[57] Sometimes rapes are staged as public spectacles in order to spread fear among the civilian population. Often the objective is ethnic cleansing by intimidating people to leave the area or impregnate women so that they have children who have the perpetrators' ethnicity or nationality.[58]

Because of the stigma attached to sexual violence, many female and male victims do not openly talk about their experiences, but rather hide them from their own communities and from international aid workers. For this reason, professionals who are able to recognise signs of sexual abuse are needed in operations. Also, female victims tend to be more comfortable with female personnel and male victims with male personnel. Some cultures may have religious rules that forbid male medical doctors from treating women victims of sexual violence.

Security may at the first glance appear to be a very simple issue, but in fact it is quite complicated. How security is understood depends on the specifications we make: (i) whose security are we talking about and who or what is in danger – state, nation, indi-

53. On the symbolic meanings of war rapes see e.g. Wendy Bracewell, 'Rape in Kosovo', op. cit.; Julie Mostov, 'Sexing the nation/desexing the body: politics of national identity in the former Yugoslavia', in Tamar Mayer (ed.), *Gender Ironies of Nationalism. Sexing the Nation* (London: Routledge, 2000).

54. Cynthia Enloe, op. cit., pp. 165–67. Recently some scholars, e.g. Jan Jindy Pettman, 'Feminist International Relations After 9/11', *Brown Journal of World Affairs*, vol. X, no. 2, 2004; Michaele L. Ferguson, '"W" Stands for Women: Feminism and Security Rhetoric in the Post-9/11 Bush Administration', *Politics & Gender*, vol. 1, no..1, 2005; Laura J .Shepherd, 'Veiled References: Construction of Gender in the Bush Administration Discourse on the Attacks on Afghanistan Post-9/11', *International Feminist Journal of Politics*, vol. 8, no. 1, 2006, have pointed out how the George W. Bush administration rationalised, at least to the public, its attack on Afghanistan and later on Iraq; the United States invoked the liberation of Afghan and Iraqi women as an added reason for invading Afghanistan and Iraq. Jan Jindy Pettman calls the US war on terror a triangle where 'our men set (…) out to rescue their women, from their men'.

55. Liu Institute, *Human Security Report 2005*, op. cit., p. 109.

56. Human Rights Watch, 'Kosovo: Rape as a Weapon of "Ethnic Cleansing"', March 2000, Available online at: http://www.hrw.org.

57. Vlachová and Biason (eds), *Women in an Insecure World*, op. cit., p. 114.

58. Amnesty International, op. cit.; Vlachová and Biason (eds), *Women in an Insecure World*, op. cit., p. 110.

vidual, man or woman?; (ii) who or what threatens security?; (iii) who provides for security?; and (iv) what methods may or should be used to provide for security?[59] The Realist and Neorealist Schools of international relations maintain that the state with its armed forces is the main provider of security for its citizens. In today's world where the majority of wars, ninety-five percent of them, are not fought *between* but *within* states,[60] soldiers may actually be threats to people's, particularly women's, security. Furthermore, because international peacekeeping troops have been found guilty of abusing local populations, soldiers may, in fact, be the source of insecurity and security at the same time.[61]

As a non-state international force which arrives on the scene to maintain peace when a resolution between warring factions has been reached, a military crisis management operation does not elicit images of warfare. According to Enloe, a peacekeeping force 'inspires optimism because it seems to perform military duties without being militaristic. And its troops at first glance appear to escape the distorting dynamics of militarism because they may not depend so heavily on patriarchal masculinity.' They are *soldiers of peace* – a quaint oxymoron.[62] Since they serve as a stabilising factor in war-torn and often ethnically divided areas, local people may even be willing to tolerate misconduct and aberrant behaviour by the members of the units.[63] For instance, individual women and women's organisations in Bosnia have stated that they benefited from the security provided by the United Nations 'protection force' UNPROFOR, the 'implementation force' IFOR and the 'stabilisation force' SFOR, as well as from the economic and practical effects that the presence of the international community has entailed.[64]

But there is another side to this: along with the arrival of the international male personnel we find militarised prostitution, sexual exploitation of girls and women, and sex trafficking increases greatly.[65] Studies and reports from human rights organisations show that the catalyst for trafficking and prostitution has in fact been the presence of the international missions. Prior to their arrival in Bosnia and Kosovo, both countries were so-called 'transit countries' for trafficking, but now they host a burgeoning sex industry. In Kosovo there was hardly any local clientele, the majority consisting of international workers.[66]

Women and children die also from war's side-effects, starvation, diseases and indiscriminate attacks on buildings. The after-

59. Terriff *et al*, *Security Studies Today*, op. cit., p. 3.

60. Liu Institute, *Human Security Report 2005*, op. cit., pp. viii, 15.

61. Elisabeth Rehn and Ellen Johnson Sirleaf, *Women. War. Peace: The Independent Experts' Assessment on the Impact of Armed Conflict on Women and Women's Role in Peacebuilding* (New York: UNIFEM, 2002).

62. Cynthia Enloe, op. cit., p. 33.

63. Joane Nagel, *Race, Ethnicity, and Sexuality. Intimate Intersections, Forbidden Frontiers* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2003), p. 190.

64. Cynthia Cockburn and Meliha Hubic, 'Gender and the peacekeeping military: a view from Bosnian women's organizations', in Cynthia Cockburn and Dubravka Zarkov (eds.), *The Postwar Moment: Militaries, Masculinities and International Peacekeeping* (London: Lawrence and Wishart, 2002), pp. 106-10.

65. Cockburn and Hubic, 'Gender and the peacekeeping military', op. cit., pp. 106-10.

66. Amnesty International, op. cit., p. 8; Panagiota Tritaki, op. cit..

effects of armed conflicts tend to be gender-specific. Women and teenage girls may become the sole providers and protectors for their families, because their male relatives have either been exiled or killed or are away on combat duty.[67] For instance, after the ceasefire in Bosnia two-thirds of the population was female.[68] Sexual violence may also continue in refugee camps where women and young girls are raped. There are also female soldiers who do not benefit from DDR (disarmament, demobilisation and reintegration) programmes. All this makes women and young girls vulnerable even in the post-conflict situation.[69]

Gender-based violence against civilian men and boys

The protection of women and girls affected by conflicts are high on the agendas of international organisations, and improvement certainly has been made due to the commitment to UNSCR 1325. There is, however, one aspect of gender-based violence that remains invisible and therefore is largely ignored by the international community: gender-based violence against civilian men and boys in conflict situations, of which R. Charli Carpenter has been very critical.[70]

Gender-based violence against civilian men and boys is a delicate issue because of its potentially political implications. The suffering and sexual victimisation of civilian men is in terms of culture and society challenging because it exposes the fact that there are indeed differences between men and that not all men are in a position of power. Gender-based violence against men demonstrates that that men are also vulnerable in the way women are, a taboo subject in many societies. Women's activists may in their turn discourage the attention paid to gender-based violence against civilian men because they are afraid that highlighting this issue and bringing men into gender mainstreaming policies will eclipse women's issues. Unfortunately these fears are to some extent justified. In the past, women's organisations had to struggle to make women visible and demonstrate how women were disadvantaged due to gender-blind policies. Stressing *gender* instead of women may result in the dilution of the positive power of gender mainstreaming. Gender may be misunderstood as a neutral concept 'obscuring or denying the fact that, in the world as it is at present, gender relations are a hierarchy with men at the top'.[71] This struggle still continues for, as we will see in the next chapter

67. R. Charli Carpenter, 'Recognizing gender-based violence against civilian men and boys in conflict situations', op. cit., pp. 87, 90.

68. Madeleine Rees, 'International intervention in Bosnia-Herzegovina: the cost of ignoring gender', in Cynthia Cockburn and Dubravka Zarkov (eds.), *The Postwar Moment. Militaries, Masculinities and International Peacekeeping. Bosnia and the Netherlands* (London: Lawrence & Wishart, 2002), pp. 55-57.

69. Vlachová and Biason (eds.), *Women in an Insecure World*, op. cit.

70. R. Charli Carpenter, 'Recognizing gender-based violence against civilian men and boys in conflict situations', op. cit.

71. Mandy MacDonald, Ellen Sprenger and Ireen Dubel, *Gender and Organisational Change: Bridging the Gap Between Policy and Practice* (Amsterdam: Royal Tropical Institute, 1997), p. 11. Quoted in Chant and Guttman, op. cit., p. 4; pp. 16-24.

of this paper, which focuses on research findings, women's concerns remain in the shadows.

Notwithstanding the dangers, ignoring male victims' needs will not in the long run serve any constructive purpose. Although the ones who hold positions of power in societies are male men are not a single unitary group; not all men have access to power. The exclusion of men results in their alienation and hostilities towards women and gender mainstreaming policies. In some cases the attention paid only to women's issues can create greater burdens for women because marginalised men refuse to take on further responsibilities. When men are included and their experiences are taken seriously they are also more willing to understand the hardships women have faced, and a healing process can start in the whole society.[72] In the end, this is a question of morality and human rights. The suffering of one group (men) cannot be tolerated because another group (women) has also suffered. Two wrongs do not make a right.

What follows is an account of gender-based violence against civilian men and boys in more detail. The author presents this because gender-based violence against men still remains invisible in many scholarly investigations as well as in policy work. The intention is not to diminish and trivialise the suffering of women, but to argue how gender mainstreaming is really about *gender*, about men and women. The following account relies mainly on R. Charli Carpenter's article, 'Recognizing gender-based violence against civilian men and boys in conflict situations', because she is one of the very few gender researchers who focus on gender-based violence against civilian boys and men.

Empirical data suggests that of all civilians, adult men are most likely to be targeted in armed conflicts. Because men of military age and teenage boys are assumed to be potential fighters they are often singled out for execution, as has happened in Darfur and Iraqi Kurdistan.[73] The massacres of civilian men are sometimes called a 'gendercide'.[74] One of the most notorious such events took place in 1995 in Srebrenica, Bosnia, where over 7,000 men and young boys were systematically killed.[75] Also in the Kosovo war, violence that was targeted at the civilian population was gender-specific. Women – as well as children and the elderly – were expelled from their home regions, young women were raped (and killed) while 'battle-age' men were tortured and killed.[76] For instance, a survey conducted in 1999 in post-war Kosovo shows that seventy-five per-

72. Chant and Guttman, op. cit., p. 26; R. Charli Carpenter, op. cit., pp. 98-9.

73. Liu Institute, *Human Security Report 2005*, op. cit., pp. 110-11; available online at: http://www.gendercide.org.

74. See: http://www.gendercide.org. R. Charli Carpenter, 'Beyond "Gendercide": Incorporating Gender into Comparative Genocide Studies', *The International Journal of Human Rights*, vol. 6, no. 4, 2002.

75. See: http://www.gendercide.org/case_bosnia.html.

76. Ibid.

cent of total deaths and ninety percent of war-related trauma deaths during the conflict were males.[77] In some cultures men, and not women, are considered to be carriers of ethnicity, and the massacre of men and boys is a means to carry out ethnic cleansing.[78]

One determining factor that contributes to the gender-selective massacre of men and boys is how the term 'civilian' is understood in international institutions and laws. Warring parties are required to distinguish between combatants and civilians on the basis of a person's actual participation in the armed conflict. What usually happens is that the distinction is actually based on sex.[79] Women are not seen as potential threats while all men are seen as combatants. Men indeed take up arms more often than women, but there are also men who refuse to serve in the military in times of conflict. In government armed forces, women constitute five to fifteen percent of personnel. In guerrilla groups the ratio of women is higher, even up to forty percent as in the Revolutionary Armed Forces of Colombia. Still, massacres of suspected rebels have continued predominantly to target men.[80]

As we have seen, like women men are also victims of sexual violence, but it remains unnoticed partly because it is often labelled as 'torture' or is not talked about at all. How many men are victims of sexual abuse is not known because there is no data collected. What also needs to be acknowledged is that in some cases women are involved in the acts as perpetrators (e.g. Bosnia, Rwanda).[81]

The sexual abuse men encounter in conflicts often takes different forms from the violence women encounter. Probably the most prevalent form involves a combination of *rape and sexual mutilation*. Such crimes are most likely to occur in detention. For instance, there are documented cases of castration, circumcision or other forms of sexual mutilation in prison camps during the war in Bosnia-Herzegovina. Prisoners were also forced to perform sexual acts on the guards or on other prisoners, they were raped, some prisoners were forced to bite off the testicles of other prisoners and one ex-detainee told of suffering electric shocks to the scrotum. In one reported incident prisoners were lined up naked while Serb women undressed in front of them; witnesses claimed that if any prisoner had an erection, his penis was cut off. Although sexual mutilation and rape of men have been known to happen in Bosnian concentration camps, these acts have not been prosecuted as sexual violence at the Hague Tribunal. Also, only female victims have been recipients of protection and psycho-social assistance.[82]

77. Liu Institute, op. cit., p. 110.

78. R. Charli Carpenter, 'Recognizing gender-based violence against civilian men and boys in conflict situations', op. cit., p. 89.

79. Ibid., p. 89.

80. Ibid., p. 90; Goldstein, *War and Gender*, op. cit., pp. 59-127.

81. R. Charli Carpenter, 'Recognizing gender-based violence against civilian men and boys', op. cit., pp. 94-5.

82. Ibid.

In the former Yugoslavia, Africa and South Asia there are known cases where fathers and sons were forced to rape each other and their female relatives. Another form of gender-based violence against men is secondary victimisation whereby men are forced to witness the rape of their female relatives. This is known to have happened at least in Sierra Leone. Witnessing the (sexual) abuse of a female relative amounts to mental torture. The rape of women is, in fact, partly motivated by the harmful effects it has on men. While the rape of women is a violation of women's human rights, it is also a psychological torture of men.[83]

The question of *forced recruitment* of men as a form of gender-based violence is a difficult one because sovereign states have the right to conscript their citizens, and the right of conscientious objection is only applicable to individuals who refuse to take up arms on the grounds of religious convictions.[84] Because forced conscription of adult men is not, unlike the forced conscription of children, a human rights violation, there is very little the international community can do to protect civilian men who try to evade military service.[85]

Whether forced recruitment of men is a form of gender-based violence or not is, in fact, a context-specific question. While sovereign states have the right to conscript their citizens there are, in some settings, side effects that constitute gender-based violence. There are, for instance, press gangs that use terror methods to force objectors into serving. In Iraq, during the regime of Saddam Hussein, captured deserters were mutilated by removing their ears, feet or hands in hospitals.[86] Also, the Council of Europe Parliamentary Assembly has noted in the report *Human Rights of Members of the Armed Forces* the many human rights violations male conscripts face in Russia, Ukraine, Armenia and Azerbaijan.[87]

Although sovereign states have the right to conscript their citizens, automatic assumptions that adult men are required to take up arms *in all circumstances and at all costs* may have adverse effects on conflict-prevention policies, as R. Charli Carpenter argues. If adult men are not granted the right to remain as civilians, the only choice they have is to join the armed forces. More importantly, if men are denied protection afforded to other groups such as women, children and the elderly, they may take up arms simply for their own protection. Conflict-prevention strategies aim at the reduction of the number of people actively engaged in violent conflict. Not recognising the forced conscription of men as a form of

83. Ibid., pp. 97-97.

84. Article 18 of the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights.

85. R. Charli Carpenter, 'Recognizing gender-based violence against civilian men and boys', op. cit., p. 91.

86. Ibid., p. 92.

87. Parliamentary Assembly of the Council of Europe (PACE), *Human Rights of Members of the Armed Forces*, Doc. 10861, 24 March 2006.

gender-based violence and thus not granting the victims protection, the conflict-prevention efforts undertaken by the international community are seriously undermined.[88]

The emphasis on women as victims, which prevents international organisations seeing the whole picture and, as a consequence, performing effectively, has been addressed by the UN after the passing of UNSCR 1325. Its 2002 study *Women, Peace and Security. Study submitted by the Secretary-General pursuant to Security Council Resolution 1325* challenges some of the automatic assumptions of women solely as victims and solely as needing protection. In paragraphs 8 and 9 (and also in paragraph 47) it is recognised that

> women are not a homogenous group and may have contradictory interests and priorities.[89]

and that women may also function as agents and participants in conflict either by carrying out acts of violence

> because they are committed to the political, religious or economic goals of the parties to the conflict[90]

or by providing non-military support for the war such as cooking and cleaning for soldiers, developing and disseminating propaganda etc.[91] Also, the paragraph 14 states that

> a focus on gender mainstreaming in conflict and post-conflict situations involves recognizing that women, girls, men and boys participate in and experience conflict, peace processes and post-conflict recovery differently. These differences and inequalities should be understood and taken into account in all responses to conflict prevention, conflict situations and post-conflict rehabilitation and reconstruction.

Furthermore, gender-based violence against men and young boys is acknowledged,

> men and adolescent boys are also subject to gender-based and sexual torture. The sexual abuse, torture and mutilation of male detainees or prisoners is often carried out to attack and destroy their sense of masculinity or manhood. Abuse and torture of female members of a man's family in front of him is used to convey

88. R. Charli Carpenter, 'Recognizing gender-based violence against civilian men and boys', op. cit., p. 93.

89. *Women, Peace and Security. Study submitted by the Secretary-General pursuant to Security Council Resolution 1325* (New York: United Nations, October 2002), Paragraph 49, p. 14.

90. Ibid., Paragraph 8, p. 3.

91. Ibid., Paragraph 9, p. 3.

the message that he has failed in his role as protector. These forms of humiliation and violence take on powerful political and symbolic meanings. The deliberate initiation and endorsement of these acts by military commanders and political leaders underscores the significance of these acts as more than random assaults.[92]

Towards diversity?

Numerous studies[93] on military crisis management operations have attested how the participation of female peacekeepers makes the operation more effective because

(i) local men and women tend to see female peacekeepers as more approachable and less threatening than male peacekeepers, even in Muslim societies.
(ii) female peacekeepers may, when off duty, socialise with local women and talk with them about 'life behind the scenes'. This way the missions get further valuable information about what is going on in the host society.
(iii) female military personnel are needed at road-blocks, airports etc to perform body searches on women. Women also are pacifying actors in potentially threatening situations during these searches.
(iv) female military personnel serve as monitors of excessive behaviour among male soldiers.
(v) female international police officers and soldiers can act as role models for local women who are e.g. thinking of a career in the police force.
(vi) female police officers are needed to identify and handle female victims of domestic violence, trafficking and sexual abuse.
(vii) there is a general diversity in the composition of the forces.

To diversify the composition of crisis management operation personnel the UN adopted gender balancing as a part of gender-mainstreaming policies. UNSCR 1325

urges the Member States to ensure increased representation of women at all decision-making levels in national, regional and international institutions and mechanisms for the prevention,

92. Ibid., Paragraph 59, p. 16.

93. E.g. Louise Olsson, Inger Skjelsbæk, Elise Fredrikke Barth and Karen Hostens (eds.), *Gender Aspects of Conflict Interventions: Intended and Unintended Consequences*, Final Report to the Norwegian Ministry of Foreign Affairs (Oslo: International Peace Research Institute, 2004); Sophia Ivarsson, *Genusperspektiv på fredsbefrämjande insatser* (Stockholm: Försvarsdepartementet, 2004); Louise Olsson and Torunn L. Tryggestad, *Women and International Peacekeeping* (London: Frank Cass, 2001).

management and resolution of conflict

and

encourages the Secretary-General to implement his strategic plan of action (...) calling for an increase in the participation of women at decision-making levels in conflict resolution and peace processes.

In addition, the Resolution

urges the Secretary-General to seek to expand the role and contribution of women in United Nations field-based operations, and especially among military observers, civilian police, human rights and humanitarian personnel

and

expresses its willingness to incorporate a gender perspective into peacekeeping operations and urges the Secretary-General to ensure that, where appropriate, field operations include a gender component.

Regardless of UNSCR 1325 and other declarations, there is a gap between rhetoric and practice. For instance, the proportion of women in peace operations continues to be low. Out of twenty-seven UN peace operations, there have been five women as head of mission or Special Representative of the Secretary General (SRSG) – in the United Nations Operation in Burundi (ONUB), the United Nations Angola Verification Mission (UNAVEM) II, United Nations Mission in Bosnia Herzegovina (UNMIBH), United Nations Peacekeeping Force in Cyprus (UNFICYP) and in the United Nations Observer Mission to South Africa (UNOMSA). As of September 2005, among civilian staff in peace-keeping operations, women constitute on average thirty percent of international personnel and twenty percent of nationally recruited staff. The proportion of women at more senior levels is considerably lower. Four percent of the civilian police are women and one percent of the military peacekeepers. As of November 2004, out of seventeen peacekeeping operations, ten had a full-time gender expert.[94] In comparison, in all nine ESDP operations

94. See: www.peacewomen.org/un/pkwatch/facts.html, (accessed 27 March 2007).

there has not been so far one single female EUSR.[95] Security and military issues are often regarded to be the field of expertise and interests of men only, and as a result women are not considered or promoted to security-related positions. Even some women may find security and military topics alien to them and opt for different interests. There are, nevertheless, many women working as academics and activists, especially in the field of gender and security, who are interested – and qualified – to take positions in decision-making bodies on security issues.

According to Sandra Whitworth, the biggest problem within the UN system is not so much the gap between rhetoric and practice, 'but rather whether the United Nations and its member states *ever could* provide anything more than technical fixes' in a context 'that privileges the idea of liberal internationalism as an always benign and humanitarian endeavour, while at the same time ascribing to the *realpolitik* principles of state sovereignty and power politics'. Whitworth argues that although women's organisations have succeeded in putting 'gender' on the UN agenda, it nevertheless has had ambiguous results. It is, of course, a great victory as such that international organisations have realised that conflicts and wars indeed have gender-specific consequences. In order to get gender included on the agendas, women's organisations have had to convince the UN that mainstreaming helps the organisation carry out *its own activities* more effectively – a legitimate objective. However, that is not enough. As a result, mainstreaming strategies tend to focus on peacekeepers and civilian personnel, and not so much on the locals who are affected by the UN operations.[96]

Tarja Väyrynen has addressed this same question from a different point-of-view. In her view, peace operations typify the kind of outlook where problems are easily recognised and solved by experts – 'the world is taken for granted'.[97] Therefore, the problem is considered to be the low number of women in peace negotiations, reconstruction and in the personnel of peace operations (see e.g. UNSCR 1325), and the logical answer to this problem is, of course, seen to be the increase of the proportion of women.

However, the mere presence and participation of women do not change the mechanisms that endorse gender hierarchies, nor do they of themselves lead to equality between men and women.[98] 'Adding women and stirring' does not automatically lead to equal-

95. For more statistical information, see Annex 1.

96. Sandra Whitworth, op. cit., pp. 120-21.

97. Tarja Väyrynen, 'Gender and UN Peace Operations: The Confines of Modernity', *International Peacekeeping*, vol.11, no. 1, 2004, p. 126, pp. 128-29.

98. See, e.g., Cohn, Kinsella and Gibbings, 'Women, Peace and Security', op. cit., pp. 137-40.

ity in highly gendered power structures. Women are no more homogenous a group than are men, and – like men – by no means all of them have an inborn aptitude for peacemaking; as *Women, Peace and Security. Study submitted by the Secretary-General pursuant to Security Council Resolution 1325* recognises, 'it is important, however, not to generalize about "women" as not all women work for peace.'[99]

The results of 'adding women and stirring' are mainly cosmetic and sometimes even counter-productive. 'Adding and stirring' essentialises and totalises gender and women's experiences, as if biological womanhood were enough to define women's experiences. Consequently, differences between women's political goals based on economic, social, regional and ethnic factors are missed. Moreover, realistically (and despite the efforts of many troop contributors to increase female recruitment) peacekeeping troops are overwhelmingly male, and seem likely to remain so for the foreseeable future. They have to change some of their assumptions and practices too.

Since the security environment and crisis management operations are becoming more and more complex amalgamations of civilian and/or military missions, people with different backgrounds, different expertise and experience are needed, simply for the effectiveness of missions, to participate in an ESDP operation at every stage from the fact-finding mission all the way to the lessons learned. There are women who have experience and knowledge for instance in human rights and gender issues, and their expertise is crucial for the success of ESDP missions.

If gender mainstreaming is to address the issues to which UNSCR 1325 alerts us properly, it must be understood as a matter that involves everyone, and that permeates all fields of action. Increasing the participation of women in ESDP missions is only one part of a wider effort to change the culture of the military and civilian organisations that are involved in planning and implementing such operations. Diversity is an asset that needs to be better mobilised in the interests of ESDP. Disregarding diversity – of age, social background, ethnicity and religion as well as gender – makes for less effective policies and fails to make the best use of human resources.

'Diversity' is the keyword. In today's world, there are many ways

99. *Women, Peace and Security. Study submitted by the Secretary-General pursuant to Security Council Resolution 1325* (United Nations: New York, 2002), Paragraph 166, p. 54.

to be a good soldier. Since the end of the Cold War, the international security environment has become more complex, and modern armed forces are now required to perform diverse tasks. The focus has shifted from fighting high-intensity wars of national territorial defence to crisis management, peace support and humanitarian operations. There will always be a need for physically tough fighters for combat tasks, but the traditional monolithic ideal of the soldier as warrior is not well suited to the tasks of peace support, which often have more in common with policing, training/re-education, and even 'social work' in the midst of fragile, traumatised post-conflict societies. Indeed, today's conflicts do not only call for military responses, but, as the EU's Security Strategy notes, 'we need greater capacity to bring all necessary civilian resources to bear in crisis and post-crisis situations.' Such diverse tasks demand diverse skills, which women are just as likely to possess as men. Only an organisation that truly respects and fully exploits the diversity of backgrounds, skills and experience of its members can operate effectively in a complex security environment.

Research findings from Bosnia-Herzegovina and other case studies

Bosnia-Herzegovina is a prime 'laboratory' for the investigation of how gender mainstreaming can contribute to improving the performance of ESDP missions. It was the war in Bosnia-Herzegovina in the 1990s that decisively raised international awareness of the changed nature of armed conflict after the end of the Cold War, and the gender dimension to that violence was unmistakable. However, a gender perspective was notably absent from the Dayton Peace negotiations, and was not incorporated into the mandates of the military and civilian peace-implementation missions. Ethnicity was given pride of place in defining the conflict and prescribing what had to be done to end it. Yet the post-conflict Bosnian society into which the peace-implementation missions were introduced was deeply scarred by the legacies of gender-based violence, no less than by ethnic conflict.

Subsequently, Bosnia-Herzegovina became host to the first ESDP mission – the EU Police Mission (EUPM) launched at the beginning of 2003 – and now hosts the largest-ever ESDP mission – Operation EUFOR *Althea*, which took over from NATO's SFOR in December 2004. Moreover, since March 2002, the international community's High Representative in Bosnia-Herzegovina has been 'double-hatted' as EU Special Representative. The latter function is now to grow, in line with the planned drawdown of the OHR. The aim of the current HR/EUSR, Christian Schwarz-Schilling, is to complete this transition during 2007, if conditions in Bosnia-Herzegovina permit. It is thus an opportune moment to review the place of gender mainstreaming in all three missions.

The brief of the report commissioned from the EUISS by the Council of the EU was to investigate what impact gender mainstreaming might have on the ESDP missions in Bosnia-Herzegovina, and how it might be implemented. The research findings presented in this section are based on fieldwork research by two researchers (the current author and EUISS Research Fellow Judy Batt) in Bosnia-Herzegovina in spring 2006 (29 March - 7 April),

supplemented by the findings of existing research literature on gender and the military and on the gender impact of peacekeeping on post-conflict societies elsewhere in the world. Also used is previous research done by Johanna Valenius on the Finnish peacekeeping force in Kosovo in November 2004. In addition, valuable information was provided by Member States in response to a questionnaire on implementation of UNSCR 1325, conducted by the Council Secretariat and presented to the political-military group (PMG) on 25 April 2006. Annual reports to the Committee on Women in NATO Forces (CWINF) proved to be very useful.[100] Quantitative data are presented in the tables in Annex 1. The major qualitative findings of the research are presented below. The researchers – both female – met with EUPM, EUFOR, and EUSR personnel in Sarajevo. Fieldwork started with a visit to EUFOR Headquarters at Camp Butmir (on the outskirts of Sarajevo), where the researchers had an office call with the Chief of Staff, followed by a meeting with about 20 female soldiers convened by the Chief of Staff. It must be noted that two male officers sat in on the meeting with the women soldiers, which had an impact on the dynamic of the discussion. The author and fellow-researcher Judy Batt also spent three hours on patrol with peacekeepers (all male). The author also visited a LOT (Liaison and Observation Team) house in a town some 60km from Sarajevo and talked to several women's NGOs in Sarajevo. Overall, the data gathered from interviews in Bosnia-Herzegovina corroborated research findings from similar studies done elsewhere, as is shown below.

Attitudes towards women's participation in EUPM and EUFOR

On the whole, the interviewed personnel from the top level to the rank-and-file demonstrated positive attitudes towards women's increased participation in both missions, but all agreed that female police officers and soldiers should not be recruited 'just because they are women'. For instance, one EUPM staff member stressed that it is a question of 'putting the right person in the right spot'. Female police officers could be just as good – or as bad – as male police officers. Women were capable of doing all jobs in the police, except those like riot control where physical, upper-body strength

100. See: http://www.nato.int/ issues/women_nato/index.html.

is required. Some of the female EUFOR soldiers interviewed were of the opinion that men and women do indeed bring different qualities to bear on peacekeeping, and that women in general can be better, for example, in 'multi-tasking'.

While the top-level officers in both missions demonstrated a positive disposition towards women in the missions, one could not avoid the impression that they had very little knowledge of what gender mainstreaming actually is and what purposes it serves. Voicing support for gender mainstreaming may seem to be the politically correct thing to do to when faced with a female researcher asking questions. There is clearly the danger that introducing gender mainstreaming practices and increasing the numbers of women participating in operations will turn into hollow 'tokenism' with no value at all if the people concerned do not fully understand what the objectives are.

There are also some misguided beliefs within the military about the impact of female soldiers. Although senior military officials tend to be supportive of women's participation in operations abroad as a rule, such enthusiasm is often qualified by reservations. Many male and female soldiers tend to think that female military personnel would not be well received by men in 'traditional' and/or Muslim societies, as the members of the all-male LOT house (Liaison Observation Team) and some female soldiers in Camp Butmir pointed out. The LOT members, who were all male (this was because LOT members have to be officers, and almost no women had reached officer rank in this particular national army) argued that women soldiers would not be appropriate for the LOT's task of liaison with the local authorities in Foca, because these are all-male, and they would not readily deal with women soldiers. However, even if the local officials in the host society are predominantly male, this does not necessarily mean that men have all the power and that they are the only key interlocutors. This is not the case in Kosovo, for instance. There a male officer realised that in order to make some progress in negotiations with Kosovo male villagers he had to acknowledge the presence of female villagers because they exercised power 'behind the scenes'.[101]

Female peacekeepers in particular may also when off duty socialise with local women and talk with them about life 'behind the scenes'. This way the missions get further valuable information about what is going on in the host society. Female peace-

101. Sophia Ivarsson, op. cit.

keepers are also very valuable at checkpoints where they can perform body searches on local women for illegal ammunition and drugs. Gender is not by any means the sole factor that affects interaction. Age and ethnic background also bear considerable significance. In a study of the UN Eritrea/Ethiopia mission (UNMEE) it is reported that female soldiers from Ghana and Kenya could interact better with local women than women with ethnic European backgrounds.[102]

Similar cases of women's unsuitability in operations in traditional or Muslim countries are cited in research literature. For instance, in 1992 the new force commander of the United Nations Interim Forces in Lebanon (UNIFIL), who was known to have a negative attitude towards military women in the military, sent out recommendations to participating countries that represented an enormous change for the worse in the opportunities for the women soldiers serving in the mission. He explained that Muslim and Druze men might react negatively to female soldiers, i.e. the presence of women might jeopardise the security and effectiveness of the mission. He nevertheless had no evidence to support his claim.[103]

While there is no clear evidence to support those claims that female peacekeepers would not be well received in Muslim/'traditional' societies, there is evidence that point to the contrary. In the Temporary International Presence in Hebron (TIPH) even the male population found the female peacekeepers more 'approachable' than their male counterparts, and Hebron is a predominantly Muslim society where many women are veiled in the traditional *hijab*, some of them covering their entire faces.[104]

Several Member States also reported interesting information on this issue in their replies to the Council Secretariat questionnaire. The Hungarian military has some anecdotal experience that female soldiers are more accepted in conflict areas than their male colleagues and that female military police are more able to perform their duties in Muslim countries because they can handle intercultural communication better. Some Member States deliberately place female soldiers in certain positions in operations in Muslim countries: Finland has reserved one assignment for a female CIMIC in the NATO-led operation in Afghanistan; the Netherlands has proposed the use of female military personnel for house searches and road-blocks in Iraq; and Belgium has used female NCOs to search female civilians who want to enter the air-

102. Elise Barth, 'The United Nations Mission in Eritrea/Ethiopia: Gender(ed) Effects', in Louise Olsson, Inger Skjelsbæk, Elise Fredrikke Barth and Karen Hostens (eds.), *Gender Aspects of Conflict Interventions*, op. cit..

103. Kari H.Karamé, 'Military Women in Peace Operations: Experiences of the Norwegian Battalion in UNIFIL 1978–98', in Louise Olsson and Torunn L. Tryggestad, (eds.), *Women and International Peacekeeping*, op. cit., pp. 92-3.

104. Karen Hostens, 'The Temporary International Presence in Hebron: A Civilian International Observer Mission', in Louise Olsson, Inger Skjelsbæk, Elise Fredrikke Barth and Karen Hostens (eds.), *Gender Aspects of Conflict Interventions*, op. cit, pp. 46-7.

port. In all cases female military personnel are reported to have had a very favourable impact on the local population.

More importantly still, LOTs should be engaging not only with local officialdom, but with the wider civil society – including women – if they are to be effective in their tasks of information-gathering, interacting and communicating with the host society. The specific tasks of LOTs in general in fact call for the inclusion of women soldiers. And the town visited for the fieldwork for this project had been the site of one of the most notorious rape-camps during the war. A large part of the local society, therefore, could be expected to have mixed feelings (at best) about the presence of men in uniform.

As Kari Karamé has argued, the fear that female soldiers might encounter resistance from the men in Muslim societies tends to be based on our own Western (mis)conceptions of those societies, and not on the realities of the host culture. In fact, many states that have Muslim majorities or that define themselves as Muslim states such as Iran, Syria, Indonesia, Libya and Pakistan, have women in the military and sometimes women even serve in combat units. In those societies men react to the uniform, not to the sex of the soldier. What we are unfortunately doing is using Islam as a scapegoat to camouflage our own sexist attitudes.[105]

The members of the LOT were also of the view that the presence of women colleagues would unnecessarily complicate life in the LOT house. This is a normal house located in the town, which accommodates the 8-member team who have to take care of the cleaning, food shopping and cooking for themselves. The members of the team argued that the floor plan of the house precluded women, as, according to the national military standards, male and female soldiers cannot share a bedroom or bathroom, so each sex needs their own rooms and facilities. Unless there were equal numbers of men and women, the women would end up being provided with much better living conditions at great additional expense. Women soldiers back at Camp Butmir also said that male soldiers were sometimes resentful that the separate provisions for the needs of women as a minority could mean the women got better treatment than the men. This issue clearly touches on certain sensitivities, but the feeling of the researchers was that it really should not prove an insuperable problem to organise living arrangements to accommodate both sexes.

105. Kari H. Karamé, op. cit., pp. 93-4.

Women as 'civilisers' of men's behaviour

Sometimes the case for including women in peacekeeping operations is supported in the expectation that the presence of women will reduce aggressive behaviour among their male colleagues.[106] When the researchers asked the women in EUFOR what they thought about being 'civilisers', some women saw themselves as 'normalisers' rather than 'civilisers' of men's behaviour. One female soldier voiced her resentment and said that she did not like the role. The real issue here is who is to be held responsible for men's behaviour.

A rather dubious argument sometimes put forward in support of increasing the number of female peacekeepers in a mission is that this will deter their male colleagues from associating with local women.[107] There is little evidence to suggest this will be the result. One study of female SFOR soldiers in Bosnia-Herzegovina found that they avoided the company of their male colleagues in their free time because they did not want to know whether male peacekeepers solicited prostitutes. Also their commanding officer was sceptical about the impact of women on men's conduct.[108] Although the men's behaviour bothered them, the women did not want to take on the role of a 'civiliser'; on the contrary, they withdrew from their male colleagues. The issue of men's behaviour thus became a source of tension and mistrust among the women and men in the troops, which may lessen group cohesion.

Bringing more women into peacekeeping forces for the purposes of 'pacifying' their male colleagues is dubious not only in terms of practical efficacy but also in moral terms: it shifts the responsibility for men's behaviour onto women. The real issue is that some soldiers behave unprofessionally. Violations of the standards of behaviour and professional conduct cannot be shrugged off with the excuse that 'boys will be boys'. This would quite falsely imply that men cannot control themselves, and ultimately cannot be trusted. Responsibility lies squarely with the few misbehaving soldiers and with their superiors, who should be committed to creating a professional and secure work environment. This sends a positive message to both the troops and to the host society, showing the locals that their well-being is taken seriously by the mission personnel.

106. e.g. Gerard J. DeGroot, 'A Few Good Women: Gender Stereotypes, the Military and Peacekeeping', in Louise Olsson and Torunn L. Tryggestad (eds.), *Women and International Peacekeeping*, op. cit.; United Nations, Report of the Panel on United Nations Peace Operations, op. cit., pp. 4, 21-22, 29.

107. DeGroot, op. cit.

108. Inger Skjelsbæk, 'The NATO Stabilization Force in Bosnia-Herzegovina: A Military Intervention Facing New Civilian Challenges', in Louise Olsson, Inger Skjelsbæk, Elise Fredrikke Barth and Karen Hostens (eds.), *Gender Aspects of Conflict Interventions*, op. cit.

Obstacles to women's participation in operations abroad

The percentage of women in police and military missions is very low.[109] In EUFOR *Althea*, it is less than six percent. In EUPM, the percentage of women is considerably higher in civilian positions than among police officers (where it is under eight percent), although even among the international civilians, women constitute only a little over one-fifth of the personnel. The main reason for women's low participation in ESDP missions is that women constitute only a small minority in the Member States' national forces.[110] As one of the top level EUFOR officers among the interviewees emphasised, it is the responsibility the Member States to do their part and provide more women for the missions.

Many states have had to re-evaluate their recruitment, training and employment policies with the abolition of male conscription in the late 1990s and early 2000s and the professionalisation of their armed forces. The armed forces have had to transform themselves into modern workplaces that can attract qualified people from various backgrounds. Undeniably the armed forces constitutes a workplace with a very specific *raison d'être*. Nevertheless, the military today should be regarded as a workplace, in which men and women have to work effectively together.

The abolition of male conscription did increase the number of women joining the military. However, many Member States report serious problems with retaining women in the armed forces. More women may be joining the military, but they also decide to quit more often than their male colleagues. This not only reduces the overall numbers of women in the military, it also means that there are fewer women to be promoted to the rank of an officer, who are then able to apply for instance for military observer positions, or to Liaison and Observation Teams, in the case of Bosnia-Herzegovina. Another result of women leaving the service is that there are very few women in the higher ranks who could serve as role models for other women. From the efficiency angle, the outflow of capable employees wastes resources because recruiting, selecting and training new personnel is costly.

The critical point at which women abandon their military careers is between the ages of 30 and 40 – the years when they have small children to care for; and family responsibilities are also a

109. See Annex 1, Tables 1 and 2.
110. See Annex 1, Tables 3 and 4.

major factor deterring women's participation in missions abroad. Although some Member States do have family policies that encourage fathers to stay at home with their children for a period of time, women still are the primary carers for young children. The militaries are above all national militaries with their own value systems, rationales and expectations of men and women. Therefore, when we address the question of women's participation in crisis management operations and consider policies that aim to increase the number of women in missions, we engage ourselves in political and societal processes that involve the gendered division of labour and care, family policies and deep-seated attitudes regarding men's and women's roles in societies. This is not a reason for pessimism about the feasibility of gender mainstreaming. Our societies – and the gender roles they embody – are changing, and gender mainstreaming in the military will gradually reflect broader social change.

The traditional organisational culture of our armed forces is not a welcoming one for women. Even where government policy is committed to increasing women's recruitment and securing equal career opportunities, women will be deterred from choosing a military career, and discouraged from pursuing it if the traditional monolithically masculine (if not 'hyper-masculine') culture of the military does not change. The pressures on women to adapt to such a culture may constitute forms of harassment, contrary to the principles of the *Generic Standards of Behaviour for ESDP Operations*:

> The right of all personnel to live and work in an environment free from harassment, abuse, unlawful discrimination, intimidation and bullying must be upheld. This especially includes all forms of sexual abuse and sexual harassment but also the display of pornographic material at the work place and its distribution.[111]

Many male officers signed up for a military that did not allow women in their ranks, and they liked it that way. On the other hand, it may be said that female soldiers knew what kind of an institution they were about to join, and they did so voluntarily. Indeed, many female soldiers are proud of the fact that they made it, that they are tough enough to succeed in a 'macho' institution, as our observations of female soldiers in KFOR and EUFOR *Althea* indicated. On the other hand, this author's research among female KFOR peace-

111. Council of the European Union, *Generic Standards of Behaviour for ESDP Operations* (doc. 8373/3/05, Rev. 3), Brussels, 18 May 2005.

keepers in Kosovo also revealed the case of one female soldier who felt she had actually to hold back, because (she said) some of her male peers found it hard to accept women who perform better than them. Female soldiers who feel insecure in their status may strive to compensate by becoming more 'one of the boys' than the 'boys' themselves, and may even be less critical of the military's practices than their male colleagues.[112]

A persistent problem that has an adverse effect on women's motivation to pursue a military career is (sexual) harassment (which may also affect men, an issue to which we will return below). Sexual harassment is any unwelcome sexual advance or conduct on the job (e.g. touching, gestures, jokes, display of pornographic material, disparaging remarks) that has the effect of making the workplace intimidating or hostile. Often those accused of sexual harassment justify their actions as 'jokes' or a 'natural flirtation' between the sexes. This is to trivialise the issue. In many countries, sexual harassment is considered a form of illegal discrimination and is a form of sexual and psychological abuse, ranging from mild transgressions to much more serious abuses. In fact, psychologists and social workers report that severe and/or chronic sexual harassment can have the same psychological effects on victims as rape or sexual assault.

Female soldiers are particularly susceptible to sexual harassment because of their minority and subordinate position in the hierarchical and highly masculine military culture. For instance, in 2002, 1,072 Spanish female soldiers submitted a complaint regarding sexual harassment, and in 2005, the British Royal Air Force (RAF) reported that nearly half of all RAF women had been subjected to sexual harassment. What is a characteristic feature of sexual harassment is that the victims feel that it is their own fault, something to be ashamed about, and that they cannot talk about it in public.

The actions taken by a military organisation against sexual harassment may sometimes have the effect of a double-edged sword, as the example from the Finnish contingent in Kosovo illustrates. During 2004, changes took place in their living arrangements. Before, the women's barracks in Camp Ville were among the men's living quarters, but now (in 2004) women live in their own separate section, shielded by a high fence. Female peacekeepers saw two sides to this. The positive side is that the not uncommon phenomenon of (drunken) male peacekeepers trying

112. Ilene Rose Feinman, *Citizenship Rites: Feminist Soldiers & Feminist Antimilitarists* (New York: New York University Press, 2000), p. 34.

to get into the women's accommodation has ended. The negative side is that the segregation isolates the very few women who are there even more and makes them feel like 'forbidden fruits' and curiosities, as one Swedish female peacekeeper noted.[113] The strict code of conduct and gender segregation have many positive effects on the lives of female peacekeepers. The problem is, however, that the women are made the source of the problems. If their male colleagues harass them physically or verbally, the system responds by moving the women. The system does not address, except in some specific cases of explicit transgression, militarised masculinity and the behaviour of men.

The display of pornographic material in public places in camps may be interpreted as sexual harassment, as the *Generic Standards of Behaviour for ESDP Operations* recognises. Research among the female soldiers in EUFOR *Althea* revealed different views about pornographic material: some took a more lenient line and said they wouldn't mind putting up their own pin-ups on the wall (perhaps a case of being 'just like the men'), while others thought that it wholly unacceptable to have pornographic material in a professional workplace.

A similar range of attitudes was found in 2004 research among female soldiers in Kosovo. According to the strict code of conduct, pictures of women showing their nipples or pubic area are forbidden in public areas. Yet what is allowed is the showing of pornographic films on request, with full-frontal nudity, on the public internal TV-channel after 10.00 p.m.

In the course of her research the author asked a female peacekeeper about this. Her reaction was what tends to be typical for women who work, and want to continue to work, in a male-dominated environment. She understood that the showing of pornographic films might bother some women, but they did not bother her. She did not watch them because she found them silly and unrealistic, and she made fun of men who watch those films. She distanced and shielded herself from her gendered position by emphasising her individual and 'non-gendered' freedom of choice to change the channel when there was a pornographic film showing. Another female interviewee took a different position on pornographic material. She voiced her resentment about the custom of setting a porn site as the start page on public computers. It bothered her that every time she went to read her emails she was forced to look at pornographic images.[114]

113. Interviews in Kosovo in 2004.
114. Ibid.

Peacekeepers' camps are masculine spaces. Men dominate and define the space by their sheer numbers and uniform bodily presence.[115] More precisely, it is not exactly *men* who characterise the space, but there is a certain type of *masculinity* that permeates and defines it, i.e. the heteromasculinity of 22 to 24-year-old young men. It is a type of masculinity with which not everyone, whether male or female, can identify, but has to tolerate in order to cope with his/her daily reality, for instance by allowing the outer wall of the women's sauna building to be defaced with obscene graffiti.[116] According to Judith Stiehm, in cases where their proportion is low, female soldiers may even be less critical of the military's practices than their male colleagues.[117] When this kind of masculinity is accepted as the norm it is easy to slide into the essentialist 'boys will be boys' explanation when sexual harassment and other violations of the code of conduct take place. Hence, the responsibility and blame are foisted on the victims, who are often women. Responsibility lies, however, with the perpetrators and their superiors who should be attuned to gender issues and be committed to creating a professional work environment.

The majority of harassment cases never come to light for various reasons; the lack of knowledge of how to and to whom to file the complaint; belittling and even hostile attitudes among the superiors and peers; fear that the victim is labelled as a troublemaker and that his/her career is going to suffer if he/she pursues the case. In our discussion with the female EUFOR soldiers, the women told the researchers that if they were harassed, they would not know to whom to report the incident.

As the author's research on KFOR revealed, sometimes even female soldiers will discourage a female colleague from reporting harassment because they feel that speaking publicly about ill treatment would just make women's position even worse. Some think that sexual harassment of women is an inevitable part of the military and women should just accept it.

Mental harassment of women appears to be common in military and police organisations everywhere. A survey among female cadets conducted in the Finnish National Defence College revealed that the belittling and denigration of women, their exclusion from student circles, constant surveillance and telling lies about women happened on a daily basis. Sometimes such harassment took place in front of their subordinates, which undermined their authority. Also, the women felt that their superior officers

115. The researcher experienced this first hand during her one-week stay in the camp. Very early on she realised that she could not tell the Finnish male peacekeepers apart. There is a custom among the Finns that men cut their hair very short or even shave their heads. In their green camouflage, almost-bald heads and young round faces they all looked the same to her.

116. Saunas are an important part of Finnish everyday life. Nowadays, new apartments, even the smallest ones, are furnished with a sauna of their own. For the peacekeepers, going to the sauna is a favourite pastime to relieve the boredom of camp life.

117. Ilene Rose Feinman, *Citizenship Rites*, op. cit., p. 34.

did not know how to handle mental harassment.[118]

The harassment of female cadets by their male peers should wake everyone up to the cold fact that hostility towards women does not go away by itself when the older officers, who may have negative feelings towards military women, retire. There are unfortunately many young men, between the ages of 20 to 30, who have opted for a military career, but cannot accept female soldiers as their equals.

Equally important is to root out various 'hazing' practices and initiation ordeals that affect mostly young male conscripts. The recent Council of Europe report on *Human Rights of Members of the Armed Forces* highlights the abuses in Russia and ex-Soviet republics, but points out that such cases have also been uncovered in France, Poland and the UK.[119] As with sexual harassment, there is a tendency to dismiss degrading initiation practices as a part of military tradition and 'boys just being boys'. Military tradition or not, hazing violates the victim's human rights.

The tasks of modern armed forces are diverse, and in reality, very few male soldiers measure up to the image of the ideal soldier. There always will be demand for the physically tough fighters in special or elite forces. However, for the majority of soldiers, male and female, there is no need to even try to fit the traditional image of the ideal soldier. Today's militaries cannot therefore adhere to outdated and monolithic notions of soldierhood. Female soldiers should not be made feel that they are accepted by their peers and superiors only if they are 'as good as men': the 'ideal soldier' is no longer the ideal. Instead there should be many different ways to be a good soldier and equal among peers. In a complex security environment only an organisation that truly accepts and respects differences between its members can be effective.

Prostitution and peacekeeping

The misbehaviour of soldiers and international civilian personnel, including acts of violence against the local population, and the linkage between the presence of peacekeepers/international civilian personnel and the incidence of prostitution and trafficking in women, are well-known and documented. Military peacekeepers and civilian personnel are in a position of power, especially in terms of money, in relation to the local population, which often suffers

118. Elena Ojala, *Sosiaalisen oppimisympäristön tasa-arvoisuus Maanpuolustuskorkeakoulussa*. 70. Merikadettikurssi, maaliskuu 2004 [Equality in social learning environment in the National Defence College. 70th Navy cadet course, March 2004].

119. Parliamentary Assembly of the Council of Europe (PACE), *Human Rights of Members of the Armed Forces* (Doc. 10861, 24 March 2006).

from acute poverty, unemployment and poor living conditions. Also, there is some evidence that some mission personnel think that violent treatment of a local population is more acceptable when it takes place in the so called 'third world' and unstable settings because there the danger of getting caught is perceived to be lower.[120]

The UN, NATO, the EU, individual Member States and other troop-contributing countries have all reacted to abuses of power on the part of mission personnel by further training and strict Standards of Behaviour/Code of Conduct. The *Generic Standards of Behaviour for ESDP Operations* explicitly stipulates that:

> Exchange of money, employment, goods or services for sex, including sexual favours or other forms of humiliating, degrading or exploitative behaviour, is prohibited.

Prostitution and trafficking in humans, especially in women (and children), are the two forms of sexual exploitation that are most often raised in connection with crisis-management operations. There is a difference between forced sexual slavery, or forced prostitution connected with trafficking, on the one hand, and 'traditional' prostitution on the other. In forced prostitution, young women are promised a job as a waitress, baby-sitter etc., in a Western European country, but they end up locked up as sex-slaves without adequate food, medical care and living conditions. It is not known how many of these trafficked women actually knew what was going to happen to them. In 'traditional' prostitution one could argue that the woman has voluntarily chosen to be a prostitute. Without going into to the question of free will here, it can be said that in poor, war-affected societies 'choosing' prostitution has often been a choice between abject poverty or selling one's body for sex. In both cases, the root of the problem is the lack of other ways of earning a living.

The question of prostitution gets even more complicated when we try to draw a line between prostitution and dating in post-conflict settings. Heterosexual relationships between men and women are bound to happen in international operations.[121] Perhaps the main obstacle in our way of seeing the whole spectrum of relationships between male mission personnel and local women is that we tend to see local women merely as victims. But female victims of violence are also *survivors*. Bearing this in mind,

120. Sherene H. Razack, *Dark Threats & White Knights: The Somalia Affair, Peacekeeping, and the New Imperialism* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2004), p. 53.

121. The intention is not to suggest that only heterosexual relationships take place. Homosexuality tends to be invisible in gender mainstreaming research and policy papers since people are automatically assumed to be heterosexuals. In gender research literature this is called 'heteronormativity' and the 'heterosexual matrix'. One aspect of heteronormativity is that sexual harassment is also seen to be a heterosexual phenomenon, i.e. harassment and abuse always take place between men and women. Furthermore, the culpability of men and the victimhood of women are taken for granted although women can also be abusers. Unfortunately it is not possible to further elaborate on the whole spectrum of human sexual relationships and their impact on gender mainstreaming policies in the scope of this paper because it would require extensive research. There is, however, a pressing need to break from the heterosexual matrix in policy papers and analysis.

prostitution may offer some local women a means to have a higher standard of living and personal freedom, as a study of the UNMEE suggests. Young local women actively sought the company of male soldiers. Sometimes there was a clearly a prostitute-client relationship, sometimes the relationship was a dating relationship – and sometimes the line was blurred. In other words, these women were trying to control their own lives. Of course it is not the ideal way to become an agent of one's own future, but seeing prostitution solely in the context of gendered violence confuses rather than helps us to tackle the serious problems that surround prostitution and trafficking.[122]

In addition to the *Generic Standards of Behaviour for ESDP Missions*, some troop-contributing countries have very strict additional regulations and practices concerning soldiers' association with local people. These rules are partly motivated by security concerns (e.g. blackmail of internationals by security services) and fears of sexually transmitted diseases such as HIV/AIDS. However, it is important to note that these rules may apply only to the mission area. For instance, the author's study among the Finnish contingent in KFOR in Kosovo confirmed what had already been reported in newspapers, namely, that Finnish male peacekeepers were soliciting prostitutes on their vacation trips to the neighbouring countries. Because this happened outside the mission area and while they were on leave, their conduct was not regulated.

This is quite problematic. The same security concerns surely apply also outside the mission area. Tolerance of the kind of behaviour that is prohibited in the mission area only shifts the problem across the border. How can mission personnel using prostitutes, and their superior officers, be sure that the women in a Bulgarian brothel are not victims of trafficking? Does it make any difference to the trafficked woman whether she is abused by a peacekeeper in Bosnia or in Greece? While UN, NATO and troop-contributing countries' policies to fight trafficking and prostitution seem to have been successful in reducing incidents involving their mission personnel in Bosnia-Herzegovina and Kosovo, the problem itself nevertheless persists. Not explicitly prohibiting the use of prostitutes outside the mission area sends a conflicting message to mission personnel, and thus undermines the policies and progress made by international institutions in trying to eradicate trafficking.

122. Elise Barth, op.cit., pp. 14-16.

Women as role-models for local women

An important reason for including more women in the military and police missions is that they can act as role models for local women. The EU is involved in state-building in Bosnia-Herzegovina with the objective of supporting the transformation of that country into a modern democratic society – and in due course, a Member State of the EU. In this context, the missions set an example for the local community on gender equality. If the EU itself does not practise what it preaches it loses credibility and effectiveness.

Increasing the visibility of women in responsible positions can help offset the tendency towards 're-traditionalisation' of gender roles that is often found in post-conflict societies, to which Bosnia-Herzegovina society is no exception. Interviewees among local women's NGOs told the researchers how the resurgence of ethnic identity has increased the influence of religious conservatism in a society that previously was quite secular (especially in the urban areas). In the Muslim community, there is an increasing tendency to wear the veil, which was frowned upon in the communist era. Although this might be interpreted as the free expression of cultural identity, one interviewee told that this practice was promoted by Saudi *Wahhabi* foundations in Bosnia-Herzegovina who provide funding for mosques and directly to families. Also, former *Mujahedeen* fighters, who came to Bosnia-Herzegovina during the war and thereafter were granted citizenship, now propagate the 'traditional' Muslim way of life – in a form that many Bosnian Muslims find alien to their own particular tradition. But re-traditionalisation affects all religious groups: all now promote pronatalist policies in part (if not mainly) in order to 'keep up the numbers' of the respective groups. Women are thus once again becoming instruments of ethnic politics, as they were during the war, when rape was the prime method.

The EUPM is involved in the police reform in Bosnia-Herzegovina, where gender balancing is unfortunately not (yet) an issue. It should be. The representatives of women's NGOs with whom the researchers talked deplored this, and noted that there had been no attempt to solicit their opinions on police reform. Thinking about the human resources needs and the appropriate composition of the future unified Bosnia-Herzegovina police service seems to be dominated by the question of *ethnic* representation.

There is resistance in every ethnic group to local female police officers, but, according to one EUPM officer, the local police forces nevertheless follow EUPM recommendations concerning gender balancing. There has for instance been a campaign to recruit more women for the police.[123]

International female police officers are important in Bosnia-Herzegovina because they can act as role models for local women who are considering a career in the Bosnian police force. Local female police are important for a variety of reasons. One is the identification and treatment of the victims of domestic violence, and female victims of trafficking. In post-conflict societies there is often, for various reasons, an increase in domestic violence.[124] If one specific group comprising a half of the population is in a position of being a potential victim of gender-based physical violence, it is a security issue in the same manner as ethnic violence, and needs to be treated as such. It is extremely important that there are female police officers in the local police who can handle the female victims of spousal abuse. Having female police officers in the force will also in some cases protect their male colleagues from being unjustly accused of sexual harassment of female rape and domestic violence victims. The investigation of rape and abuse cases is a very sensitive situation where the behaviour of male police officers may be interpreted as harassment by the female victims. Ensuring that there is always a female police officer available will prevent potential misunderstandings and unjustified accusations.

Dialogue with local and international women's groups

The Council Secretariat paper on *The Implementation of UNSCR 1325 in the context of ESDP* recommends that 'the EU should ensure that it solicits and incorporates the views of women and women's rights groups in order to promote their participation'. The point of consultation is to ensure that ESDP programmes and activities really meet the needs of the local society, and benefit women and men equally.

From the point of view of Bosnian civil society and the women's groups interviewed for this paper, the EU is, unfortunately, invisible. It seems ESDP missions have not attempted (or if they have, they have not succeeded) to reach the female population in

123. See Annex 1, Table 5.

124. Inger Skjelsbæk, 'The NATO Stabilization Force in Bosnia-Herzegovina', op. cit., pp. 34-35; Lene Hansen, op. cit., p. 66

Bosnia-Herzegovina. There is frustration and disillusionment within women's organisations with the EU, which to some local women activists may even appear as arrogant and colonial. The interviewees complained that the EU (and other international organisations) only work with government officials and politicians, not with grass-roots organisations. On the other hand, they did report fairly regular contact with embassies of some of the Member States, and with the OHR, which invites them to discuss civil society issues.

This finding is not unique to Bosnia-Herzegovina. Similar experience is reported in many post-conflict societies where there is an international presence. As the author found in Kosovo, for instance, the women's movements feel betrayed by UNMIK. When the international community first came there, women's rights activists believed that they would be included in the rebuilding of Kosovan society. They feel that this did not happen.[125]

The failure to consult reflects a patronising tendency to take account of local women only as *victims*, as passive recipients of both abuse and the remedies we prescribe to help them. But female victims of violence are also *survivors*. In fact, many women who suffered from abuse in an armed conflict prefer to consider themselves survivors rather than victims, and are quite resentful of the way the international community sees them only as sufferers, rather than active participants. Yet women bear a great deal of the practical, day-to-day burdens of post-conflict reconstruction, and therefore have major responsibilities. Failure to consult them leads to frustration, a sense that matters that concern them are being decided over their heads, and a loss of trust in the international missions.

When local women's organisations are not consulted, women's perspectives and interests are not incorporated, to the detriment of the reconstruction effort – for example, in the planned reform of the Bosnia-Herzegovina police, as noted above. Gender-specific issues such as human trafficking, sexual and domestic violence are not considered important enough issues to be tackled in the context of security. Ethnicity is regarded as the top priority – but Bosnian society does not consist solely of Muslim, Serb and Croat men. There are also the Muslim, Serb and Croat women who, on some issues, have more interests in common with each other than with the men of their own ethnic group. Women and women's

125. An interview with Igballe Rogova, the director of Kosovo Women's Network on 13 January 2005 in Pristina. See also Chris Corrin, 'Post-Conflict Reconstruction and Gender Analysis in Kosovo', *International Feminist Journal of Politics*, vol. 3, no. 1, 2001.

groups such as Women in Black have a record of working together across ethnic divides in order to thwart ethnic and nationalist politics although, of course, there are also some women's groups that pursue overtly nationalist and/or party-political agendas. This only shows how important it is for ESDP missions systematically to build good local knowledge and contacts in this field.

The retraditionalisation of society is further consolidated by the international organisations that do not consult with women's groups and do not integrate a gender perspective into their activities, policies and decisions. Also the international community has the tendency to view the host society as a patriarchal and even primitive one where women are not political actors to be reckoned with and that women cannot be and/or are not allowed to be agents of their own future. In reality, however, societies, be they Bosnia, Kosovo, Iraq, Afghanistan or Congo, are quite heterogeneous, and women's roles vary depending on family background, education etc.

As Elissa Helms has shown in Bosnia-Herzegovina, international organisations see local women as apolitical nurturers, peacemakers and anti-nationalists, i.e. as non-men. Local activists, in turn, take advantage of those stereotypes that to some extent are positive. Clinging to romanticised and essentialised notions of femininity can be a viable tactic. Women are perceived to be less threatening and more apolitical than men who appear on public arenas, and therefore women activists are able to advance their goals more easily. The downside of this is that the women themselves keep reproducing the patriarchal order where they are marginalised and set aside from political decision-making. Women are again defined by the private sphere and men: women are 'merely' someone's mothers, wives, daughters and sisters.[126]

Gender essentialism, the victimisation of women and the invisibility of men as victims intertwine in an exemplary way in two Bosnian associations, Women of Srebrenica (*Zene Srebrenice*) and the Association of Mothers and Sisters of Srebrenica and Podrinja (*Udruzenja majke i sestre Srebrenice i Podrinja*). Both of these organisations are composed of the female relatives of the men who were killed in Srebrenica. According to Women of Srebrenica, their 'task is not a fight for women's rights', which according to Helms is 'a cause commonly understood as "political"', but to look for the bodies of their male relatives and to bring the perpetrators to justice. Members of these associations define themselves and their

126. Elissa Helms, 'Gender Essentialisms and Women's Activisim in Post-War Bosnia-Herzegovina', in Wenona Giles, Malathi de Alwis, Edith Klein, Neluka Silva, Maja Korac, Djurdja Knezevic and Zarana Papic (eds.), *Feminists Under Fire. Exchanges Across War Zones* (Toronto: Between the Lines, 2003); Elissa Helms, 'Women as Agents of Ethnic Reconciliation? Women's NGO's and International Intervention in Postwar Bosnia-Herzegovina', *Women's Studies International Forum*, vol. 26, no. 1, 2003.

actions as apolitical, at least in public, and emphasise their roles as mothers, wives and sisters. At the same time they reinforce the image of women, and not men, as victims of the Srebrenica massacre.[127]

Similar attitudes are reported also in Kosovo. When the international peacekeepers arrived there they were not attuned to the cultural diversities. This might lead to inadequate assessments of actual constituencies and those in a position to be a support to the international staff. Women were perceived to be the victims of patriarchal culture, of the *Leke Dukagjini*, the ancient customary law, in particular, and Kosovo society was explained in terms of the old customs. According to local women activists, the situation has not changed.[128] Although *Leke Dukagjini* has significance among the most traditional groups, it no longer has importance among the majority. Forty years of socialism wiped away the ancient customary law. When women are seen merely as victims of traditions in a situation where post-war society has become more conservative, women's oppression is perceived to be a natural part of 'barbaric' culture that cannot be changed. Kosovo society is, however, quite heterogeneous, and women's roles vary depending on family background, education etc. When the NATO bombings ceased and the Serbian forces retreated, local women activists believed that the international organisations would include them in the reconstruction efforts. This did not happen because the international community thought that women cannot be and/or are not allowed to be agents of their own future.[129]

Some individual Member States report in their replies to the Council Secretariat questionnaire that they have established cooperation and consultation with national, international and local women's groups. Some states (e.g. Greece) have cooperation with their national research centres; the UK works with UN and national Working Groups on Women, Peace and Security. Sweden's support for the Swedish NGO Kvinna till Kvinna is directly related to its efforts to increase women's participation in Swedish and ESDP missions. Austria, the Netherlands and Sweden are collaborating in the 'Genderforce' project that aims among other things at the integration of gender perspective in crisis management operations. NATO member-state militaries also work through the Committee on Women in NATO Forces (CWINF) on issues regarding women in the armed forces. Thus although overall we can say that there is some cooperation and

127. Elissa Helms, 'Women as Agents of Ethnic Reconciliation?', op. cit., p. 27.

128. An interview with Igballe Rogova, the director of Kosovo Women's Network, on 13 January 2005 in Pristina.

129. Kvinna till Kvinna, *Getting it Right? A Gender Approach to UNMIK Administration in Kosovo* (Stockholm: Kvinna till Kvinna Foundation, 2001), pp. 10-11, pp. 16-17.

consultation with national and international women's groups, it is not systematically incorporated within the ESDP framework.

Conclusion

Gender mainstreaming and, more broadly, diversity policies may at first sound like unnecessary complications for already complex and costly crisis management operations, and gender issues are quite easily regarded as secondary in importance to the 'hard' issues of politics and security. Gender mainstreaming is not, however, a 'soft' issue, but is at the core of security. Studies of gender mainstreaming show for instance that diversifying the composition of military, police and civilian forces promotes operational effectiveness and situational awareness.

Gender mainstreaming and gender sensitivity are often misunderstood to refer solely to women and to increasing the number of women in crisis management operations. Although gender balancing is an important aspect of gender mainstreaming policies the participation of women is not the end goal as such. Mainstreaming gender involves planning, policies, programmes and legislation that take into account gender-specific situations and experiences that have an effect on the lives of men and women.

This paper has focused on military crisis management in particular. Since the 1990s peacekeeping has changed in nature and has transformed into complex operations where military and civilian components overlap. Soldiers are expected to interact with the civilian population and take on diverse tasks, even 'social work', that go beyond traditional military duties. This poses challenges to the armed forces. Training of military personnel deployed in these operations must take into account cultural and gender issues, which already is taking place in many Member States. However, it is of the utmost importance to recognise that last minute gender and cultural awareness raising will not lead to lasting effects. Reforms have to start from the beginning. As international operations are becoming the prime task of national militaries, recruitment and composition of national forces and their basic training needs to be reworked in such a way that they respond more effectively to today's challenges.

At the core of the change is the soldier. The ideal soldier is physically strong, has stamina and is physically and mentally disciplined. These are skills that only men are thought to have. While it is true that today's militaries need physically strong and highly trained elite soldiers who have gone through an arduous selection process, not all men and women need to or even ever manage to measure up to the required standards. There is room and demand for soldiers with different skills and talents. In other words, the ideal we have of soldiers is no longer the traditional ideal. Instead, there are many ways to be an effective soldier, and national militaries should seriously examine their recruitment strategies and standards in order to recruit those men and women who are most suitable for a specific job. The Dutch military sets a good example of this approach. As has been argued throughout this paper, the efficiency and security of operations and diversity are not mutually exclusive, indeed the contrary is true.

The military has traditionally been a masculine institution and it is not realistic to expect it to radically change in the next few years. The position of female soldiers should not be such that they feel accepted only if they are 'as good as men' since, as argued above, whether one is a good soldier or not is not dependent on one's sex. There are many ways to be a good soldier. In order to recruit the most suitable men and women, national militaries have to make sure that the armed forces is an attractive and professional workplace where everyone can put his/her skills to use. Sexual harassment, for instance, is a pervasive problem that hinders women, and also men, from seeking a military career. Militaries at home and abroad must tackle this serious form of gender discrimination, and no mission should leave any of its members in doubt about which senior officer they can and should turn to in the event of sexual harassment or other breaches of the standards of behaviour (as was found unfortunately to be the case in EUFOR). Whatever the arrangement, all personnel should be fully aware of who that person is.

In its 13 November 2006 meeting the General Affairs and External Relations Council (GAERC) (see Annex 3) underlined the importance of promoting gender equality and gender mainstreaming in the context of CFSP/ESDP at all levels. Also the recommendations that resulted from this study call for the EU and Member States to implement gender sensitivity and gender mainstreaming at every stage of an operation, from fact-finding

missions to 'lessons learned'. It is clear that in order to successfully implement gender-sensitive policies gender mainstreaming needs to start at the top. It requires the commitment of EU Member States at the highest level. Increasing the participation of women in ESDP missions depends on Member States' national policies for recruiting and retaining women in their military and civilian crisis-management forces. It is for Member States to implement 'family-friendly' policies to enable capable women to pursue successful careers in the forces, and to minimise the obstacles to their participation in missions abroad.

Member States' capitals should demonstrate their commitment to gender mainstreaming by appointing more women to ESDP decision-making bodies. For example, as of spring 2006, there were only two women among the twenty-five Permanent Representatives in the PSC. No women, to date, have been appointed as EUSRs, and there are very few female Heads of Mission.[130] The Council Secretariat appears to be doing somewhat better, with two women in senior positions, and progress towards gender balance in some directorates.[131]

In addition, the civilian and military Headline Goals should include targets and milestones for improving gender balance in ESDP missions. Force generation/call for contribution conferences should include gender indicators. Changing the culture of military and civilian crisis-management organisations is a fundamental, long-term challenge that each Member State will tackle in its own way. Nevertheless, regular, systematic exchange of 'best practice' among Member States is an invaluable means of mutual learning and support.

Training of personnel for crisis-management operations needs to be strengthened in order to enhance sensitivity to the whole range of gender issues, and appreciation of the value-added that women's participation brings to the effectiveness of missions. Personnel need to be aware of the full implications of UNSCR 1325, and of the reasons for insisting on the codes of conduct and standards of behaviour. The European Security and Defence College now includes a module on gender issues. Such training programmes should make use of experts in gender issues, not just in the preparation and delivery of special training modules on gender, but in reviewing the whole programme of training.

It needs to be remembered that gender mainstreaming cannot be simply 'bolted on' to operations at the last minute. A gender

130. Bet-El Ilana, 'The same old story', *European Voice*, vol.12, no.14, 13 April 2006.

131. See Annex 1: Table 9.

perspective must be included systematically at every stage of an operation: in planning (including fact-finding missions), implementation, monitoring and 'lessons learned'. A 'checklist' for the use of military and civilian planners in Member States and in the Council Secretariat will provide systematic guidance in this process.

The gender perspective needs to be more explicitly included in the developing EU policy framework for security sector reform. Gender mainstreaming is very much in line with ideas expressed in the recent concept papers on SSR produced by the Council and the European Commission, and welcomed by the General Affairs Council on 12 June 2006; yet it is hardly mentioned. It needs to be flagged up more prominently to ensure that the security dimension of gender issues is taken fully into account (for example, as noted above, the EU has so far not done this in police reform in Bosnia-Herzegovina, where the main emphasis is on ethnicity).

Gender is both a matter of the operational effectiveness of crisis-management missions and an issue that is fundamental to human rights. It is a major topic of concern in its own right, and it is also a wide-ranging, multi-dimensional field. Therefore, a Personal Representative (PR) of the SG/HR for Gender Issues would provide leadership and coherence in gender mainstreaming in ESDP. There is already a PR for Human Rights in ESDP; but gender is not only a human rights issue, and gender is only one aspect of human rights. Clearly, there are some overlapping fields of interest, and careful consideration will need to given to how a PR for Gender Issues could work effectively in partnership with the PR for Human Rights in such common areas of interest.

If a PR for Gender Issues is appointed it must avoid falling into the trap of 'sidelining' rather than mainstreaming gender, as it has been the case with gender advisors within the UN context. The PR must be given appropriate competences in order to inform the full range of ESDP activities with the gender perspective. These could include input into early warning and situation analysis; consultation on peace negotiations, reconciliation processes and EU security sector reform projects (eg police reform in Bosnia-Herzegovina); participation in fact-finding missions and planning teams; involvement in the appointment of senior mission personnel; involvement in the processes of mission review, mission report evaluation, and 'lessons learned' exercises; input into the conceptual development of the EU policy framework for security sector

reform; contribution to the design and delivery of ESDP training on gender issues; collection and dissemination of information on gender issues, including gender-disaggregated statistical data (which is not always readily available as a matter of course); acting as the focal point in the Council for the exchange of 'best practice' among Member States; and (potentially) reporting on fulfilment of gender targets in the Headline Goals; on the basis of information from Member States, compiling a roster of women candidates for key ESDP posts (EUSR and HoM); ensuring proper consultation and regular dialogue with international and national NGOs with a gender remit, including those in host countries of ESDP missions; liaison and exchange of information with international organisations (UN, OSCE, NATO etc) involved in crisis-management and peace-support operations in order to improve collaboration and consistency in policies relating to gender issues.

Conclusions from the case study of Bosnia-Herzegovina were that the scale of the ESDP commitment in that country warrants the appointment of a Gender Advisor (GA) and that this person should be located in the office of the EUSR at the level of Deputy Head of Mission. The post should be adequately resourced and given appropriate competences to ensure that gender issues are indeed 'mainstreamed' and not 'sidelined' in the work of all the EU missions in Bosnia-Herzegovina. The GA's responsibilities would include coordination and monitoring of gender mainstreaming implementation in EUFOR, EUPM and the EC Delegation to ensure coherence; collecting gender-disaggregated data on the mission's work and information on gender aspects of the local situation, reporting to the PR for Gender Issues; advising and assisting the EUSR and HoMs on reporting gender aspects of their work; convening regular meetings (a consultative committee) with local NGOs, which should include representatives from all the EU missions, keeping Member States' embassies informed and/or involved as appropriate; liaison on gender issues with other international actors in the field (e.g. OSCE, the UN, Council of Europe); advising on EU project funding priorities and individual project applications; ensuring adequate coverage of gender issues in the induction and training of mission personnel.

Since not all ESDP missions will be of the size to justify a dedicated post of Gender Advisor, thought could be given to the possibility of 'double-hatting' with a Human Rights Advisor (while bearing in mind that gender and human rights are not

coterminous). Alternatively, the HoM could include gender issues as part of the duties of the Deputy HoM, in close coordination with Human Resources officers and Legal Advisors, all of whom must be adequately trained in gender issues.

Statistical data

NB: Statistics relating to the Council of the European Union (Tables 6, 7, 8 and 9) are from Johanna Gårdmark of the General Secretariat of the Council. EUPM and EUFOR statistics (Tables 1, 2 and 5)are from police and military sources in Sarajevo.

Table 1:

Women in EUPM (April 2006)

	Total	Women	% of women
Police officers	191	15	7.85
International civilians	32	7	21.85
National staff	207	126	60.86

Table 2:

Women in EUFOR (April 2006)

Taskforce	Number of women	% of women
MNTF[1] (SE)	143	5.79
MNTF (NW)	99	9.47
MNTF (N)	68	5.26
EUFOR[2] HQ	9	4.15
IPU[3]	2	0.44
Camp Butmir (HQ SPPT etc)	38	7.51
Total	**359**	**5.88**

Notes: (1) Multinational Task Force. (2) European Union Force in Bosnia and Herzegovina. (3) Integrated Police Unit.

Table 3:

Women in some EU Member States' Armed Forces 2001-2005

COUNTRY	2001	2003	2004	2005
Belgium	7.6	8.2	8.26	8.3
Czech Republic	3.7	10.0	12.3	12.21
Denmark	5.0	5.0	5.0	5.0
France	8.5	11.2	12.79	12.8
Germany	2.8	4.4	5.2	6.0
Greece	9.6	10.0	10.0	4.3
Hungary	3.8	3.8	4.2	16.0
Italy	0.1	0.5	0.53	1.0
Latvia	-	-	13.5	20.0
Lithuania	-	-	6.04	9.07
Netherlands	8.0	8.5	8.65	9.0
Poland	0.1	0.3	0.47	0.47
Portugal	6.6	8.4	8.4	8.4
Slovakia	-	-	6.1	7.06
Slovenia	-	-	19.2	15.38
Spain	5.8	10.0	10.5	10.7
United Kingdom	8.1	8.6	8.8	9.0

Source: Committee on Women in the NATO Forces. http://www.nato.int/issues/women_nato/index.html

Table 4:

Female Soldiers in the Armed Forces of EUFOR
Troop-Contributing Countries (2005)

Country	2005
Albania	–
Argentina	–
Belgium	8.3
Bulgaria	6
Canada	16.9
Chile	–
Czech Republic	12.21
Estonia	–
Finland	1.7
France	12.8
Germany	6
Greece	4.3
Hungary	16
Ireland	1.9
Italy	1
Latvia	20
Lithuania	9.07
Luxembourg	6.25
Morocco	–
The Netherlands	9
New Zealand	14.7
Norway	6.3
Poland	0.47
Portugal	8.4
Romania	5
Slovakia	7.06
Slovenia	15.38
Spain	10.7
Sweden	–
Switzerland	0.5[1]
Turkey	3.95
United Kingdom	9

Notes: (1) Data from the Swiss Armed Forces.

Source: Data in this table is based on information from the Committee on Women in the NATO Forces.
http://www.nato.int/issues/women_nato/index.html.

Table 5:

Composition of the Police in Bosnia-Herzegovina (April 2006)

LEA	Female	Male	Female %	Male %
SIPA[1]	8	1,83	4.2	95.8
SBS[2]	96	1,750	5.2	94.8
Fmol[3]	66	787	7.7	92.3
Canton 1	63	1,301	4.6	95.4
Canton 2	11	1,60	6.4	93.6
Canton 3	99	1,419	6.5	93.5
Canton 4	78	1,193	6.1	93.9
Canton 5	16	165	8.8	91.2
Canton 6	26	823	3.1	96.9
Canton 7	43	938	4.4	95.6
Canton 8	7	237	2.9	97.1
Canton 9	101	1,286	7.3	92.7
Canton 10	9	250	3.5	96.5
BD[4]	11	266	4.0	96.0
RS[5]	286	5,283	5.1	94.9
TOTAL	**920**	**16,041**	**5.4**	**94.6**

Notes: (1) State Information and Protection Agency. (2) State Border System. (3) Federal Ministry of the Interior. (4) Brcko District. (5) Republika Srpska (Serb entity).

Table 6:

EU Military Staff (absolute numbers, March 2006)

	Male	Female	Empty
Secretaries (Civilian C grade)	1	11	3
Civilian B grade	0	2	0
Military	158	5	7
Total	**159**	**18**	**10**

Table 7:

Those working for the EUMS(absolute numbers, March 2006)

	Male	Female	Empty
DGE[1] in CCM[2]	5	2	2
CION[3] in CCM	2	0	0
LEGAD[4]	1	0	0
Total	**8**	**2**	**2**

Notes: (1) Directorate General. (2) Civilian Crisis Management. (3) Commission. (4) Legal Advisor.

Table 8:

PMG Representatives (absolute numbers, March 2006)

	Male	Female
PMG	47	17

Table 9:

Secretariat-General of the Council (absolute numbers, March 2006)

	Male	Female
DGE[1] VIII	9	7
DGE IX	3	5
S.J[2]	1	0
COM[3]	4	0
Total	**17**	**12**

Notes: (1) Directorate General. (2) Service Juridique. (3) Commission.

UN Security Council Resolution 1325 (2000) (adopted by the Security Council at its 4213th meeting, on 31 October 2000)

The Security Council,

Recalling its resolutions 1261 (1999) of 25 August 1999, 1265 (1999) of 17 September 1999, 1296 (2000) of 19 April 2000 and 1314 (2000) of 11 August 2000, as well as relevant statements of its President, and *recalling also* the statement of its President to the press on the occasion of the United Nations Day for Women's Rights and International Peace (International Women's Day) of 8 March 2000 (SC/6816),

Recalling also the commitments of the Beijing Declaration and Platform for Action (A/52/231) as well as those contained in the outcome document of the twenty-third Special Session of the United Nations General Assembly entitled "Women 2000: Gender Equality, Development and Peace for the Twenty-First Century" (A/S-23/10/Rev.1), in particular those concerning women and armed conflict,

Bearing in mind the purposes and principles of the Charter of the United Nations and the primary responsibility of the Security Council under the Charter for the maintenance of international peace and security,

Expressing concern that civilians, particularly women and children, account for the vast majority of those adversely affected by armed conflict, including as refugees and internally displaced persons, and increasingly are targeted by combatants and armed elements, and *recognizing* the consequent impact this has on durable peace and reconciliation,

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

Reaffirming also the need to implement fully international humanitarian and human rights law that protects the rights of women and girls during and after conflicts,

Emphasizing the need for all parties to ensure that mine clearance and mine awareness programmes take into account the special needs of women and girls,

Recognizing the urgent need to mainstream a gender perspective into peacekeeping operations, and in this regard noting the Windhoek Declaration and the Namibia Plan of Action on Mainstreaming a Gender Perspective in Multidimensional Peace Support Operations (S/2000/693),

Recognizing also the importance of the recommendation contained in the statement of its President to the press of 8 March 2000 for specialized training for all peacekeeping personnel on the protection, special needs and human rights of women and children in conflict situations,

Recognizing that an understanding of the impact of armed conflict on women and girls, effective institutional arrangements to guarantee their protection and full participation in the peace process can significantly contribute to the maintenance and promotion of international peace and security,

Noting the need to consolidate data on the impact of armed conflict on women and girls,

1. *Urges* Member States to ensure increased representation of women at all decision-making levels in national, regional and international institutions and mechanisms for the prevention, management, and resolution of conflict;

2. *Encourages* the Secretary-General to implement his strategic plan of action (A/49/587) calling for an increase in the participation of women at decision-making levels in conflict resolution and peace processes;

3. *Urges* the Secretary-General to appoint more women as special representatives and envoys to pursue good offices on his behalf, and in this regard *calls on* Member States to provide candidates to the Secretary-General, for inclusion in a regularly updated centralized roster;

4. *Further urges* the Secretary-General to seek to expand the role and contribution of women in United Nations field-based operations, and especially among military observers, civilian police, human rights and humanitarian personnel;

5. *Expresses* its willingness to incorporate a gender perspective into peacekeeping operations, and *urges* the Secretary-General to ensure that, where appropriate, field operations include a gender component;

6. *Requests* the Secretary-General to provide to Member States training guidelines and materials on the protection, rights and the particular needs of women, as well as on the importance of involving women in all peacekeeping and peace-building measures, *invites* Member States to incorporate these elements as well as HIV/AIDS awareness training into their national training programmes for military and civilian police personnel in preparation for deployment, and *further requests* the Secretary-General to ensure that civilian personnel of peacekeeping operations receive similar training;

7. *Urges* Member States to increase their voluntary financial, technical and logistical support for gender-sensitive training efforts, including those undertaken by relevant funds and programmes, *inter alia*, the United Nations Fund for Women and United Nations Children's Fund, and by the Office of the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees and other relevant bodies;

8. *Calls on* all actors involved, when negotiating and implementing peace agreements, to adopt a gender perspective, including, *inter alia*:

(a) The special needs of women and girls during repatriation and resettlement and for rehabilitation, reintegration and post-conflict reconstruction;

(b) Measures that support local women's peace initiatives and indigenous processes for conflict resolution, and that involve women in all of the implementation mechanisms of the peace agreements;

(c) Measures that ensure the protection of and respect for human rights of women and girls, particularly as they relate to the constitution, the electoral system, the police and the judiciary;

9. *Calls upon* all parties to armed conflict to respect fully international law applicable to the rights and protection of women and girls, especially as civilians, in particular the obligations applicable to them under the Geneva Conventions of 1949 and the Additional Protocols thereto of 1977, the Refugee Convention of 1951 and the Protocol thereto of 1967, the Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination against Women of 1979 and the Optional Protocol thereto of 1999 and the United Nations Convention on the Rights of the Child of 1989 and the two Optional Protocols thereto of 25 May 2000, and to bear in mind the relevant provisions of the Rome Statute of the International Criminal Court;

10. *Calls on* all parties to armed conflict to take special measures to protect women and girls from gender-based violence, particularly rape and other forms of sexual abuse, and all other forms of violence in situations of armed conflict;

11. *Emphasizes* the responsibility of all States to put an end to impunity and to prosecute those responsible for genocide, crimes against humanity, and war crimes including those relating to sexual and other violence against women and girls, and in this regard *stresses* the need to exclude these crimes, where feasible from amnesty provisions.

12. *Calls upon* all parties to armed conflict to respect the civilian and humanitarian character of refugee camps and settlements, and to take into account the particular needs of women and girls, including in their design, and recalls its resolutions 1208 (1998) of 19 November 1998 and 1296 (2000) of 19 April 2000;

13. *Encourages* all those involved in the planning for disarmament, demobilization and reintegration to consider the different needs of female and male ex-combatants and take into account the needs of their dependants;

14. *Reaffirms* its readiness, whenever measures are adopted under Article 41 of the Charter of the United Nations, to give consideration to their potential impact on the civilian population, bearing in mind the special needs of women and girls, in order to consider appropriate humanitarian exemptions;

15. *Expresses* its willingness to ensure that Security Council missions take into account gender considerations and the rights of women, including through consultation with local and international women's groups;

16. *Invites* the Secretary-General to carry out a study on the impact of armed conflict on women and girls, the role of women in peace-building and the gender dimensions of peace processes and conflict resolution, and *further invites* him to submit a report to the Security Council on the results of this study and to make this available to all Member States of the United Nations;

17. *Requests* the Secretary-General, where appropriate, to include in his reporting to the Security Council progress on gender mainstreaming throughout peacekeeping missions and all other aspects relating to women and girls;

18. *Decides* to remain actively seized of the matter.

General Affairs and External Relations Council Conclusions

Brussels, 13 November 2006

(...)

Gender equality and gender mainstreaming in crisis management

The Council adopted the following conclusions:

1. "1.   The Council underlines the importance of promoting gender equality and gender mainstreaming in the context of CFSP/ESDP at all levels. The Council expresses its determination to put in practice the decisions taken to promote gender equality in the context of ESDP and the related checklist, which seek to ensure gender mainstreaming and implementation of UN Security Council Resolution 1325 (2000) from the early planning to the conduct and evaluation of ESDP missions and operations.

2. The Council emphasises the importance of effective monitoring to ensure a systematic follow-up of the commitments made. Also the Generic Standards of Behaviour, *inter alia*, against sexual exploitation and prostitution should continue to be fully implemented by all ESDP missions and operations. Where not already in place, national measures, such as action plans for the implementation of UNSCR 1325 by Member States as well as third states participating in ESDP operations, should also be encouraged.

3. The Council underscores the importance of improving gender balance in the ESDP operations, also at the senior-management level. The Council therefore invites the Member States to ensure that they nominate more female candidates for upcoming CFSP/ESDP assignments, including the posts of EU Special Representative and Head of Mission. The Member States are also invited to pursue active recruitment strategies and to identify and address specific obstacles limiting women's participation. Mission reports should include relevant statistics in this respect.

4. The Council stresses that gender equality and human rights should be fully integrated in the planning and conduct of all ESDP missions and operations, including fact-finding missions. Gender awareness and sensitivity contribute generally to the operational effectiveness and situational awareness in standard assignments. Regarding certain tasks, such as checkpoints and outreach activities, it is of particular importance to include in the mission personnel both men and women. A gender adviser or a gender focal point should be appointed for all ESDP missions and operations. In this context, the Council welcomes the work of the gender adviser appointed to the EU's

military operation EUFOR RD Congo. The Council notes that support for improved gender sensitivity must be assured throughout the chain of command.

5. The Council emphasizes the importance of training activities, tailored to the needs of the military and civilian personnel taking part in the ESDP operations, in particular on gender equality and human rights as well as gender-based violence, and encourages the Member States to intensify these training efforts. Such training should include those highest in command. A particular emphasis should be put on mission-specific training. The Council encourages the development of public information campaigns and public material on women's and men's involvement in the security sector, including the military and police, in order to change stereotypes regarding women's participation, assignments and tasks.

6. Gender perspective needs to be fully integrated in peace building. All reconstruction efforts should draw on the knowledge and expertise of women's groups and networks within the community. The Council encourages the development of targeted EU activities to promote gender equality and the role of women in post-conflict situations. In this context, the Council stresses the importance of actively supporting women's participation in civic education and political processes, including right to vote and stand as candidates in elections.

7. The Council underlines that policies aimed at the protection and reintegration of Internally Displaced Persons (IDPs) / refugees should take gender issues into account.

8. The Council emphasises that gender perspective should be incorporated in the EU's policies and activities on Security Sector Reform (SSR) and Disarmament, Demobilisation and Reintegration (DDR). DDR programmes should ensure that female combatants are identified and registered early and that both sexes can participate equally in these programmes. Women need to be ensured equal access to the assistance package to which they are eligible under the DDR programme and to be involved in economic reintegration activities.

9. The Council underlines the importance of addressing gender perspective in the context of rule of law activities. Gender equality could also be promoted in post conflict situations through legal reforms in the justice sector, *inter alia* through revising discriminatory laws, such as laws concerning inheritance, family relations, property and employment, and through empowering women to access rule of law and economic and social justice institutions.

10. The Council emphasises the importance of including measures against sexual and gender-based violence in transitional justice mechanisms. All peace building and reconstruction plans should include comprehensive victim-protection and support mechanisms. The Council notes that the mandates of ESDP missions and operations could also address the possibilities to assist, if

so requested, the ICC or other specialised courts and accountability mechanisms (e.g. truth commissions) in carrying out their work, including in cases relating to systematic sexual exploitation and gender-based violence. In this context, the Council recalls that on 10 April 2006 the EU and the International Criminal Court (ICC) concluded an agreement on cooperation and assistance. The Council also highlights the responsibility of all states to put an end to impunity and to prosecute those responsible for sexual and gender based violence."

(...)

ESDP operations

To date, the European Union has engaged (since 2003) in seventeen ESDP operations:

EU Military Operation in the Democratic Republic of Congo (DRC/Artemis);

EU Police Mission in the Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia (EUPOL Proxima);

EU Military Operation in Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia (FYROM/ Concordia);

EU Police Missions I and II in Bosnia-Herzegovina;

EU Rule of Law Mission to Georgia (EUJUST Themis);

EU Military Operation in Bosnia-Herzegovina (EUFOR Althea);

EU Border Assistance Mission to Moldova and Ukraine;

Aceh Monitoring Mission (AMM);

AMIS EU Supporting Action (Darfur);

EU Security Sector Reform Mission in the Democratic Republic of the Congo (EUSEC DR Congo); EU Police Mission in Kinshasa, DRC (EUPOL KINSHASA);

EU Integrated Rule of Law Mission for Iraq (EUJUST LEX);

EU Border Assistance Mission at the Rafah Crossing Point in the Palestinian Territories (EU BAM Rafah);

EU Police Mission in the Palestinian Territories (EUPOL COPPS);

EU Police Advisory Team in the Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia (EUPAT);

EUFOR RD Congo.

There are also plans for a crisis management operation in Kosovo.

Abbreviations
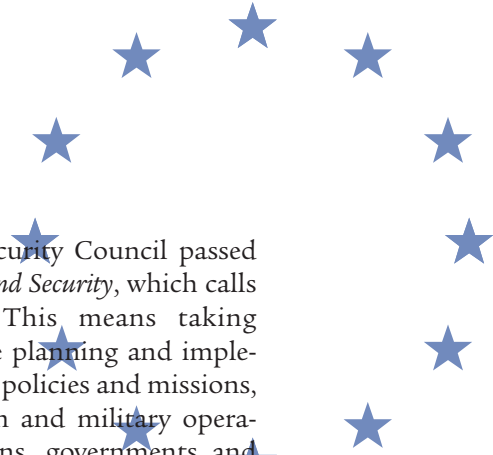
AIDS	Acquired Immune Deficiency Syndrome
CCM	Civilian Crisis Management
CFSP	Common Foreign and Security Policy
CIMIC	Civil-Military Co-operation
CWINF	Committee on Women in NATO Forces
DDR	Disarmament, Demobilisation and Reintegration
DGE	Directorate General
DPKO	Department of Peacekeeping Operations
ESDP	European Security and Defence Policy
ECOSOC	United Nations Economic and Social Council
EUFOR	European Union Force (in Bosnia and Herzegovina)
EUMS	European Union Military Staff
EUPM	European Union Police Mission in Bosnia and Herzegovina
EUSR	European Union Special Representative
GA	Gender Advisor
GAERC	General Affairs and External Relations Council
HIV	Human Immunodeficiency Virus
HoM	Head of Mission
HR	High Representative
IFOR	Implementation Force
IPU	Integrated Police Unit
KFOR	Kosovo Force
LOT	Liaison Observation Team
NATO	North Atlantic Treaty Organisation
NCO	Non-Commissioned Officer
NGO	Non-Governmental Organisation
OHR	Office of the High Representative
OSCE	Organisation for Security and Co-operation in Europe
PMG	Political-Military Group
PR	Personal Representative
RAF	Royal Air Force
SFOR	Stabilisation Force
SRSG	Special Representative of the Secretary General
SSR	Security Sector Reform
UN	United Nations
UNIFIL	UN Forces in Lebanon
UNMEE	United Nations Mission in Ethiopia and Eritrea
UNMIK	United Nations Mission in Kosovo
UNPROFOR	United Nations Protection Force
UNSCR	United Nations Security Council Resolution

Chaillot Papers

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Books

In 2000 the United Nations Security Council passed Resolution 1325, *Women, Peace and Security*, which calls for 'gender mainstreaming'. This means taking account of gender factors in the planning and implementation of crisis management policies and missions, and gender balancing in civilian and military operations. International organisations, governments and national militaries have become increasingly aware of the unintended gendered side-effects of peacekeeping operations, including incidents of prostitution, trafficking in women and the exploitation of local women and men in post-conflict societies. Systematic sexualised violence against women during conflicts, and the effects of this on post-war reconstruction, further highlights the need for gender-sensitive policies. Within the EU, gender mainstreaming in crisis management operations became topical in 2005 when the European Council welcomed a paper by the General Secretariat on Implementation of UNSCR 1325 in the context of ESDP.

This *Chaillot Paper* seeks to clarify and explore the issue of gender mainstreaming. In the first part it addresses what gender mainstreaming is and why it should be implemented in ESDP missions. The second part presents the findings of a case study conducted by researchers at the EU Institute for Security Studies on the ESDP missions in Bosnia-Herzegovina.