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FOR THE ADVANCEMENT OF WOMEN

Gender and Security Sector Reform Summary of E-Discussion 4 October-7 November 2004

Eighty participants from around the world took part in this e-discussion, including UN and NGO staff, academics and government representatives. The goals of this discussion were: to share thoughts and resources; to strategically plan and coordinate efforts; to give input on INSTRAW's draft framework for research and training on gender and security sector reform; and to brainstorm research and training needs and potential case studies. Though the discussion was slow to start, many interesting ideas and debates arose after the first week. The draft papers that were circulated as inputs for the discussion are attached as annexes.

The discussion touched on a wide variety of topics, but tended to focus on gender and disarmament, demobilization and reintegration (DDR) as well as delving into the issue of defining security and the security sector. In general there was agreement that the concept of security needs to be broadened to a focus on human security, including issues such as women's environmental and economic security. Whether or not human security is a useful concept was also discussed. On DDR and gender, a lively debate arose regarding why women are excluded from DDR and what should be done to address it. Additionally, discussion focused on why and if there is resistance to categorising women as combatants. The discussion provided useful insight into the current work that is being done on the topic, as well as quite a few interesting ideas regarding research and capacity-building needs, which are included at the end of the summary along with a list of contributed resources.

The response to the e-discussion was quite positive, there seems to be a general lack of networks connecting practitioners in this area and the act of opening up space for exchange was highly appreciated. Though specific feedback was not given on the draft papers and more time should have been dedicated to facilitating the discussion, it was a interesting and valuable exercise. Responding to the need for discussion forums, a e-network on gender and security sector reform will be created in order to allow e-discussion participants and others to continue exchanging information and ideas. Following are excerpts of the e-discussion which trace the development of the exchange and focuses on the voices of the participants.

Defining the concepts

Kristin Valasek, INSTRAW: "Within these documents I use the rather traditional definition of the security sector: 'all the organisations that have the authority to use, or order the use of, force, or the threat of force, to protect the state and its citizens.' I also state that 'The end goal of security sector reform is to create an accountable, equitable, effective, transparent and civilian-controlled security sector that ensures the peace and well-being of women, men, boys and girls."

The Official Security Sector: International/Regional Forces; Military; Police/Border Guards/Customs; Paramilitary; Judicial and Penal System; Intelligence Services; Government Ministries including Parliament or Congress.

Additional Security Sector Actors: Paramilitary/Militias; Armed Opposition Groups; Donor Countries supporting SSR [security sector reform]; Governments giving military aid/training; Private Security Firms; Civil Society; Media.

Are these definitions inclusive enough? Too broad? Compatible with a gender perspective on security? Have I left out any key actors?"

Sarah Douglas, UNIFEM: "Analysis on gender and SSR could be an entry point for work that cuts across the borders of post-conflict, pre-conflict, peace and so forth... the need for SSR in even developed countries underscores the necessity for a global shift towards the paradigms of human security and justice. Furthermore, the over-investment in armaments to the detriment of the investment in conflict prevention, SSR, DDR [disarmament, demobilisation and reintegration] and development has serious implications for the security of women in every community worldwide."

Sanam Anderlini, Women Waging Peace: "when women were given a chance to discuss and address issues of security – they did have a more 'human' security approach."

Isha L. Dyfan, for the Office of Gender Affairs, UNMIL: "It is important to note that while SSR by definition does include peacekeeping forces within the mission, there has to be some reference to the fact that peacekeeping forces are providing security in a situation where there isn't a functioning army. This peacekeeping role is now being transformed by the inclusion of gender."

Camille Conaway, Women Waging Peace: Contributed draft material from their Toolkit for Advocacy and Action (see List of Resources):

"The **security sector** refers to organisations and entities that have the authority, capacity, and/or orders to use force or the threat of force to protect the state and civilians. It also includes the civil structures responsible for managing such organisations." Three components make up the sector:

1. groups with the authority and instruments to use force (e.g. militaries, police and paramilitaries, intelligence services);
2. institutions that monitor and manage the sector (e.g. government ministries, parliament, civil society—see chapter on governance); and
3. structures responsible for maintaining the rule of law (e.g. the judiciary, the ministry of justice, prisons, human rights commissions, local and traditional justice mechanisms—see chapter on transitional justice).

In states affected by armed conflict, the security sector also includes non-state actors such as armed opposition movements, militias, and private security firms. Additionally the media, academia, and civil society can play an important role in monitoring activities and calling for accountability.

The reform of this sector is important for promoting peace and good governance in the short and long term. In the short term, (SSR) is needed to ensure that:

- forces do not regroup to destabilise or pose a threat to peace;
- bribery and corruption are eliminated; and
- the sector (including leadership structures) is fully transformed so as to gain credibility, legitimacy, and trust in the public eye.

If the security sector is not handled adequately and in time, it is likely that funds will continue to be misdirected, putting a severe constraint on the process of post-conflict reconstruction.

In the longer term, SSR is typically understood to have four dimensions:

1. political, primarily based on the principle of civilian control over military and security bodies;
2. institutional, referring to the physical and technical transformation of security entities (e.g. structure of security establishment, number of troops, equipment, etc.);
3. economic, relating to the financing and budgets of forces; and
4. societal, relating to the role of civil society in monitoring security policies and programmes.

Marie Vlachová, Centre for the Democratic Control of Armed Forces (DCAF): "DCAF has recognized human security as the broadest framework of SSR recently and within this framework women and children have been defined as two of the groups extremely vulnerable to insecurities of the present world. There is an intention to continue the project with some activities on 'engendering security', but the idea is gaining support very slowly in this male-dominated institution."

Eve Sandberg, Oberlin College: Called for a broad definition of security including environmental justice (such as access to clean water) and economic security issues. Sandberg also highlighted the role of women who "play important social roles in maintaining military recruiting and bases" and stated that "access to education is a long term strategy for women's participation and security in their adult lives."

Pilar Rueda, Oxfam GB, Colombia: Stated that new elements need to be included in the analysis and definition of security. These include: the need to take into account the real security needs of citizens, instead of simply promoting security of the state; addressing the specific social and political contexts; promoting the inclusion of women's real experiences in the public and private sphere into security policies; realizing the military and repressive connotations of the term 'security', and using other terms such as protection; and that any security policy aimed at preventing sexual violence during armed conflict have as its aim the protection of women's human rights.

Ariane Brunet, Women's Rights Coordinator- Rights & Democracy: Noted that security in the "war against terrorism" era is being defined in the context of the "axis of evil, rogue states, failing states etc." Called for this militarism to be addressed, because there is no way women can have a voice in decision-making processes if we live in such a militarized society. Brunet also pointed out that if we want to look at gender and security we have to look at the politisation of security and to whom a security agenda pays off... and it is not women.

"What I'm saying is yes we need to challenge the "all security agenda" of the powers at work here, need also to condemn the "security on the cheap" as with the creation of Provincial Reconstruction teams in Afghanistan who make it so that soldiers instead of NGOs [non-governmental organisations] build latrines, carry bags of rice... We need to challenge this before bringing a gender perspective to human security. I'll be honest, human security troubles me. What is it that human security brings that plain old human rights was not already trying to address specifically if addressed from a gender perspective? A new layer of concepts, declarations, principles, keeping me away from implementation of what we have fought already for? I wonder and worry about how easy our energy can be diverted into new ways to obtain the very simple basics and fundamentals..."

Kristin Valasek, INSTRAW: "Regarding definitions of the security sector, thanks for your contribution Camille. I think one of the only differences between our conceptualizations is that I included donor countries giving SSR aid, and governments giving military aid and training, as additional security sector actors." Also stated that the ideal security sector must address gender in multiple ways, through: **ACTIONS** (providing for diverse security needs, prioritizing the security of women and girls); **PARTICIPATION** (ensuring the equal and representative participation of women and other marginalized groups); **ACCESS** (to information and decision-making); and **ATTITUDE** (transforming restrictive, militarized gender roles within the security sector, as well as society in general).

Eve Sandberg, Oberlin College: Highlighted subdivisions within the approaches to the topic of gender and security that existed in the e-discussion. "One is in the definition of security noted earlier:

- some participants utilize a more focused war and weapons related definitions;
- others utilize a more structural social definition of war and violence;

Another subdivision has to do with the focus of analysis and policy making

- some are involved with researching policy and creating tools for... service delivery designed to prevent violence or to treat survivors;
- others are involved with the socialization of elites, legal experts, and policy makers."

Beth Woroniuk, Independent Researcher/Consultant: Drew attention to the ongoing tension between trying to change existing programmes and initiatives from within and the need to challenge the very form, objectives, assumptions and boundaries of these programmes.

Kristin Valasek, INSTRAW: "Beth, I see your point regarding the dilemma of fitting gender into SSR vs questioning and expanding the definition of SSR... Do you think the definition of SSR as detailed in the INSTRAW background paper should be expanded? Or is it enough that the definition of security is widened but the specific actors and institutions involved in SSR remain those traditionally seized with the matter?"

Cynthia Enloe, Clark University: "One question in the whole gender dynamics of DDR --- Where are the myriad private CONTRACTORS?? -----how do we get to them?? --my own sense is that some of the burgeoning private contractors (not all) are even more deeply masculinist in their cultures and policy assumptions than even the reg. militaries --- any thoughts??"

Sanam Anderlini, Women Waging Peace: "If we want to have a discussion on gender and security sector reform - we need to be very clear about the whole range of issues that fall under the term 'security sector' and reform generally. DDR is just one small component. We need to address the institutional, cultural, technological, political and budgetary etc. aspects as well."

Disarmament, Demobilization and Reintegration (DDR)

Vanessa Farr, Gender and DDR researcher: Launched a call for help regarding her year-long project to develop more gender-aware DDR training materials (funded by the Norwegian government, supported by UNIDIR). Farr asks for information regarding who is doing training and where and input regarding what DDR training for women should look like.

Sanam Anderlini, Women Waging Peace: "The issue that we have noted here in [Washington] DC in our discussions with the World Bank is that the existing framework for DDR work is flawed – and so long as the major institutions abide by that framework we will see limited results on gender issues. The challenge therefore is to convene the key actors including implementers, and donors – to review and re-define the framework for DDR. By this I mean that they have to be explicit about including 'non-combatant members or parties of fighting forces into the benefits processes.'" Additionally, Anderlini noted that there is still significant resistance at the international level in acknowledging that women are fighters and that it would be useful to get DDR people to understand that if we target DDR at women and girls this would weaken the forces.

Helen M. Kinsella, Center for International Security and Cooperation at Stanford: Asked whether anyone has systematically explored why there is significant resistance to acknowledging that women are fighters. "From my research historically into the debates at the UN... a great deal of resistance came from women representatives who were hesitant to jettison the claim that they were 'unprotected' and 'civilian.' Do you find that as well now?"

Sanam Anderlini, Women Waging Peace: Stated that they haven't found women themselves resisting. Instead, people such as WB/UNDP are resistant to the idea of women as combatants (except as a minority) in part perhaps to do with the fact that they don't want to admit the failure of their own programmes, good old fashioned sexism and also has to do with finances. "In the case of Sierra Leone – funding was low, so they had to limit the definition of beneficiaries – its easy to categorize women as non-combatants – then say that they don't qualify for the benefits... they used the same argument for other sectors as well – for example they said that people with shot guns didn't qualify (this excluded some of the govt supported defense forces) – but the WB argument was that if they allowed for the shot guns – then every farmer would show up and demand benefits... The challenge for them is how to define and limit the programme and the beneficiaries. But this creates so many other problems"

Vanessa Farr, Gender and DDR researcher: "The UN is making good progress on these issues and is holding a big interagency meeting in Geneva at the end of the month to discuss its standard operating proceedings on DDR. The fact that it's being discussed by several agencies (including UNIFEM) is quite a big deal and a huge leap

forward for the UN. Personally, I think we can contribute a large chunk of the change of working style to women's activism around SCR 1325. News from Liberia is that several significant changes were made to the design of cantonment sites so that women could be better accommodated - - but this wasn't true in all the sites, so it's the "standardization" bit that's important here.

I am also in discussions with the World Bank about how it can play a role in influencing governments and directing donor money to support females associated with armed groups (women & girls) in the greater Great Lakes region (MDRP). Here an additional huge challenge is women being held hostage by militia groups... Also w.r.t. [with regards to] to Helen's question - - I think the sheer reality of recent conflicts in Africa (esp West Africa) - where really significant numbers of women took up arms - - has utterly challenged notions about who fights in wars. I've never heard any women's group in Africa deny the complex multiple roles women play in times of war."

Barbara O'Dwyer, AusAID: "I know that women are involved as combatants in many conflicts and they should be treated the same as men in DDR programs but I understand the reluctance to identify women as combatants. Not for parsimonious reasons to do with funds or technical reasons to do with guns or to try and preserve women's "unprotected" status, but because it leaves us no alternative example to set. Often what women do to try and bring about an end to fighting requires every bit as much physical courage as the men doing the fighting. In this sense they might be unprotected and civilians but they're not passive and powerless. We need to take a much more positive view of women and their role in peacebuilding and post-conflict reconstruction, including DDR programs and the security sector - see their way of doing things as a genuine alternative with a significant contribution to make."

Pilar Rueda, Oxfam GB, Colombia: " One of the things that is very important to keep in mind is that women even when they are combatants are victims of violence. In Colombia, Amnesty International's report has information about women and girls in guerrilla and paramilitary groups and how they are victims of sexual slavery, forced prostitution and sexual violence. I believe that the war reproduces female and male roles even in the battle front, of course this does not mean that combatant women are not perpetrators, the point is that some of them, especially young women, are at the same time victims of gender-based violence and this must be incorporated in DDR if we want to get a real peace building process in which combatant women have an important role to play."

Ian Bannon, Conflict Prevention and Reconstruction Unit, World Bank: "Yes, women are often fighters, but they are much fewer than men/boys, and even less frequently walk around carrying a gun when the blue helmets and DDR specialists arrive. Yes, they are part of the fighting forces, but they are/appear far less dangerous... Funding gap means that there is no option but to prioritize - - triage, if you will... Question then is how do you prioritize." Bannon states that the problem is not because WB/UNDP people are resistant to the idea of women as combatants, but rather that the overriding objective of DDR is to remove the danger "that is get the weapons off the hands of dangerous individuals who threaten to undermine the peace process by reverting to violence... Other objectives to do with reintegration, reconciliation, social transformation, etc. most people would argue, are second order objectives... DDR

programs are first and foremost security interventions, not socio-economic programs.”

“One does not need a ‘sexism’ explanation to understand why female members of armed force become invisible and will continue to be left out of DDR programs. In addition to the need to prioritize the dangerous cohort (triage)... Commanders are men and they take away the women’s weapons, don’t include them in DD lists, women are more likely to demobilize spontaneously (either because they don’t wait for the DDR program and its benefits to be set up, or perhaps more importantly because they were directly or indirectly coerced in the first place...”

“We need to focus on engendering the ‘R’ in DDR... My sense is that it is critical that the ‘R’ program start as early as possible, coordinated but not necessarily linked (or beholden) to the DD part, and that it be very well gendered from Day 1... Second, drawing on the analogy of child soldiers, I like the idea of some kind of protocol/accord/agreed principles, framework (whatever) that can clarify that women in armed forces should be seen as combatants eligible for benefits in DDR programs... it will establish a first-best principle (equal treatment for women, whether they carry a gun or not), establish an internationally-shared understanding... and help set a more solid foundation for an early and more comprehensive start on engendering the ‘R’ portion of DDR.”

Vanessa Farr, Gender and DDR researcher: “I think it would be useful to note that sometimes peacebuilding processes, which is what I see DDR as being (they are NOT economic processes, indeed) start, as for instance in Sierra Leone and Liberia, with a fairly massive thrust from civilian women... The point is, once the machinery of peace begins, the impetus of women and their competencies and contributions are completely overlooked and the very people who caused the conflict are put into steering positions to end it... women have a right to be involved in DDR... as implementers and as end-users...” Farr also highlights that trainings for men creating in them an alternative, non-violent ideal of masculinity should be the cornerstone of retraining in demobilization camps.

In further response to Bannon, Farr states “I don’t think anyone, least of all women caught in conflict zones, underestimates the importance of getting guns away from fighters when things calm down (not that the 2nd “D” of DDR is as effective as any of us would like). Sure, you will likely find you don’t have to focus as much on women in that first phase of disarmament. But it’s only a phase, after all: how do you explain that women continue, historically, to be an under-utilised resource in assisting in post-DDR disarmament processes such as WED - - even when it is women who led the way (cf CAR) to popular disarmament? The problem lies, I feel, in the current focus of DDR. How is it that only “imminent dangers” should receive attention - - rather than supporting existing capacities for peace, however meager they may appear? This support does not take vast resources to implement but could yield significant benefits with careful planning.”

“Men with guns may well be an imminent danger, and thus the focus of attention in DDR; but the danger they pose to the fragile social fabric of a post-conflict society doesn’t stop after demobilization. If that were so, rates of sexualized violence (cf again, Sierra Leone) would not continue to rise AFTER the war has ended. Including women, as planners as well as people who have the opportunity to access whatever

support a DDR process might offer, should be as much about solving short-term crises as providing a bedrock for what will come afterwards.”

Nicole Ball, Visiting Senior Research Fellow, CIDCM/Unv. of Maryland: “DDR has first and foremost security objectives and for all the reasons that Ian lists, women do not appear to pose the same degree of threat that men and boys with guns do. They therefore do not get the same attention in situations where resources are constrained and where political and security needs drive decisions. This may not be just, but it is a fact of life in these situations. It is also pretty clear to me that the “R” part of “DDR” (which I do NOT think should be disassociated from “DD”) is a reinsertion benefit rather than genuine reintegration. More attention needs to be paid to genuine reintegration, including reintegration of women and children associated with the fighting forces, for the start of a peace process. Not easy but it should be the objective. In the case of Sierra Leone, virtually NO ONE was rushing to assist women and girls associated with the fighting forces - - local or international actors. Many NGOs flat out refused to deal with them. There is a lot of education that needs to occur on this particular subject, among internationals and locals.”

“That said, it would have been desirable to have a gender specialist associated with DDR planning, which was not the case in SL at any point in its 6 or so year DDR experience. The Sierra Leone DDR program was meant to be “gender neutral” but experience teaches us that DDR programs should, to the extent possible, adopt a multi-pronged, gender-specific approach. Thus, for example, it would be good to have the type of program UNICEF ran for child soldiers for women associated with the fighting forces. But recall, UNICEF had to raise its own money for this program. A “women associated with the fighting forces” program would have to do the same. So the problem of resources would not be avoided. What it might do is to focus more attention on the need for downstream “reintegration.” Probably a “protocol/accord/agreed principles/framework (whatever)” as Ian suggests would be useful in helping to focus people’s minds on this issue. Is this something that UNIFEM and UNDP could spearhead?”

Future Research and Capacity-Building Needs

Tsjeard Bouta, Netherlands Institute of International Relations: Stated that it would be interesting to see how security sector assessments could be made more gender-sensitive. Specifically, he referred to the publication he co-authored with Nicole Ball and Luc van de Goor “Enhancing Democratic Governance of the Security Sector: An Institutional Assessment Framework” (Netherlands: Clingendael Institute, 2003).

Cynthia Enloe, Clark University: “we need to figure out how to make sense of how both femininities and masculinities are becoming militarized --- the sense that if we don’t carefully and fully unravel these gendered militarized processes... we’ll never successfully roll back militarization --- and, if we don’t reverse militarizing processes in any society (and of course, I am including the US here too!), we’ll never be able to uproot the forces that privilege certain kinds of masculine privilege --”

Eve Sandberg, Oberlin College: “I would love to see us acknowledge possible links between women’s expanding participation in government and the levels of their participation in security issues.”

Ian Bannon, Conflict Prevention and Reconstruction Unit, World Bank: "I like the idea of some kind of protocol/accord/agreed principles, framework (whatever) that can clarify that women in armed forces should be seen as combatants eligible for benefits in DDR programs..."

Vanessa Farr, Gender and DDR researcher: "Men have to be exposed to training that creates in them an alternative, non-violent ideal of masculinity -- ... This should be a cornerstone of retraining in demob[ilization] camps."

"How is it that only 'imminent dangers' should receive attention -- rather than supporting existing capacities for peace, however meagre they may appear? This support does not take vast resources to implement but could yield significant benefits with careful planning."

"Including women, as planners as well as people who have the opportunity to access whatever support a DDR process might offer, should be as much about solving short-term crises as providing a bedrock for what will come afterwards."

Nicole Ball, Visiting Senior Research Fellow, CIDCM/Unv. of Maryland: "More attention needs to be paid to genuine reintegration, including reintegration of women and children associated with the fighting forces, for the start of a peace process."

"Thus, for example, it would be good to have the type of program UNICEF ran for child soldiers for women associated with the fighting forces. But recall, UNICEF had to raise its own money for this program. A 'women associated with the fighting forces' program would have to do the same."

Beth Woroniuk, Independent Researcher/Consultant: "In discussions of security sector reform, that involves starting with the current discussions of SSR people and seeing how, where, why gender equality is relevant. Yet I'm often struck by how much this 'fitting gender in' leaves off the table (broader questions of militarized masculinities, power, etc.). So strategies of questioning existing structures at the same time as we work within them become crucial."

Emily Schroeder, Monterey Institute of International Studies: "Pursue field research to discuss with local women if their DDR(RR) needs are being met, and act on suggestions they may provide for improvement; Undertake an independent monitoring and evaluation assessment on the inclusion of gender mainstreaming in the DDR(RR) process; Examine ways in which the Truth and Reconciliation Commissions address the perpetrators of sexual violence; Explore women and girl's coping mechanisms in post-conflict recovery."

Nicola Johnston, International Alert: "A collaborative initiative International Alert is working with in partnership with DDA to integrate gender considerations into the current UN Programme of Action to Prevent, Combat and Eradicate the Illicit Trade in Small Arms and Light Weapons In All Aspects (PoA)... If you have any inputs you would like to make to this work they would be more than welcome."

Sanam Anderlini, Women Waging Peace: "We need to see if/how it could be possible to bring the feminist discourse on militarisation and the human security

discourse into the realm of policy makers and to the point of implementation. The case study I did on South Africa showed that at least the first part of this is possible - ie. if/when you have feminist women engaged in security issues, they can and have influenced the policy discourse and reshaped national priorities. But the question of implementation is more thorny -- at a conceptual level its possible to talk about human security as the core value determining a nation's security agenda (ZA tried to do this) - but at the point of implementation you come face to face with more difficult things ranging from dealing with vested interest groups (the military, the arms manufacturers etc.) to the problem of how do you balance efforts to promote human security at a structural level, with more immediate problems of gun violence (resulting from conflict or post conflict) and the reflex to use standard, tried and trusted (if not always the most effective) methods of dealing with problems.

Cynthia Enloe, Clark University: "Probably one of the things I keep hearing from practitioners is the need to put the day to day privileging of masculinity up 'on the table' - - they tell me that it is so hard to make real headway in getting the concerns of women and girls for genuine (more complex than militarized versions) security to be taken seriously, when what is never openly discussed is the myriad ways that masculinized concerns, masculinized roles, masculinized expertise keeps being treated as if it is the 'real deal' - -"

List of Resources Contributed

Anderlini, Sanam Naraghi. Negotiating the Transition to Democracy and Reforming the Security Sector: The Vital Contributions of South African Women (Washington DC: Women Waging Peace Policy Commission, August 2004).
<http://womenwagingpeace.net/content/articles/SouthAfricaSecurityFullCaseStudy.pdf>

Ball, Nicole, Tsjeard Bouta, and Luc van de Goor. Enhancing Democratic Governance of the Security Sector: An Institutional Assessment Framework (Netherlands: Clingendael Institute, 2003).

Bouta, Tsjeard. "Women in (Ir)Regular Armies: Roles and Responses." Presentation in Barcelona. 23 June 2004.

International Alert and Women Waging Peace. "Disarmament, Demobilization and Reintegration." Inclusive Security, Sustainable Peace: A Toolkit for Advocacy and Action. (November 2004).
http://www.international-alert.org/women/gpb_toolkit.htm

International Alert and Women Waging Peace. "Security Sector Reform." Inclusive Security, Sustainable Peace: A Toolkit for Advocacy and Action. (November 2004).
http://www.international-alert.org/women/gpb_toolkit.htm

Schroeder, Emily. "A Window of Opportunity in the Congo: Incorporating Gender Considerations in the Disarmament, Demobilization and Reintegration Process," Peace, Conflict & Development 5 (July 2004).
<http://www.peacestudiesjournal.org.uk/docs/AWindowofOpportunity.PDF>

UNIFEM Issue Briefs

DDR: <http://www.womenwarpeace.org/issues/ddr/ddr.htm>

SALW: <http://www.womenwarpeace.org/issues/smallarms/smallarms.htm>

Women in International Security (WIIS). <http://wiis.georgetown.edu/>

Annex I: Draft Background

One of the most vital steps to ensuring the day-to-day security of women, men, boys and girls is to transform the institutions, policies and people who are responsible for the security of communities and individuals: collectively known as the **Security Sector**.

Without security sector reform (SSR) the human right to security¹ often remains dramatically unfulfilled. The consequences can range from the inability to prevent violent conflict, rising criminality, un-democratic governance, stifled sustainable development and increasing corruption to repression, torture and harassment of civilians. These consequences often affect women, men, boys and girls in distinctly different ways.

Though SSR initiatives are often directed towards developing countries, examples such as police brutality and racial profiling in the United States and the widespread lack of attention to violence against women throughout the world demonstrate the global relevance of security sector reform.

Despite the plethora of definitions of the security sector, it is commonly understood to include all the organisations that have the authority to use, or order the use of, force, or the threat of force, to protect the state and its citizens.

Women have remained markedly absent from the upper-echelons of decision-making within the institutions of the security sector. A realm renowned for its exclusion of any and all that do not fit the dominant model of violent masculinity; women, gays, poor people and ethnic/racial minorities have largely been excluded from positions of power. The sector itself is not renowned for being inclusive of diverse views and ideas, and consultations with civil society actors and individual citizens have been minimal.

The Official Security Sector:

International/Regional Forces
 Military
 Police/Border Guards/Customs
 Paramilitary
 Judicial and Penal System
 Intelligence Services
 Government Ministries including
 Parliament or Congress

Additional Security Sector Actors:

Paramilitary/Militias
 Armed Opposition Groups
 Donor Countries supporting SSR
 Govts giving military aid/training
 Private Security Firms
 Civil Society
 Media

Reforms within this broad sector can range from disarmament, demobilization and reintegration (DDR) processes, legislation mandating civilian oversight of the military, and training the judiciary to address stalking and domestic violence, to

¹ Universal Declaration of Human Rights. Article 3 "Everyone has the right to life, liberty and security of person." <http://www.un.org/Overview/rights.html>

quota systems in order to increase female and other minority representation within the police. All such security sector reforms have a gender dimension that must be analysed, addressed and mainstreamed in order to successfully and sustainably transform the security sector.

The end goal of security sector reform is to create an accountable, equitable, effective, transparent and civilian-controlled security sector that ensures the peace and well-being of women, men, boys and girls. Thus, SSR is a long-term, holistic process that must be derived from and supported by local communities as well as civilian governance structures.

Though this recent round of development debate on security sector reform was born during the late 1990s,² since the inception of the modern state there have always existed efforts to reform and transform the structure and purpose of the security sector. Peace activists, indigenous groups, ethnic/racial minorities, poor people and women's organizations have consistently and actively challenged the structure, purpose and priorities of the security sector³ calling for peace, equality, representation and the dismantling of oppressive and inflated militaries.

Their voices have been heard in the increasing body of global legislature that mandates reform of the security sector, and that includes women and a focus on gender. Key documents include: *The Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination against Women* (1981); *the Declaration on the Elimination of Violence against Women* (1994); *the Beijing Declaration and Platform for Action* (1995); *the Windhoek Declaration and the Namibia Plan of Action on Mainstreaming a Gender Perspective in Multidimensional Peace Support Operations* (2000); *Security Council Resolution 1325 "Women, Peace and Security"* (2000); *UN General Assembly Resolution of the twenty-third special session "Further actions and initiatives to implement the Beijing Declaration and Platform for Action"* (2000); *the Commission on the Status of Women Agreed Conclusions on "Women's equal participation in conflict prevention, management and conflict resolution and post-conflict peace-building"* (2004). Though none of these existing international agreements specifically employ the term "security sector reform;" they call for gender mainstreaming, equal and full participation of women and a focus on violence against women within all the institutions of the security sector. Additionally, measures to ensure peace and security such as disarmament and reducing excessive military expenditure are repeatedly highlighted.

Additionally, the United Nations Development Fund for Women's 2002 publication *"Women, War, Peace: The Independent Expert's Assessment on the Impact of Armed Conflict on Women and Women's Role in Peace-building"* calls for women's protection and participation to be central to the design and reform of security sector institutions and policies, especially in police, military and rule of law components.

² Herbert Wulf. *Security Sector Reform in Developing Countries*. Eschborn: GTZ, 2000. 13. http://www.gtz.de/security-sector/download/GTZ_SSR_Engl.pdf

³ Vanessa A. Farr. *Voices from the Margins: A response to "Security sector reform in developing and transitional countries"*. 3. Berghof Research Center for Constructive Conflict Management. http://www.berghof-handbook.net/articles/ssr_farr.pdf

In an effort both to fulfil the existing mandates and stimulate the implementation of gendered security sector reforms, INSTRAW has initiated research on gender and security sector reform, beginning with a background analysis, framework and comprehensive list of resources. In the following pages areas for future research and training are highlighted, as well as an extensive bibliography for those interested in exploring the topic in-depth.

Annex II: Draft Framework

As the area of security sector reform (SSR) is increasingly legitimised as a crucial realm for development and reconstruction work, it is essential that gender is thoroughly analysed, addressed and mainstreamed in all SSR initiatives in order to ensure the right to security for women, men, girls and boys.

Approaching security sector reform from a human security perspective, the fundamental purpose of reform is to create a security sector that responds to and meets the needs of communities and individuals.

As it stands today, the security needs of marginalized social groups, including women, are rarely taken into consideration in security sector reform. Moreover, institutions, policies and members of the security sector are in many cases a direct threat to the security of women. Women are, if not entirely banned from participation, notably absent from decision-making positions within the institutions of the security sector [see Background for a listing of security sector actors].

Additionally, information and decision-makers within the security sector remain largely inaccessible to women's non-governmental organizations and other members of civil society who attempt to voice their concerns and suggestions. On a societal level, violent and militarised masculinities and femininities must be transformed in order to stop the perpetuation of discrimination and violence against women and marginalized men.

Unfortunately, there is no easy formula for incorporating gender issues. Specific social, political, economic and cultural contexts need to be taken into account. Gendered security sector reform must be derived from and supported by local communities and civilian governance structures.

Mainstreaming Gender in Security Sector Reform

Though no universal formula exists for the incorporation of gender, there are certain key issues that need to be addressed at the **personal, policy and institutional level** in any security sector reform initiatives:

Actions

The security sector must take action to provide for diverse security needs, specifically women and girls' right to security. They must ensure that the security of women and girls is prioritised and acted upon internally within their own institutions.

Participation

Measures must be taken to ensure the equal and representative participation of women, and other marginalized groups, in decision-making positions. Additionally, all security sector institutions should strive to include a minimum of thirty-percent women.

Access

In order to ensure transparency and accountability, civil society, especially women's organizations, need to have access to both information and decision-makers within the security sector.

Attitude

Efforts must be made to transform the restrictive, militarised gender stereotypes of people working within the security sector, as well as within societies in general.

Gender and SSR Areas of Focus

Though gender should ideally be mainstreamed into all security sector reform, there are certain critical areas that are worth highlighting. Rather than group these by actor, since security sector reform often involves many different institutions, they are listed thematically.

➤ **Security Sector Assessment and Evaluation**

In order to implement effective and sustainable SSR, a comprehensive assessment needs to be undertaken in order to determine security needs and priorities as well as the precise actions to be taken. Additionally, mechanisms for evaluation must be included from the start so as to carefully monitor and give feedback on the process of reform.

Gender Aspects: Women and other marginalized groups need to be involved in the planning of assessments and evaluations. Assessments must include all sectors of the population, for instance through a series of roundtables or open dialogues. Assessments and evaluation surveys should be sex and age-disaggregated and include questions regarding violence against women and other gender-specific insecurities.

➤ **Citizen/Democratic Control of the Security Sector**

One of the most crucial tasks of SSR is to establish democratic civil control and oversight in order to ensure that the security sector itself does not become a source of insecurity, and that the security sector is appropriately equipped, trained and deployed. Initiatives can range from restructuring the military, supporting an independent judiciary, incorporating SSR into political dialogue, training govt and civil society in monitoring and oversight, to increasing transparency through access to information.

Gender Aspects: Women and other marginalized groups need to be in positions of decision-making power within civilian government. Civil society, including women's organizations, need to have access to information and people with decision-making power.

➤ **Disarmament Demobilization and Reintegration (DDR), Conversion and Disarmament (SALW, Mine Action, WMD)**

With the increasing spending on armament post 9/11, the flourishing trade in illicit weapons, the lack of entry into force of crucial international treaties such as the Comprehensive Nuclear Test Ban Treatise, and the need for thorough and holistic DDR processes in post-accord countries, these areas remain crucial to address.

Gender Aspects: Women and men are affected differently by armed violence, mines and the testing of nuclear weapons. Women have often taken the lead in civil society movements for disarmament, and conversion could have a differential effect on women and men. Culturally constructed gender roles, both masculinities and femininities, perpetuate gun cultures. DDR processes often exclude female ex-combatants and other female members of the forces.

➤ **Budgets and Allocation of Funds**

Expenditure within the security sector remains a problematic and pivotal issue. Though it is often repeated that military spending deprives the development, social security, health and education sectors of money, the desired budget surpluses from defence cuts have historically failed to materialize. However, there is still a clear need for the reduction of excessive or inappropriate military expenditure along with appropriate and well-executed budgets. Additionally, donor countries need to coordinate development and military aid so that they do not counteract each other.

Gender Aspects: Over-spending and the misuse of funds within the security sector often hit women the hardest as both a cause and a consequence of the feminisation of poverty and the lack of comprehensive social security systems. Gender needs to be integrated into security sector budgets.

➤ **Stopping Discrimination and Violence Against Women**

The security sector (including police, judicial and penal systems, and the government) is responsible for the prevention, apprehension and the prosecution of the crime of violence against women. However, this is a notoriously under-prioritised, under-funded and largely ignored issue. Furthermore, violence against women and girls perpetrated by individuals within the security sector needs to be halted. Measures must be taken to stop discrimination against women by individuals, policies and institutions, especially within penal and justice systems. Social constructions of violent masculinities and male perpetrators of violence also need to be addressed.

➤ **Transforming Militarised and Violent Gender Roles**

Social constructions of gender that legitimise and perpetuate violent behaviour and militarisation contribute to the root causes of insecurity. Transforming these constructions goes hand-in-hand with institutional and policy changes. Without addressing gender roles, ultimately the behaviour of individuals in the security sector will not change. This issue also needs to be addressed at the societal level through various forms of education and awareness-raising, especially with children, youth and the entertainment and media industry.