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ADD WOMEN AND HOPE? ASSESSING THE GENDER IMPACT OF EU COMMON SECURITY AND DEFENCE POLICY (CSDP) MISSIONS **POLICY REPORT**

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EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

This project bridges the divide between policy makers and critical approaches to gender by engaging with both the quantitative (number of women) and qualitative (shifts in underlying social power structures) aspects of gender in the context of CSDP. To do so it examined the policy documents and secondary literature on women, peace and security and the EU. We also conducted interviews with key personnel in Brussels and in Kosovo and Bosnia-Herzegovina to examine the planning, practice and impact of EU crisis management missions in the field. The Project makes the following recommendations based on this research:

- **Greater commitment to the Women, Peace & Security (WPS)** agenda is required at the very top-level, both within EU planning offices such as the CMPD & CPSS, and within Member States at the highest political level and in addressing institutional cultures within personnel contributing agencies.
- **Better resourcing** for Gender planning and Gender Focal point staff, double-hatting should be ended and continuity planning between staff should be enhanced.
- **Gender-mainstreaming has to include addressing institutional culture** at the planning stage in addition to looking at staffing ratios and implementation on the ground.
- Improving gender outcomes requires **cooperation between CSDP missions and civil society**, as well as better linking between gender mainstreaming initiatives in the other EU institutions and the EEAS.
- Academic researchers working on gender and conflict need to **emphasise the translational aspects of their findings** and actively seek to **engage with policymakers** and practitioners
- The **CSDP institutions** need to **improve transparency and accessibility** for academic researchers to maximise the accuracy, relevance and impact of research

KEY FINDINGS:

- **COMMITMENT AT THE TOP LEVEL IS KEY:**

- *While gender advisors and gender focal points can operationalise WPS at the micro level, more should be done at higher levels including CMPD & CPCC in Brussels to support these efforts across EEAS, CSDP missions. EU gender actors/institutions and Member states need to push for the centrality of gender to CSDP. Gender is still seen as something that only women or gender advisors need to deal with. Gender is seen as a “secondary” issue to (mostly male) EU security officials. In effect lip service is paid to UNSCR1325 but without real engagement, and frequent misinterpretation of the true scope and objectives of the WPS agenda. Gender training should be mandatory at all levels and Gender mainstreaming criteria should be applied for assessment of mission success.*
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- **RESOURCES & SUSTAINABILITY:**

- *Adequate resourcing of Gender advisors & gender focal points, including succession planning, is required. Double-hatting and gaps in resourcing need to be avoided.*
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- **GENDER MAINSTREAMING STARTS FROM WITHIN:**

- *Gender mainstreaming should not just focus on increasing the number of women on missions. While this is part of the answer, both EEAS/CSDP officials and contributing states also need to address masculine culture, complicity and male privilege in their own structures. The present orientation of gender mainstreaming in missions is predominantly focussed on local counterparts, this self-representation of EU “progressive” peacekeeping masculinities vs less progressive “non EU Others” evokes colonial undertones and undermines the strategic commitment to take gender seriously in EU external actions.*
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- INTERNAL AND EXTERNAL STRATEGIC PARTNERSHIPS:

- *CSDP needs to learn from the development of EU gender policy in other areas, generally regarded as a success. Improving gender outcomes requires cooperation between CSDP missions and civil society, between the EU “gender” institutions, actors and CSDP (e.g. WPS Task Force), and between CSDP staff and the epistemic community of Feminist scholars and activists (e.g. the partnership between EULEX and Folke Bernadotte Academy) This type of cooperation should be fostered and prioritised in EU research funding calls.*
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- ACCESSIBILITY AND EXPERIENCE SHARING:

- *This is required in two directions. First, there is a need to make research on WPS more accessible to practitioners/crisis management staff through joint events, translational dissemination and open channels of communication. Secondly, there is a need to grant greater access to CSDP procedures and practices to researchers e.g. should all CSDP documentation be classified by default? Is there more space for transparency?*
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ADD WOMEN & HOPE?: ASSESSING THE GENDER IMPACT OF EU COMMON SECURITY AND DEFENCE POLICY (CSDP) MISSIONS: PROJECT OVERVIEW

Introduction

The question of gender and violence is a central concern for practitioners and academics in the field of conflict studies. In 2017, UN Security Council Resolution 1325 concerning women in conflict and peacekeeping will mark its 17th Anniversary. Despite attempts by policymakers to address the gendered nature of violence and conflict, much work remains to be done. This project addressed whether the tools adopted to date are fit for purpose.

The EU adopted two key policies in 2008 and 2009¹ to address the challenge of gender in conflict and peacekeeping in light of UNSCR1325. Since the adoption of these policies the EU has attempted to incorporate gender concerns in both the planning and execution of its CSDP missions. Criticisms of the EU's approach have included arguments that suggest the EU's gender approach is little more than a box-ticking exercise, that the concept of gender employed is too crude and/or culturally insensitive, and somewhat more sympathetically, that although progress has been made, particularly relative to other international actors, much more could be done. Broadly speaking this literature falls into two camps – a feminism that takes gender as a simple measurable variable and a more critical feminism that seeks to delve deeper into the underlying patriarchal power structures implicit in society.

This project aimed to bridge this divide by engaging with both the quantitative (number of women) and qualitative (shifts in underlying social power structures) aspects of gender in the context of CSDP. To do so it examined the literature on women, peace and security and the EU. We also conducted interviews with key personnel in Brussels and in Kosovo and Bosnia-Herzegovina to examine both the practice and impact of peace missions in the field. This report outlines the key findings and policy recommendations of the project to date. It begins by discussing the policy documents governing the gendered aspects of crisis management missions and then outlines key findings from the field research conducted in

¹ Council of the European Union, 2008. *Implementation of UNSCR 1325 as reinforced by UNSCR 1820*, Council of the European Union *1820 in the context of ESDP*. 15782/3/08 REV 3. Secretariat: Brussels, Council of the European Union, 2009. *Implementation of UNSCR 1325 and UNSCR 1820 in the context of training for the ESDP missions and operations - recommendations on the way forward*. 13899/09. Secretariat: Brussels.

Bosnia-Herzegovina, Kosovo and Brussels, before finally turning to outlining the steps required to improve the outcomes of CSDP missions from a gender perspective and on building better links between academic work in this field and practice.

Analysing Policy documents

UNSCR 1325 has been central to the international agenda on Women, Peace and Security. It emerged against the background of the Balkan wars in the 1990's which highlighted how women faced specific forms of violence in war not adequately recognised in existing provisions and that the absence of women from peace processes not only made it less likely a lasting peace could be achieved but also undermined the welfare of women during processes of post-conflict reconstruction. The EU policy documents covering gender, women in conflict, and post-conflict reconstruction are rooted in the discourse of UNSCR 1325, however they differ in significant ways. We conducted a comparative analysis of UN and EU policy documents and resolutions to identify how the EU framed its responsibility in relation to UNSCR1325 and to outline the possible implications for implementation in missions in the field. Each EU document has been classified into four different categories: EU texts related to implementation of 1325, EU texts related to women in armed conflicts, EU CSPD policy texts, and EU Resolutions on Balkans and Women.²

The analysis found that although the EU documents replicated a similar framing of Women, Peace and Security as the foundational UN texts they did manage to expand that framing in positive ways to challenge problematic assumptions about women as natural agents of peace and to emphasise the importance of female agency both in conflict and, in particular, in post-conflict negotiations and peace-processes. In addition, the EU documents that focussed on the Western Balkans expanded their scope to include women's economic rights, issues related to women's health and included a focus on gender discrimination beyond binary male/female measures to include Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual, and Transsexual rights.³ However, the most progressive of these documents were resolutions of the European Parliament which have a limited impact on the practical conduct of missions and mission planning. Overall the EU documents reflects the language and principles of UNSCR 1325. Although they do display a degree of engagement, albeit superficial, with concepts and debates within the transnational feminist community that was instrumental for the adoption of the agenda,

² A full list of the documents analysed is available in the Further Resources section below

³ See Aurelie Sicard & Kenneth McDonagh "Speaking of Women: Comparing UN and EU texts on the WPS Agenda" (Forthcoming) for a full analysis. Pre-publication copies available on request.

such as human security or the notion of women as agents, a close reading of the documents reveal a familiar dissonance between the incorporation of transformative feminist insights on gender, peace and security and the translation of gender relations, identities and policy actions within 'EU discourse'. Essentially this version of gender mainstreaming works to dilute and depoliticise feminist insights, and locates women as passive victims in the face of an 'othered' masculinity. Problematic gender relationships within the EU are excluded and gender issues are subjugated to the need for 'peace and security' first. In order to examine the implementation of the WPS agenda we turned to interviews with key officials in Brussels, Kosovo and Bosnia-Herzegovina

From paper to practice

Drawing on in-depth interviews with planners working in the Crisis Management and Planning Directorate (CMPD), the Civilian Planning and Conduct Capabilities (CPCC) and EU Military staff (MS), including the gender advisor for CMPD and Gender and Human Rights Advisors involved with other CSDP missions our project found⁴ EU personnel engaged in the planning and monitoring of CSDP mission express an understanding of gender policies that, in part, reflect the problematic tropes we identified above. And yet, our interviews suggest a much more complex picture: one that reveals an even deeper gap between EU WPS policy and the practices and everyday negotiations of CSDP planning.

A key finding was that our respondents outlined how the implementation of the WPS agenda is constrained due to the restrictive nature of CSDP missions as a security tool with very specific and limited mandates, rather than representing a broader approach that seeks to transform conflict and envisions peace. The narrow purpose of missions, they argued, meant that even with the best of intentions missions could have little impact on the overall pattern of gender relations in a society due to the limited engagement between the mission and host society.

A second impact that follows from this is that although gender-mainstreaming is the tool through which the necessity to address (certain) gender concerns in the context of EU crisis management and security gains articulation in the official planning of a mission, the operational reach of gender mainstreaming remains firmly within the parameters and

⁴ See Maria-Adriana Deiana & Kenneth McDonagh "‘It is important, but...’: Translating the Women Peace and Security (WPS) Agenda into the Planning of EU peacekeeping Missions" *Peacebuilding* 2017 (Forthcoming) for a full analysis.

priorities set out in the Member States decision and in the Crisis Management Concept underpinning the rationale of any given mission. Therefore the subordination of WPS to operational concerns is a product of the structure of the mission mandate process that needs to be reformed to enable gender-mainstreaming efforts to achieve better outcomes in the field.

Thirdly, there was a marked distinction between the engagement of specialist staff, such as Gender Advisors and Gender Focal points, and non-specialist staff (mission personnel and non-GA planners) on the substance of the requirements of the EU's commitment to the WPS agenda. While all staff were aware in a broad sense of gender-mainstreaming and the WPS agenda, the non-specialist staff admitted in some cases to not having read the relevant Resolution or Policy documents. Rather they were more concerned with framing WPS primarily in operational language that resonated with the practicality of the mission.

As a result of the above, the main operational concerns of CSDP missions are seen as gender-neutral, with the WPS agenda seen as an add-on rather than fundamental to questions of peace and security. Even Gender Advisors are trapped in this cycle by having to frame WPS in operational terms in order to gain traction within missions. Such an approach is a necessary step in establishing WPS issues within missions but clearly more must be done if the transformational promise of the agenda is ever to be realised. A key point of resistance to this promise though, is the framing of WPS in terms of being about 'others' whether that is old-fashioned colleagues or host populations. We found significant resistance in the way that people spoke about WPS when it extended to looking more reflexively at themselves or within their organisations from non-specialist staff. As WPS moved from its feminist origins to mission practice, clearly something was lost in translation.

What next for improving Gender outcomes of CSDP missions?

There are significant challenges for improving gender outcomes in ongoing and future CSDP missions. While recognising the constraints of such missions, given their limited scope and resourcing, and acknowledging the significant progress that has been made in pushing gender issues on to the agenda, a more reflexive approach to understanding the inter-relationship between institutional cultures at the centre of CSDP missions and the shape of mission mandates and operations in the field is key. Implementing the WPS agenda is not so much about changing a way of doing peacekeeping and crisis management 'out there' but rather it has to be about changing our way of being first, we need to embody gender sensitive practices in the everyday and from that point a positive impact on

implementing the WPS agenda can emerge. By placing gender concerns at the centre of how we frame not only the problems of conflict and post-conflict but seeing these concerns as extensions and continuations of gender concerns in the everyday, we can move beyond a framing of the WPS agenda that reduces women to by-standers and victims, empowers them to engage in change and fosters the kind of transformation necessary to achieve lasting peace. We need to reframe the question from being how can we make our operations more sensitive and inclusive to gender and women to making it impossible to imagine an operation that doesn't already have these concerns at its heart. To do so requires taking seriously the critiques and arguments of critical feminism, the add women and hope approach simply cannot produce the kinds of goals the WPS agenda aims for. Given the CSDP is still in an early stage of development, the opportunities to enact this change exist, the task is to continue to develop tools of change that can help to shape this agenda into the future.

FURTHER RESOURCES

Recommended Gender Toolkits

SaferWorld (2016) *Gender Analysis of Conflict Toolkit* available at: <http://www.saferworld.org.uk/resources/view-resource/1076-gender-analysis-of-conflict>

- This toolkit provides a step by step guide to help peacebuilding practitioners integrate gender perspectives into their analysis process and to allow them to develop-sensitive peacebuilding initiatives. In particular it focuses on how gender norms can be exploited to drive conflict but also how gender norms can be challenged, shaped and changed to provide resources for peacebuilding.

Conciliation Resources (2015) *Gender Conflict and Analysis Toolkit for Peacebuilders* ; available at: <http://www.c-r.org/resources/gender-and-conflict-analysis-toolkit-peacebuilders>

- This toolkit provides key insights to the practical side of engaging with gender and peacebuilding. In particular, it does an excellent job of highlighting the reflexive need to examine gender relations within and between international actors and local groups and individuals.

Suggested Further Reading

Karen Barnes, "Briefing Note: On Gender, Peace, Security and Development; What Can the EU Do?," 2011, <https://epthinktank.eu/2014/02/11/women-peace-and-security/>.

Helena Carreiras, "Women and Peace Operations," in *Managing Crises, Making Peace* (Springer, 2015), 69–90, http://link.springer.com/chapter/10.1057/9781137442253_4;

Roberta Guerrina and Katharine AM Wright, "Gendering Normative Power Europe: Lessons of the Women, Peace and Security Agenda," *International Affairs* 92, no. 2 (2016): 293–312; <http://onlinelibrary.wiley.com/doi/10.1111/1468-2346.12555/abstract>

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- Annica Kronsell, "The Power of EU Masculinities: A Feminist Contribution to European Integration Theory," *JCMS: Journal of Common Market Studies* 54, no. 1 (January 1, 2016): 104–20, <http://onlinelibrary.wiley.com/doi/10.1111/jcms.12328/abstract> .
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EU Resolution. 2013. 'Women's Rights in the Balkan accession countries'. Available at <http://www.europarl.europa.eu/sides/getDoc.do?pubRef=-//EP//TEXT+REPORT+A7-2013-0136+0+DOC+XML+V0//EN> (Full Documents, including the Resolution) (accessed 09/12/15)

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