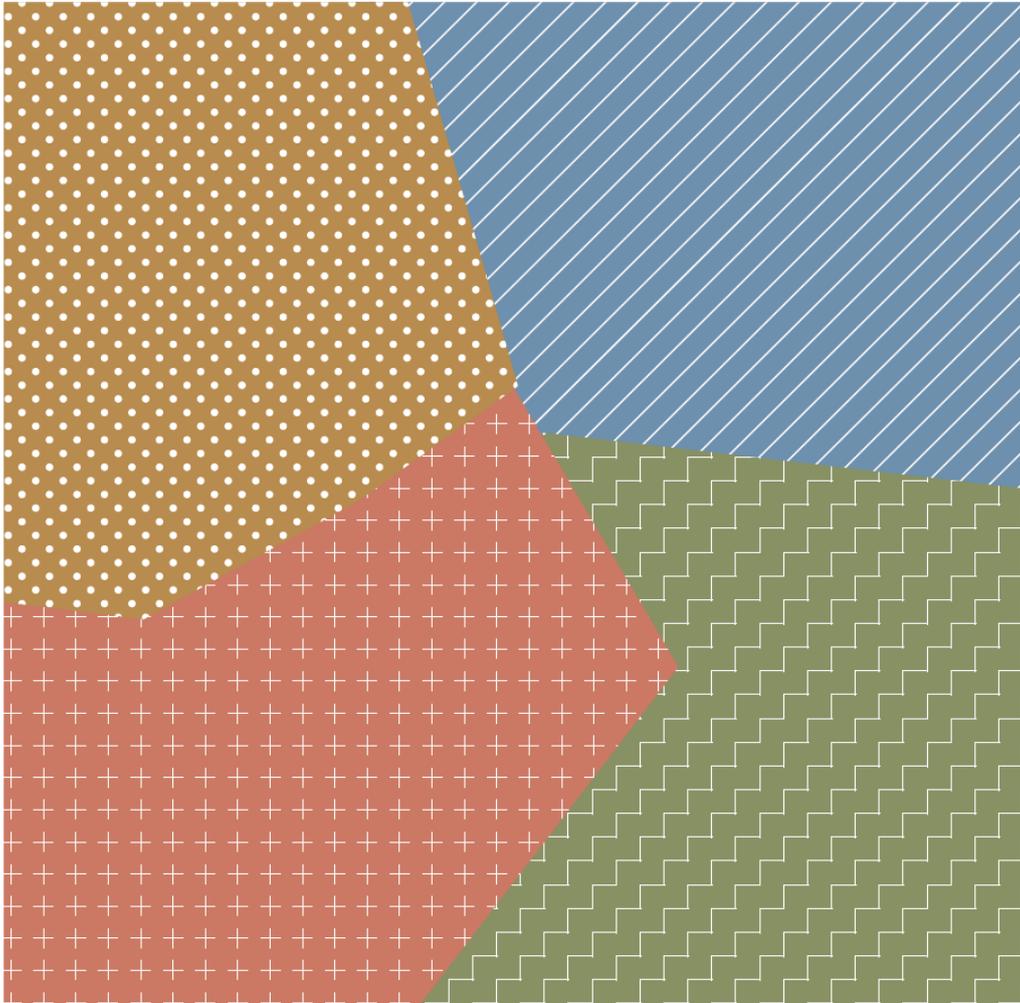


W O S C A P

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Gender in EU Conflict Prevention and Peacebuilding Policy and Practice

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GENDER IN EU CONFLICT PREVENTION AND PEACEBUILDING POLICY AND PRACTICE

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Whole of Society Conflict Prevention and Peacebuilding

This scoping study was produced as part of the project “Whole of Society Conflict Prevention and Peacebuilding”, which aims to enhance the EU’s peacebuilding and conflict prevention capabilities.

This paper is part of the first series of orientation papers that were intended to indicate lines of inquiry and propose research questions, as a basis for discussion and input for the project’s Theoretical and Methodological Framework. They seek to provide an overview of scholarly knowledge about the EU’s capabilities and means for conflict prevention and peacebuilding in relation to several cross-cutting themes and clusters that the project focuses on. More information at www.woscap.eu



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Executive summary

This scoping study examines integration of the gender dimension and the women, peace and security (WPS) agenda into the field of conflict prevention and peacebuilding in the European Union (EU), an emerging area in EU foreign policy and in the literature, that has thus far received little scholarly attention when compared to the studies on gender integration in other EU policy areas. Firstly, it briefly reviews the evolution of gender mainstreaming in the EU and the development of the global WPS agenda led by the UN and followed by the EU. Secondly, it summarises and analyses EU policy concerning the policy framework on women/gender, peace and security. Thirdly, it covers the actors involved in the implementation of this policy framework. After this general overview, the fourth section analyses the policy and practice of the EU in its approach to multi-track diplomacy, security sector reform and governance reform from a gender perspective. Finally, in the conclusions, this study identifies key issues and research directions in this area. This paper focuses mainly on the EU policy objectives and discourse regarding these areas of intervention.

The adoption by the EU of the gender mainstreaming strategy in the 1990s gave impetus to the incorporation of gender in its foreign policy, since it committed the organization to making gender equality an objective in all its policies. Its integration into its conflict prevention and peacebuilding efforts was influenced by the UN-led WPS agenda, which provided an important framework of reference from which the EU developed its own policies and instruments.

The EU has developed an ambitious and comprehensive policy framework on WPS/gender, peace and security that involves all EU actors and areas of action (mainly political dialogue, funding programming and CSDP missions and operations) in mainstreaming gender in conflict prevention and peacebuilding. The backbone of EU policy on WPS consists of *Comprehensive approach to the EU implementation of the United Nations Security Council Resolutions 1325 and 1820 on women, peace and security* (CA 1325) and key documents on implementing the UNSCR as part of the CSDP. The EU has also developed its own architecture of actors that combines specific functions to support gender throughout the organization (e.g. EEAS Principal Advisor on 1325, the informal Task Force on UNSCR 1325, and gender advisors and gender focal points) and that makes gender mainstreaming the responsibility of all actors (EU institutions and EUMS).

This gender comprehensive approach has permeated EU's interventions in areas such as multi-track diplomacy, SSR and governance reform and has strengthened the EU's capacities in the area of conflict prevention and peacebuilding as it constitutes a foundation for promoting more inclusive and sustainable processes.

Regarding the inclusion of gender in EU interventions, in the case of multi-track diplomacy, CA 1325 commits the EU to adopting specific measures like support for women's participation through diplomatic and financial means, an increase in the number of women mediators and chief negotiators and support for local women's organisations in peace processes. In relation to SSR, the CA 1325 (2008) specifies areas where the EU should pay attention: identification of security needs, inclusion of women in relevant institutions, investments in infrastructure to attend to victims of gender-based violence, strengthening of women's participation, and access to justice, among others. With regard to gender responsive

governance, the CA 1325 stresses that transition periods provide opportunities to create new systems of governance and urges that special attention be paid to protecting the rights of women and eradicating discrimination, to supporting women in processes of reconciliation, and to women's participation in political decision-making.

The literature has detected many gaps and challenges to these directives, such as the gap between commitments and implementation or the gender imbalance in the top positions. There is also a need for greater coherence and coordination between EU institutions and the EUMS and a risk of isolation between the WPS agenda and the general conflict prevention and peacebuilding agenda. Simultaneously, some reductionism has been detected in the EU when translating and implementing the global WPS agenda by focusing mostly on the security sector, while neglecting other areas. Other more specific shortcomings include insufficient clarity and guidance on how to mainstream gender in the various areas and levels of action. All of these challenges point to possible future lines of research for the EU.

Regarding the WOSCAP project, the scoping study identifies important connections between the gender perspective and the WPS agenda of the EU and other cross-cutting approaches such as local ownership processes. This raises questions about inclusiveness, intersectionality and accountability. At the same time, the EU's WPS agenda acknowledges the need for multi-lateral relationships with other international, regional and local stakeholders, leading to questions about the degree of multi-stakeholder coherence in practice regarding WPS implementation. In turn, the EU's gender mainstreaming strategy involves all stakeholders and areas of action, including civilian-military relations. Finally, the study on the WPS agenda in the EU raises questions about the role of ICTs in preventing conflict, the gendered impacts of the use of ICTs, the EU's level of support for ICTs as a useful tool for implementing the WPS agenda, and for EU visibility and public diplomacy regarding WPS. All of these issues are relevant to the WOSCAP project.

1.Introduction

This scoping study examines integration of the gender dimension and the women, peace and security (WPS) agenda into the field of conflict prevention and peacebuilding in the European Union (EU), an emerging area in EU foreign policy and in the literature, that has thus far received little scholarly attention when compared to the analysis of gender integration in other policy areas. Firstly, it briefly reviews the evolution of gender mainstreaming in the EU and the development of the global WPS agenda led by the UN and followed by the EU. Secondly, it summarises and analyses EU policy concerning the policy framework on women/gender, peace and security. Thirdly, it covers the actors involved. After this general overview, the fourth section analyses the policy and practice of the EU in its approach to multi-track diplomacy, security sector reform and governance reform from a gender perspective. Finally, in the conclusions, this study identifies key issues and research directions in this area. This paper focuses mainly on the EU policy objectives and discourse regarding these areas of intervention.

According to the definitions used by the EU, *gender* refers to “socially constructed differences, as opposed to the biological ones, between women and men; this means differences that have been learned, are changeable over time and have wide variations both within and between cultures”,¹ and *gender mainstreaming* is the “(re)organisation, improvement, development and evaluation of policy processes, so that a gender equality perspective is incorporated in all policies at all levels and at all stages by the actors normally involved in policy-making. Gender mainstreaming cannot replace specific policies that aim to redress situations resulting from gender inequality. Specific gender equality policies and gender mainstreaming are dual and complementary strategies and must go hand in hand to reach the goal of gender equality”.²

¹ The EU uses a definition of the DG Employment and Social Affairs from 1998 (One Hundred Words for Equality: a glossary of terms on equality between women and men).

² The EU uses the Council of Europe’s definition:
http://www.coe.int/T/E/Human_Rights/Equality/02._Gender_mainstreaming/

2. Gendering the EU: from equal pay for equal work to the WPS agenda

This section will revise the literature that traces the integration of gender in the EU and its evolution leading to the integration of gender in conflict prevention and peacebuilding EU policies in relation to the emergence of the global WPS agenda.

The integration of gender in the EU has been studied by different feminist scholars (Abels and Mushaben, 2012; Weiner and MacRae, 2014; Kantola, 2010; Lucarelli, 2014; Rees, 1998; Booth and Bennett, 2002; Locher, 2012), though is somewhat nascent with regard to conflict prevention and peacebuilding in EU foreign policy (Martinelli 2014). The widespread classification of authors like Rees (1998) and Booth and Bennett (2002) identifies three main approaches to integrating the gender equality agenda in the EU: equal treatment/opportunities, positive action and gender mainstreaming.

Authors like Locher and Prügl (2008) and Kantola (2010) have highlighted the expansion of the gender agenda in the EU from an initial focus on equality in the workplace. The adoption of the gender mainstreaming strategy in the 1990s gave impetus to the incorporation of gender in the area of foreign policy – initially in development (Carbone and Lister, 2006) – since it committed the EU to making gender equality an objective in all its policies (Martinelli, 2014). In turn, its integration into the EU's conflict prevention and peacebuilding efforts was influenced by the UN-led WPS agenda, which provided an important point of reference from which the EU developed its own policies and instruments (Martinelli, 2014; Barnes, 2011). This field is receiving increasing attention in the literature, albeit still scarce and fragmented when compared with other dimensions of EU gender policy such as internal policies. Some authors have focused on missions and operations (Valenius, 2007; Batt and Valenius, 2006; Gya, 2007; Olsson and Sundström, 2012; Olsson et al 2014), while others have studied the process of integration of the WPS agenda into the EU foreign policy (Barnes, 2009; 2011) or have provided overviews of the current situation (Martinelli, 2014; Gya, 2010), including the latest developments and recommendations (Martinelli, 2015). Their findings and conclusions are dealt with throughout this scoping study.

The literature highlights that the adoption of *United Nations Security Council Resolution 1325 on Women, Peace and Security* (UNSCR) in 2000 marked a turning point and gave rise to the international WPS agenda (Hill, Aboitiz and Poehlman-Doumburga, 2003; Cockburn, 2007; Shepherd, 2008; Cohn, Kinsella and Gibbings, 2004). Resolution 1325 recognises women's right to participate actively in peacebuilding and in preventing violent conflict, as well as to be included in areas of decision-making and peacekeeping missions, while underscoring women's and girls' specific needs of protection in situations of armed conflict. The WPS agenda establishes four basic pillars of action: participation, protection, prevention, and relief and recovery. The international WPS agenda consists of UNSCR 1325 and seven additional UNSC resolutions that extend, complement, specify and operationalise content and concepts of UNSCR 1325: 1820 (2008), 1888 (2009), 1889 (2009), 1960 (2010), 2106 (2013), 2122 (2013) and 2242 (2015).

A selection of some of the most important WPS literature shows how some authors have studied issues related to its implementation, specific impacts and challenges (Olsson and

Gizelis, 2015; Hudson, 2013; Olonisakin, Barnes and Ikpe, 2011; Shepherd, 2014; Pratt and Richter-Devroe, 2011), as well as different aspects of the WPS agenda from global perspectives (Cohn, 2013; Anderlini, 2007). Others have tackled specific issues like women's participation in peace processes and the inclusion of gender in peace agreements (O'Reilly, Ó Súilleabháin and Paffenholz, 2015; Bell and O'Rourke, 2010; Bell, 2013; Chinkin, 2003), sexual violence (Leatherman, 2011; Cohen, Hoover Green and Wood, 2013; Skjelsbæk, 2010) and peacekeeping (Kronsell and Svedverg, 2012; Puechguirbal, 2014), among others.

A common conclusion shared by many authors is that the significance of the adoption of UNSCR 1325 has not been matched with effective gender mainstreaming in peacebuilding policies globally (Olsson and Gizelis, 2015; Shepherd, 2014). The WPS agenda continues to be weak in terms of policy and implementation despite increasing global support by multiple actors (Hudson, 2013). Different authors agree that a vision of women as victims of conflicts continues to prevail, reinforced by the predominance of sexual violence in this agenda since 2008 (Puechguirbal, 2010; Pratt and Richter-Devroe, 2011; Shepherd 2013). This vision would connect with the traditional essentialist representation of women in conflicts and the persistent association of gender and women, that neither the 1325 nor the WPS agenda have challenged enough (Puechguirbal, 2010). However, parallel to this critical view, there is academic recognition of the importance of UNSCR 1325 for women peacemakers' organisations worldwide in terms of visibility, empowerment and legitimacy (Pratt and Richter-Devroe, 2011; Miller, Pournik and Swaine, 2014). Thus, scholarly research agrees in identifying a tension between, on the one hand, recognising evidence of some progress toward a more gender-sensitive and inclusive perspective in the design of conflict prevention and peacebuilding policies and, on the other, the realization that the agenda is more rhetorical than actually capable of influencing and transforming prevailing practices and policies (Olsson and Gizelis, 2015).

Especially relevant is the recent Global Study that represents the most comprehensive review to date of the implementation of UNSCR 1325 and provides many relevant conclusions as well as evidence regarding the importance of gender for conflict prevention and peacebuilding (Coomaraswamy, 2015). The Global Study acknowledges the many challenges that persist for this implementation, the most notable of these being:

- A large amount of the progress “continues to be measured in ‘firsts’ rather than as a standard practice”
- Sexual violence continues to be severely under prosecuted and that there is not enough evidence to prove that normative frameworks have acted as a deterrent for future acts of violence
- Women are hugely underrepresented at all levels and that peace processes and peacekeeping missions are the two most challenging areas in terms of equal and meaningful participation
- The rise of violent extremism and counter-terrorism policies have a severe impact on the lives of women
- The lack of funding for the WPS agenda remains a primary obstacle (Coomaraswamy, 2015).

3. EU policy on gender, peace and security

Following UN's efforts, various regional and international organisations have developed policy frameworks and mechanisms related to the WPS agenda. This section will tackle how the WPS agenda has been integrated in EU policy documents. The EU policy framework on WPS commits the EU to promote the role of women in peacebuilding and gender mainstreaming (including men and women) in all actions abroad, including in conflict prevention and peacebuilding efforts. All fields of external action are engaged in this effort of promotion, including political dialogue, funding through various instruments, especially the Instrument contributing to Stability and Peace (IcSP), and Common Security and Defence Policy (CSDP) missions and operations. This section deals with how the WPS agenda has been integrated in EU policy documents.

The literature emphasises that the WPS agenda was slow to start in the EU. Despite various previous measures, it was not until 2005 that the EU made a significant commitment to UNSCR 1325 (Barnes, 2011; Leinonen, 2010), which was reflected in an operational paper by the Council related to the ESDP. A more sweeping approach to translating the UN's WPS agenda to the European context was not adopted until 2008 (Barnes, 2011), through approval of the *Comprehensive approach to the EU implementation of the United Nations Security Council Resolutions 1325 and 1820 on women, peace and security* (referred to hereafter as CA 1325). This establishes definitions, principles and measures based on a holistic approach that recognises the relation between peace, security, development and gender equality. CA 1325 forges a strong link between the CSDP and other instruments of foreign policy like development cooperation, political dialogue and EU action within the UN (Leinonen, 2010). It establishes a triple approach, integrating WPS issues into its political and policy dialogue, mainstreaming a gender equality approach in its policies and activities, especially in crisis management and development cooperation, and lending support to specific strategic actions aimed at protecting, supporting and empowering women. Those suggested actions include consultations and cooperation with local and international actors promoting women's rights; support to the development of NAPs by third countries; promotion through political dialogue of implementation of UNSCR1325; support to women's participation in peace processes; gender training, among others.

The backbone of EU policy on WPS consists of CA 1325 and key documents on implementing the UNSCR as part of the CSDP (Gya, 2011; Leinonen, 2010), an area that has received greater attention in the EU. The Council has approved several operational papers in this regard, including *Implementation of UNSCR 1325 as reinforced by UNSCR 1820 in the context of ESDP (2008)* and *Implementation of UNSCRs on Women, Peace and Security in the context of CSDP missions and operations (2012)*. With them, the EU pledges to incorporate gender in the entire cycle of missions and operations, from prior analysis and preparatory phases to the conduct of the missions, monitoring and evaluation. The recent *Council Conclusions on CSDP (2015)* strengthens this gender mainstreaming process. Attention has also been given to training, lessons and best practices in missions and operations.

CA 1325 mandated the Task Force on UNSCR 1325 with the elaboration of a set of indicators to assess “the protection and empowerment of women in conflict settings and in post conflict situations”. In 2010 the EU adopted the 17 indicators developed by the Task Force. Indicators measure action in six areas: country and regional level; integration of WPS in EU priority sectors (e.g. SSR, DDR, civil society); political support and cooperation with international actors; women’s participation; CSDP; and international protection. Compliance was evaluated in two reports: one covering the period from December 2008 to October 2010 (Council of the EU, 2011) and the second spanning from October 2010 to December 2012 (Council of the EU, 2014). Importantly, the EU is in the process of reformulating the indicators and reviewing its WPS policy in line with the comprehensive review of the UNSCR 1325 and the international development agenda. In consultations with civil society – the Civil Society Dialogue Network has channeled this interlocution – proposals such as including sub-indicators for specific issues have arisen.

Despite the comprehensive policy framework of the EU, gender mainstreaming has been uneven in its peacebuilding and conflict prevention policies. Although gender has been incorporated to a greater or lesser extent into key documents like the *Concept on Strengthening EU Mediation and Dialogue Capacities* (2009) and the *Review of the Implementation of the European Security Strategy* (ESS) (2008), reducing the gender blindness of the ESS (2003), other vital documents like the *Comprehensive Approach to External Conflicts and Crises* (2013) and its revision in 2014 do not incorporate gender explicitly. Notably, the EU Member States (EUMS) have also created their own policies, mainly by developing National Action Plans (NAPs) related to the implementation of UNSCR 1325 and the WPS agenda. In October 2015, 17 EUMS had a NAP, with national priorities and strategies.

The EU policy on WPS has been assessed by civil society and in academic research, which have raised strengths, weaknesses and recommendations (EPLO, 2015; Gya, 2011; Olsson and Sundström, 2012; Olsson, 2015). The EU policy framework has been positively evaluated, as it evidences a genuine commitment with gender mainstreaming in foreign policy and represents a contribution to the development of the international policy agenda regarding these issues (Martinelli, 2014). This framework is considered as holistic (EPLO, 2015), well developed (Martinelli, 2014) and highly ambitious (EPLO, 2012). Authors highlight that gender equality constitutes one of the fundamental principles of EU’s CFSP (Olsson and Sundström, 2012). The literature has also found evidence of progress in EU policy framework, pointing to comprehensive policy developments, increasingly detailed policy documents and more precise language in its formulation (Olsson, 2015). Parallel to this, the literature has found weaknesses at policy level, including vagueness in some policy documents, insufficient integration of the WPS agenda in conflict prevention and peacebuilding policy documents, weaknesses in the impact assessment system and the lack of definition and depth of targets and indicators, among others (Gya, 2007; 2011; EPLO, 2015).

In addition, there is a common acknowledgement in the literature of the gap between comprehensive and strong policy commitments and practical implementation. In relation to this gap, authors have pointed to key issues such as a lack of resources (Martinelli, 2014, 2015); insufficient support at the level of leadership at headquarters and missions (Olsson et al., 2014); scarce institutional or strategic approach to gender mainstreaming at implementation level despite committed individuals’ efforts and that despite this some gender considerations are

taken into account in practice (Olsson et al., 2014; EPLO, 2012); lack of willingness to change power structures with the aim of making them more equitable in terms of gender (Martinelli, 2014); lack of understanding on how to implement gender policy in assignments (Olsson and Sundström, 2012). Some authors also highlight insufficient EUMS' commitment to the WPS agenda (e.g. not every EUMS has a NAP, there is poor and inconsistent presence of women in decision-making positions and not all EUMS agree on the importance of including gender requirements in mandates) and resulting lack of credibility (Martinelli, 2014); uneven reporting on gender (EPLO, 2012); lack of reliable data on gender-based violence as a major obstacle for effective action (Martinelli, 2015); and poor engagement with local women (Martinelli, 2014, Valenius 2007).

4. EU actors on WPS

The promotion of gender in EU conflict prevention and peacebuilding policies has created its own architecture of actors that combines specific functions to support gender throughout the EU and makes gender mainstreaming the responsibility of all actors (EU institutions and EUMS). With respect to specific functions, it was not until September 2015 that a high-level position was established: the European External Action Service (EEAS) Principal Advisor on Gender and on the Implementation of the UNSCR 1325 on WPS, who answers directly to the EEAS Secretary General. This brings the EU closer to other organisations with high-level positions (UN, AU, OSCE, NATO).

Its specific structure also includes the informal Task Force on UNSCR 1325 at the headquarters level, created in 2009 in order to enhance consistency and institutional coordination concerning WPS. It mainly involves EEAS and European Commission (EC) staff working on the gender dimension and the area of security, under EEAS leadership, with the participation of the EUMS and the presence of NATO, the UN and civil society. The Task Force meets periodically with the EU Special Representative (SR) for Human Rights, the Crisis Management and Planning Directorate (CMPD) and the Civilian Planning and Conduct Capability (CPCC) of the EEAS. The Task Force has engaged in dialogue with civil society since 2010. This includes NGO platforms that are active in targeting the EU, such as EPLO, which has described the Task Force as the driving force in implementing CA 1325 (EPLO, 2012; Gya, 2010). According to Onslow, Schoofs and Maguire (2010), consultations are a fruitful example of interactions, as shown by improvements of the original EU gender indicators after consultations with civil society experts. Nonetheless, significant problems have been detected regarding the Task Force, such as a shortage of human resources (double-hatting, part-time) and financial resources, as well as the lack of a clear gender structure at the EEAS, at least until recently (Gya, 2011; EPLO, 2012).

Added to this are the gender advisors (GA), gender focal points (GFPs) and gender experts, in the headquarters in Brussels (across the EEAS and the EC) and in the field. Their creation reflects an operational approach (Olsson and Sundström, 2012). GA usually refer to staff dealing with gender who have previous experience or expertise on these issues, while GFP refer usually to staff who are assigned to work on gender as an additional task and that do not necessarily have gender expertise (Rehrl and Glume, 2015). According to the EU, 70% of the 16 CSDP missions deployed in 2013, including all military operations, had at least one gender advisor/trainer, and at the end of this year all had human rights focal points (EEAS, 2014). There are GFPs in crisis management bodies at the headquarters level, in all EU delegations, and within the EC in important areas like Commission's Directorate-General for International Cooperation and Development (DG DEVCO) and the service for Foreign Policy Instruments (FPI).

These are complemented by mechanisms acting as a community of experts, such as the network of human rights and gender advisors/focal points of CSDP missions and operations. This network meets annually under coordination of the Task Force (Gya 2010). It started to meet formally in November 2009, due to the proved usefulness of a previous informal meeting. It provides a space for sharing best practices and lessons learned, as well as for cross-learning. Lessons learned have included reflections on staffing (e.g. need for gender advisors in all

missions, obstacles generated by 'double-hatting'), planning and pre-deployment (e.g. relevance of early integration of gender), monitoring, training and coaching, practical steps, coordination with other organisations (e.g. relevance of building on previous valuable work of others) (Council of the EU, 2009). Some of its recommendations have resulted in improvements in subsequent policy documents, such as the 2012 Council's document updating gender policy in the context of CSDP missions and operations. In relation to actors, best practices have included the role of the gender advisor in EUMM Georgia, featuring bi-monthly meetings with focal points in field offices to enhance gender mainstreaming (Council of the EU, 2014) and the strengthening of the gender structure in EUPOL COPPs, by moving from a double-hatting situation to a designated GA and GFPs. Other initiatives on community of experts include the EEAS Women Network, established in 2013 under the leadership of the EEAS Deputy Secretary General for Political Affairs and aiming at sharing the experience and advice of women diplomats in senior management positions (EEAS 2014); or the network of gender focal points of delegations.

Furthermore, all EU actors are called upon to mainstream gender. Especially relevant in this regard are the heads of missions and heads of operations, which are key to operational implementation. However, assessments indicate that much greater effort in terms of leadership is required (Olsson and Sundström, 2012; Olsson et al., 2014). The EU delegations and delegation heads are also potentially key to integrating the WPS agenda into political dialogue with third countries (Martinelli, 2014; EPLO, 2012). Special representatives (SR) are also important, as EU policy calls for their mandates to give consideration to WPS and specifies possible actions to undertake such as monitoring the situation of women, reporting on gender and maintaining contacts with relevant local actors. In practice, the EU has identified a positive trend of stronger integration of WPS in the work of EUSRs, even if with substantial differences among them. The EU has provided examples of good practices, including by EUSR for Afghanistan (e.g. on gender and peace negotiations), Georgia (e.g. work on WPS, meetings with women from civil society, including from breakaway entities) and, notably, by the EUSR for Human Rights (e.g. close contacts on 1325 with UN Women, UN SR on sexual violence and NATO SR for WPS) (Council of the EU, 2014). Despite CA 1325's calls for integration of gender into mandates, the mandates of EU SR for Human Rights have not included so far explicit references to gender or UNSCR 1325, although this has not prevented action on this field.

The literature points to pressing challenges like the shortage of human and financial resources among EU actors with specific gender functions and the need for greater effort from the rest, especially in terms of leadership and in mainstreaming gender throughout the cycle of their respective areas of competence (Olsson and Sundström, 2012; Olsson et al., 2014). Another problem is the gender imbalance at the top EU positions, including at the EEAS senior management level (Martinelli, 2014; EPLO, 2014; Van Der Vleuten, 2012), even though the HR/VP Mogherini has pledged to increase to 40% the rate of Heads of Delegations by the end of 2019 (Council of the EU, 2015). EU monitoring and best practices reports acknowledge shortcomings and raise both lessons learned and challenges. Despite persistent substantial gaps, there is evidence of practical positive shifts that point to a follow up on the recommendations, such as regarding EUFOR RD Congo, which is considered by the EU and external observers as a success case for its comprehensive aim at integrating gender. In terms of actors, this meant the provision of clear support and guidance by the Operational

Commander and Force Commander; gender training for personnel in DRC and linked to the mandate assignments; nomination of gender advisor and gender focal points in several units and linkage through a network as well as links to other international and local actors working on gender (Barnes, 2009b).

5. Gender, peace and security in EU interventions

After this general overview on the WPS at the EU, this section will address gender in EU interventions, specifically across multi-track diplomacy, security sector reform and governance reform. It briefly reflects on the relevance of a gender perspective in these issues and analyses the EU policy and practice, identifying dilemmas, gaps and lessons learned.

5.1 Gender and multi-track diplomacy

The international WPS agenda has underlined the importance of gender and the full and equal participation of women in all areas of decision-making linked to conflict prevention and resolution and to peace processes. Nevertheless, women remain significantly under-represented in formal mediation, dialogue and negotiating processes (Anderlini, 2007; Bell, 2013; Fisas, 2008; Bell and O'Rourke, 2010; Castillo and Tordjman, 2012). Recent evidence points to slow progress – peace negotiations in Colombia and the Philippines are mentioned as positive examples (Coomaraswamy, 2015). The literature has identified obstacles to women's participation (the problem of power and women's general access to areas of decision-making; the central role of armed actors – dominated by men – in negotiations, as well as a masculinised Track I mediating environment which has limited gender expertise and is resistant to including women; the persistence of stereotypes that mainly identify women as victims; logistical, cultural, social and economic difficulties, and problems of conciliation and security threats) and has also documented women's efforts to access Track I spaces, their Track II and III initiatives and their contributions, including the introduction and prioritisation of issues on the negotiating agenda (Barnes, 2002; Potter, 2005, 2008; Anderlini, 2007; Mannergren, Nyquist and Söderberg, 2012; Reimann, 2014; Coomaraswamy, 2015). More recently, the literature has provided evidence on the positive impact of women involvement in terms of quality and sustainability of peace (Paffenholz, 2015; O'Reilly, Ó Suilleabháin and Paffenholz, 2015).

In this area, EU policy is based mainly on CA 1325 and *Concept on Strengthening EU Mediation and Dialogue Capacities* (2009). CA 1325 recognises the existence of challenges like the exclusion of women from areas of peace and security decision-making, mediators' and negotiators' lack of interaction with women's organisations and the rare selection of women for teams leading peace negotiations. In response, the EU commits to adopting specific measures like support for women's participation through diplomatic and financial means, an increase in the number of women mediators and chief negotiators and support for local women's organisations in peace processes. The *Concept on Strengthening EU Mediation and Dialogue* includes among its five guiding principles the "promotion of women's participation" and asserts that building the EU's capacities for mediation requires the identification of women mediators, the promotion of their representation and the availability of gender expertise from the start of

the mediation processes (Council of the EU, 2009b). The EU has reaffirmed its commitments in this area in the policy documents that guide implementation of the WPS agenda in CSDP missions (Council of the EU, 2008b; 2010b, 2012). Recently the new framework for the EU's activities on gender equality and female empowerment in the EU's external relations for 2016-2020 – SWD (2015)¹⁸², adopted in September and built on the previous Gender Action Plan 2010-2015 – also identified strengthening women's voice and participation in all areas of decision-making, including their role as peacebuilders, as one of the pillars of its action.

The implementation of EU policy in this field has included a wide range of activities developed at EU level or at EUMS level, in line with the types of EU mediation involvement – promoting, leveraging, supporting, finding and acting as a mediator itself – as drawn from the 2009 EU Concept. The EU has raised the issue of women's equal and full participation of women in peace negotiations in both political dialogues and international fora and tried to use its political weight to support initiatives, such as the efforts of Mary Robinson to ensure women's participation in the Great Lakes region. It has also financially supported women's organisations in order to empower them to contribute to informal or formal peace talks; has provided resources for mediation gender expertise on mediation processes and for trainings in mediation and negotiation skills e.g. in Guatemala, Guinea Bissau, Kirgizstan or Maldives; and has provided support and lobbied for the inclusion of women in conflict prevention and resolution initiatives e.g. in the Nairobi Dialogue in Eastern DRC, and funding awareness campaigns in Côte d'Ivoire or supporting women track 2 and 3 in Nepal. However, the EU recognises that women's meaningful participation in peace negotiations and mediation efforts remains low (Council of the EU, 2011, 2014, 2015; EEAS, 2012; ECDPM, 2012).

The EU has acknowledged difficulties to track the implementation of their commitments in this area. Among the 17 indicators on CA 1325, 4 are considered especially relevant to mediation and dialogue (8 to 11), aimed at identifying the number of women involved in negotiations supported by the EU, the EU's activities to support women's participation in negotiations, the number and type of meetings between EU delegations and women's organisations or organisations working on WPS and the proportion of men and women in EU diplomatic missions as well as UN or CSDP operations (Council of the EU, 2010; EEAS, 2012; EPLO, 2015). Nevertheless, the first report on indicators (2011) found it difficult to gather information about women's participation in negotiations indicating that “this aspect was not considered an objective or criteria in itself” by EU institutions or the EUMS (Council of the EU, 2011, 4). The second report on the indicators for the CA 1325 (2014) identified a better understanding of this issue, but the participation of women in peace processes is still considered a challenge and identified as a priority area for the next report on indicators for the CA 1325 (2013-2015) (Council of the EU, 2014). In order to improve the understanding on this issue at internal level, the EU has introduced the issue of women's participation on mediation in training of EU staff and has also promoted the development fact sheets and studies on women at mediation and peace processes, partly in recognition of the absence of baseline data on this issue (Council of the EU, 2014, 2015). A common conclusion underlined in these reports is that the EU should lead by example, including women at all levels and prioritising women in key roles that are likely to be involved in EU mediation and dialogue (Mannergren, Nyquist and Söderberg, 2012; ECDPM, 2012).

The EU has recognised the need to improve the evaluation mechanisms, coinciding with experts and civil society organizations that emphasize the need to measure not only how “active” the EU is in this area, but also how “effective” it is (EPLO, 2015). Among other issues, the EU has been recommended to examine case studies in greater depth to collect qualitative information (how inclusive the peace processes are, who the women involved in them are, what issues they raise and how they are addressed). Experts have suggested the reformulation of indicators and introduction of sub-indicators (e.g. to distinguish the number and percentage of women in peace processes led by the EU or where the EU takes an active role acting as mediators, negotiators or technical experts in Tracks I, II and III) and the formal participation of civil society in evaluation has been also advised (e.g. shadow reporting) (EPLO, 2012, 2015; Maguire, 2013; EEAS, 2012; Onslow, Schoofs and Maguire, 2010). Other proposals include taking advantage of local gender experience, giving CSDP missions more specific mandates for mediation and gender expertise and consulting regularly with women’s NGOs (ECDPM, 2012; Kvinna, 2012; Olsson and Sundström, 2012). The consideration of quotas for women’s participation and the introduction of conditionality criteria as EU precondition to support formal peace processes has been consistently advised by civil society and experts (Kviina, 2012; ECDPM, 2012; EPLO, 2011).

Regarding concrete experiences where the EU has been involved, it should be noted that recent peace negotiations in Yemen and Mali have been identified as learning and non-learning cases, respectively. In Yemen – where the EU has promoted the engagement of women in dialogue – the participation of women in the National Dialogue Conference in Yemen has been identified as an example of how the design of a peace process and the pressure of local women’s NGOs and international players can overcome gender inequalities and cultural objections. A 30 per cent quota for women was agreed across all the constituencies and, additionally, women had their own delegation of 40 seats. Finally, 28% of participants (161 of 565) were women and in each working group at least one of the leadership positions was for a woman. In contrast, the peace process in Mali, where the EU is one of over 10 co-mediators, has been cited as a case where women’s participation has not been given priority despite their public demands to be included (similarly to other experiences with a role of the EU, such as the Butmir process in Bosnia). Cultural arguments – the so-called “cultural dilemma” – fears of delays in talks and the preference to include women in future phases have been used to justify their exclusion, amidst a process of international mediation fully dominated by men (Coomaraswamy, 2015; Mannergren, Nyquist and Söderberg, 2012).

5.2 Gender and security sector reform

The relation between gender and security sector reform (SSR) has received growing attention since the launch of the global WPS agenda (Coomaraswamy, 2015; Mobekk, 2010). The gender perspective in SSR emphasises the importance of taking into account the (in)security experiences and needs of men, women, boys and girls, assuming that their different experiences and priorities are linked to the social processes and structures within which they live (Bastick, 2008; Mobekk, 2010; Anderlini, 2008). For example, this approach may give more visibility to sexual and gender violence as a security problem (Barnes, 2009). Authors agree that the gender dimension is indispensable if SSR is to remain consistent with its core principles:

people centred, locally owned and based on democratic norms and human rights, as defined by the OECD (Bastick, 2008). As Bastick emphasizes, a process cannot be people-centred or democratic if the needs of half of the people are not represented (Bastick, 2008). It is argued that a gendered lens on SSR issues offers an alternative paradigm to traditional militarised perspectives, and also widens the range of “local owners” with which international proponents of SSR can engage (Anderlini, 2010). Gender is recognised as crucial for the efficiency of SSR (Gya and Thomsen, 2009) by expanding the number of relevant stakeholders with capacity to identify the security needs. This, in turn, enhances local ownership and has positive effects in terms of legitimacy and sustainability of the SSR process. Additionally, it is considered that a gendered SSR increases the effectiveness of service delivery of security services and justice – e.g. by creating more representative SSR institutions, strengthening responses to GBV or benefitting from increased participation of women in policing – and also strengthens oversight and accountability, which are key aspects to limit abuses of power and effectively protect the population (Anderlini, 2008; Valasek, 2008; Mobekk, 2010; Bastick, 2008; Barnes, 2009a; OECD-DAC, 2009; Coomaraswamy, 2015). The literature has identified two strategies for integrating gender into SSR: gender balancing, or the promotion of the equal participation of men and women in security institutions, decision-making on SSR and oversight bodies – traditionally male dominated-; and gender mainstreaming, which involves assessing the gender impact of all SSR measures (Bastick, 2008; Valasek, 2008; Mobekk, 2010).

There are three key documents that define the EU strategy on SSR, based on the vision of the OECD-DAC. They all refer to the gender dimension, but fail to go into sufficient detail (Barnes, 2009). *EU Concept for ESDP Support to SSR* (2005), by the Council, mentions the need to include gender issues in security force training and refers to UNSCR 1325. A *Concept for European Community Support for SSR* (2006), by the Commission, recognises that the EU’s approach to SSR processes must be guided by a “gender sensitive multi-sector approach”, an idea echoed in *Conclusions on a Policy Framework for SSR* (2006), where it appears as one of the principles that must guide the EU’s action on SSR. In SSR, as in other areas, CA 1325 (2008) is the key document and specifies key areas where the EU should pay attention: the identification of security needs; the inclusion of women in relevant institutions (like the police); investments in infrastructure to attend to victims of gender-based violence; the strengthening of women’s participation and access to justice; witness protection and an end to impunity for the crimes affecting women. With regard to DDR, CA 1325 aligns with *EU Concept for support to DDR* (2006), which recognises the need to integrate the gender perspective and avoid exclusionary definitions of “combatants” that marginalise women and girls, adding that those processes must be an opportunity to raise awareness about sexual and gender-based violence. The EU framework on gender and SSR has also been enriched by the Council’s documents on how to incorporate WPS into CSDP missions, one of the EU’s main mechanisms for promoting SSR processes (Council of the EU, 2010b, 2012). Furthermore, the EUMS have made commitments to gender and SSR in their NAPs (Barnes, 2009).

The two reports on indicators for the CA 1325 (Council of the EU, 2011, 2014) have provided partial data on the number and funding of SSR or DDR projects that contribute to gender equality (indicator 5). The EU has also identified lessons learned on SSR (e.g. the importance of training and clear orders regarding sexual violence) and the types of activities supported by the EU in this area: the promotion of women in debates on SSR (EUSEC and EUPOL DR Congo); measures to support the recruitment of women in security forces

(EUPM/BiH); the gathering of gender-disaggregated information (EUPOL Afghanistan, EUMM Georgia, EUSEC and EUPOL DR Congo); the promotion of gender mainstreaming and of women's participation in reforming the judicial sector (EUJUST LEX-Iraq); support for measures against domestic violence (the creation of specialised police units, EUPOL COPPS, and support for legal reforms, EULEX-Kosovo) and also support in the fight against sexual violence (EUPOL and EUSEC RD Congo) (Council of the EU, 2010b, 2011). The case of RD Congo has been mentioned by literature as a learning case on women's providing inputs to SSR process with EU support (Gya, Isaksson and Martinelli, 2009; Olsson and Sundström, 2012).

The literature has analysed some aspects of the EU's gender policies and practices on SSR as part of broader assessments of gender in CSDP (Valenius, 2009; Olsson and Sundström, 2012; Gya, Isaksson and Martinelli, 2009; Gya, 2011; Olsson et al., 2014; Sundin and Olsson, 2014) or reflections focused on the SSR activities of ESDP/CSDP missions (Bloching, 2011; Gya and Thomsen, 2009), including specific gender perspectives (Barnes, 2009). Some gaps identified by the literature in this area indicate the lack of a strategic approach to guide implementation of the gender approach to SSR in missions and the dearth of specific gender expertise on SSR in EU bodies. Additionally, it identifies the need to support local stakeholders working on gender/SSR, the gender imbalance in CSDP missions – which affects the interactions with local women and the work on gender and sexual violence, as well as their capacity to act as role models for local women – the lack of human and financial resources for gender activities and SSR, as well as the need for disaggregated information (Barnes, 2009; EPLO, 2012; Bloching, 2011, Gya, 2011; Olsson and Sundström, 2012; Olsson et al., 2014).

From a general perspective, literature on gender and SSR has concluded that in the past 15 years increased awareness on gender dynamics within the security sector has resulted in more attention to specific needs and capacities of women and girls (Coomaraswamy, 2015). However, gaps between policy and practice have been also identified. Among the main problems or challenges, the literature mentions the tendency to focus on women representation in security forces in detriment of other areas of SSR; dissimilar understanding and implementation of gender by SSR actors; resistance from local politicians and security sector to incorporate gender perspective on SSR as perceived as an external imposed agenda; lack of prioritisation of gender issues in programming and funding of SSR initiatives; and failures in DDR programmes especially regarding the reintegration component. (Mobekk, 2010; Anderlini, 2008; Bastick, 2008; Barnes, 2009; OECD-DAC, 2009; Coomaraswamy, 2015).

5.3 Gender and governance reform

There is a significant normative framework that recognises the need to address gender in post-conflict governance reform and argues that women have a crucial role to play in it. This is supported by key documents like CEDAW and UNSCR 1325 and aims to develop systems of inclusive governance that take gender into account, including responses to the gender impacts of conflicts and previous inequalities (Lukatela, 2012; Domingo et al., 2013). They cover the different areas of political governance processes (constitutional reforms, political systems, electoral systems, political parties) and administrative governance (decentralisation, public administration reform, the provision of public services) (Lukatela, 2012). The relevance of the

gender perspective for governance reforms as part of peacebuilding and statebuilding processes has also become a matter of discussion in the literature over the years (Tripp, 2012; Domingo et al., 2015, 2013; OECD, 2013; Haynes, Ní Aoláin and Cahn, 2011; Castillejo, 2011, 2013). The literature has focused especially on political and electoral processes and civil society activism and mobilisation, with significant quantitative evidence emerging recently (Hughes and Tripp, 2015).

Gender responsive governance in peacebuilding concerns several areas of EU foreign policy, like political dialogue, financing and CSDP missions. In addition to references to gender and governance in specific policy documents on gender and development policy, the EU's stance is explicitly stated in CA 1325 (section on "Governance and Civil Society"), which stresses that transition periods provide opportunities to reformulate constitutions and laws and to create new systems of governance. It urges that special attention be paid to protecting the rights of women and eradicating discrimination in legislation and in practice, to supporting women in processes of reconciliation, to women's participation in political decision-making and governmental bodies and to backing local women's groups to protect women's rights and monitor public policies.

Part of the EU's indicators on CA 1325 measure aspects of governance, albeit in indirect ways, such as support for third countries to develop NAPs, the number of projects or programmes in specific sectors, including in civil society, the number and types of meetings of EU delegations, EUMS embassies and CSDP missions with groups of women and/or NGOs working on WPS. More recently, SWD(2015)182 also refers to links between gender equality, democracy, good governance, peacebuilding and statebuilding, and considers strengthening the voices of women and girls and their participation in social, economic and political life as a pivotal area of action. Moreover, the EU's specific documents on WPS and missions have consequences for missions with governance-related aspects, at least in theory, by promoting gender mainstreaming throughout their cycles.

In view of the policy framework, the literature indicates that the EU has a clear mandate to support the political participation of women in post-conflict societies in various fields of action, highlighting political dialogue and the opportunity for delegations and missions to introduce gender issues related to national legislation and institutional mechanisms, women's organisations and civil society and elections into the agenda (Onslow, Schoofs and Maguire, 2010, Lyytikäinen 2009). However, there is a gap between political commitments and implementation, akin to the operationalisation of gender in missions. The need for clearer guidelines has also been identified, as EUMM Georgia staff members have indicated (Olsson and Sundström, 2012; Olsson et al., 2014).

The EU has developed lessons learned and good practices for missions that are relevant to governance issues. These indicate that CSDP missions may pave the way for long-term peacebuilding activities, which can involve the start of reforms to the political system and support for legislative reforms, including on good governance (e.g. EULEX). They can also engage in unbiased human rights monitoring (e.g. EULEX, EUSEC, EUPOL DR Congo, EUMP, EUMM Georgia, AMM) aimed at promoting legitimate institutions and preventing conflicts. If their mandate allows, they could have a significant role in promoting new legislation for more equal political participation (e.g. EUSEC and EUPOL DR Congo) (Council of the EU, 2010). The EU's reports on indicators for the CA 1325 also address progress, gaps and challenges.

6. Conclusions

After a historical process of expansion in its gender policy, the EU is considered a significant regional player in terms of WPS. Following the UN's leadership, the EU has developed an ambitious and comprehensive policy framework on WPS/gender, peace and security that involves all EU actors and areas of action (mainly political dialogue, funding programming and CSDP missions and operations) in mainstreaming gender in conflict prevention and peacebuilding. This approach has permeated areas such as multi-track diplomacy, SSR and governance reform and has strengthened the EU's capacities in the area of conflict prevention and peacebuilding as it constitutes a foundation for promoting more inclusive and sustainable processes.

The literature has detected many gaps and challenges, mainly the gap between commitments and implementation linked to insufficient human and/or financial resources, which also reflects a lack of political will. The gender imbalance in the top positions of the EU raises doubts about its status as a role model and its legitimacy in this area. In conjunction with this, greater effort in leadership is seen as necessary to make the gender mainstreaming strategy effective. The literature also points to the need for greater coherence and coordination between EU institutions and the EUMS. Likewise, it warns of a risk of isolation between the WPS agenda and the general conflict prevention and peacebuilding agenda, because gender is often only taken into account in relation to the EU gender equality policy. Simultaneously, some reductionism has been detected in the EU when translating and implementing the global WPS agenda by focusing mostly on the security sector and neglecting other dimensions (Coomaraswamy, 2015). Other more specific shortcomings include insufficient clarity and guidance on how to mainstream gender in the various areas and levels of action. All these challenges point to possible future lines of research for the EU, with the help of larger case studies and analysis of the new dynamics that may result from the ongoing transition phase.

Regarding the WOSCAP project, this scoping study identifies important connections between the gender perspective and the WPS agenda of the EU and other cross-cutting approaches such as local ownership processes. This raises questions about inclusiveness, intersectionality and accountability. At the same time, the EU's WPS agenda acknowledges the need for multi-lateral relationships with other international, regional and local stakeholders, leading to questions about the degree of multi-stakeholder coherence in practice regarding WPS implementation. In turn, the EU's gender mainstreaming strategy involves all stakeholders and areas of action, including civilian-military relations. Finally, the study on the WPS agenda in the EU raises questions about the role of ICTs in preventing conflict, the gendered impacts of the use of ICTs, the EU's level of support for ICTs as a useful tool for implementing the WPS agenda and for EU visibility and public diplomacy regarding WPS. All these issues are relevant to the WOSCAP project.

Annex 1: Research questions

One of the aims of WOSCAP project is to analyse whether and how the EU is implementing its gender commitments in its conflict prevention and peacebuilding interventions, as gender equality is a fundamental principle of the EU CFSP in line with EU's endorsement of global WPS agenda. What follows are possible research questions to be addressed in subsequent research phases of the project.

Building on the analytical framework proposed by Olsson and Sundström (2012), we set two different groups of questions that refer to 1) Integration (how and where is gender mainstreamed) and 2) Participation (how do women and men take part in the work).

1) How and where is gender mainstreamed?

- What have been the main initiatives on WPS the EU has been promoting in Mali, Yemen, Ukraine and Georgia?
- Have objectives related to gender been set in the mandate of EU intervention and planning documents? Do these objectives relate to WPS? Are they clear enough?
- What guidance is given to those implementing on the ground (CSDP mission/EU Delegation personnel...) on how to translate gender commitments into practice? How clear are these policy guidelines? Is there a shared understanding on what gender implies for the daily work of EU actors on the ground in relation to their assignments and mandate & on what aspects of gender are relevant for the EU intervention in this country?
- Is the leadership of the mission/Delegation actively supporting WPS?
- How familiar is EU staff on the ground with EU gender policy and mechanisms (e.g. CA 1325, indicators, lessons learned reports)
- What are the main difficulties and obstacles gender advisors and gender focal points face to perform their assigned tasks successfully?
- Is reporting on EU gender being implemented, including specific gender reporting and gender mainstreaming in general reporting? What mechanisms for gender reporting are put in practice? Does reporting on gender build on the gender indicators developed by the EU?
- Are the trainings on gender issues to EU staff leading to a better understanding and integration of the WPS agenda on the ground?
- Is there a coordinated approach on gender and WPS between the EU actors in the country (e.g. CSDP mission, Delegation, EUSR) and EUMS?
- Is the EU coordinating with other international organizations working on WPS in the country?

- Is the EU raising WPS issues in its political dialogue/ diplomatic relations with the local government?
- To what extent is the EU using the ITCs to facilitate the understanding and implementation of gender/WPS policies at internal and external level? (e.g. online courses, networks on gender issues, platforms for sharing best practices or dissemination of policies and practices?)
- Is there specific funding for gender/WPS activities?
- Is the EU systematically collecting gender disaggregated data relevant for its interventions?
- Is the EU collecting evidence of impact in the living conditions of women and girls in countries where it is promoting and supporting the WPS agenda?

2) How do women and men take part in the work?

- What mechanisms are developed on the ground by EU actors to engage with local women? Are there clear guidelines on how this interaction should take place?
- What actors of civil society in relation of gender is the EU engaging with? (ex. women's organizations involved in WPS, actors working on gender in relation to mission assignments –e.g. SSR, DDR–, women's rights groups, women groups based in the capital or in rural areas, others...).
- Is the EU meeting with local women decision-makers?
- How are these meetings feeding into EU intervention/approach?
- Does EU internal gender imbalance (e.g. low number of women in decision making positions) affect negatively its field work in terms of WPS implementation?

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