CHAPTER THREE

WOMEN, NATO AND THE EUROPEAN UNION

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ABSTRACT

The objective of United Nations Security Council Resolution 1325 on Women, Peace and Security, of October 2000, is to integrate gender considerations into every aspect of security. This includes the participation of women in resolving conflicts and in peacekeeping operations. It also aims to increase the representation of women at all levels of national, regional and international decision making and to enhance consultation with local and international women's groups. In this document, we analyse the impact of this and subsequent related Resolutions on such significant bodies as the North Atlantic Treaty Organisation (NATO) and the European Union (EU). The Resolution regards incorporating gender perspectives into the doctrines and missions of these organisations as essential tasks to achieving a more stable security context in conflicts, working with other domestic, international and state parties.

Firstly, we focus on the commitments undertaken by NATO from an institutional and operational point of view to ensure the spread of knowledge and to achieve its mandates, particularly in the field of crisis management.

Secondly, we analyse EU actions to promote and defend the rights of women and girls in conflicts in all areas of politics, including the Common Security and Defence Policy (CSDP).

Finally, we conclude by offering an assessment of the achievements of both organisations over recent years and the challenges remaining for the successful implementation of Resolution 1325.

Key words:

NATO, EU, Common Security and Defence Policy, gender, consensus, partnership, empowerment of women, gender perspective, integrated approach, action plan, gender advisor

"NATO has adopted UNSC Resolution 1325 with an energy that could easily pass for enthusiasm. A glance at its website will show 47 documents relating to the topic. A multi-media exhibition has been mounted showing NATO's contribution to implementation of the Resolution. There are pleasing photos of young women in army fatigues carrying babies, waving to children. NATO even celebrates International Women's Day. Apparently standing shoulder-to-shoulder with the women's movement, Secretary General Anders Fogh Rasmussen asked, on 8 March 2010, 'Would a world in which women enjoyed rights equal to those of men be safer and more stable? It is difficult to say, but ultimately a lasting peace in many of the world's most troubled areas may depend upon the answer"(1).

Cynthia Cockburn, feminist researcher and writer on gender studies and peace and conflicts.

INTRODUCTION

United Nations Security Council (UNSC) Resolution 1325 on Women, Peace and Security (WPS), of October 2000, recognised the disproportionate effect of conflicts on women, and underlined the essential function of women in preventing these and their contributions to post-conflict peace building and peacekeeping efforts. The purpose of the Resolution is to integrate considerations of gender into all aspects of security. This includes participation in conflict resolution and peace processes, peace keeping, disarmament, demobilisation and reintegration, reform of the security sector and the protection and rights of women. It also aims to achieve better representation of women at all levels of national, regional and international decision making, and increased consultation with local and international women's groups.

Three additional resolutions have been adopted since 2000:

⁽¹⁾ No to War – No to NATO. Annual Meeting. Dublin. 15-17 April 2011. Contribution to the Working Group on "Feminist Critiques of Militarization". Snagged On The Contradiction: NATO, UNSCR 1325, and Feminist Responses. Cynthia COCKBURN. http://www.wloe.org/fileadmin/FilesEN/PDF/no_to_nato/women_nato_2011/NATO1325.pdf NATO has adopted UNSC Resolution 1325 with an energy that could easily pass for enthusiasm. A glance at its website will show 47 documents relating to the topic. A multi-media exhibition has been mounted showing NATO's contribution to implementation of the Resolution (September 2010). There are pleasing photos of young women in army fatigues carrying babies, waving to children. NATO even celebrates International Women's Day. Apparently standing shoulder to shoulder with the women's movement, Secretary General Anders Fogh Rasmussen asked, on 8 March 2010, 'Would a world in which women enjoyed rights equal to those of men be safer and more stable? It is difficult to say, but ultimately a lasting peace in many of the world's most troubled areas may depend upon the answer'.

- United Nations Security Council Resolution 1820, of 2008, which complemented Resolution 1325, focusing on the prevention of and response to sexual violence in armed conflicts and post-conflict situations.
- Resolution 1888 (2009), reinforcing Resolution 1820, in particular through the appointment of a UN Special Representative to work toward ending sexual violence in armed conflicts.
- Resolution 1889 (2009), which, based on Resolution 1325, improves the supervision and presentation of reports, also highlighting the importance of assigning resources.

In this document we analyse the impact of these resolutions on international organisations such as NATO and the European Union (EU). We also examine how the introduction of a gender perspective into the doctrine and mission of these organisations is essential for achieving the objectives set out in the above Resolutions, working with other domestic, international and state bodies to create a more stable security situation in conflicts.

Firstly, we examine the commitments undertaken by NATO, from an institutional and operational point of view, to ensure the spread of knowledge and its mandates, particularly in crisis management.

Secondly, we analyse EU actions to promote and defend the rights of women and girls in conflicts in all areas of politics, including the Common Security and Defence Policy (CSDP).

Finally, we conclude by assessing the achievements of both organisations over recent years and the challenges remaining for the successful implementation of Resolution 1325.

WOMEN AND NATO(2)

The United Nations Security Council adopted Resolution 1325 on Women, Peace and Security on 31 October 2000.

Twelve years later, the importance and relevance of gender is clearly recognised in the military field, particularly in operations. As the former chairman of NATO's Military Committee, the current Italian Defence Minister Admiral Di Paola, has repeatedly stated: "gender is an asset for improving operating efficiency and a multiplier that helps win hearts and minds".

In today's complex security scenario, the complementary capabilities of male and female personnel are essential for NATO's operational efficiency, particularly given the increasing complexity of civilian-military interaction, public relations and obtaining intelligence.

Why do we need to incorporate gender matters into NATO's policies and regulations? What has changed to make gender an essential issue that we must take into account in all actions that the organisation may wish to carry out? We will try to answer these two questions in this chapter.

The gender perspective is increasingly being applied as an essential tool for assessing the impact of the policies of states and organisations. This is so important that the North Atlantic Treaty Organisation integrated this perspective into its agenda as one of its main priorities as soon as it grasped the importance of the principle of real equality in our societies and understood that political actions and decisions impact directly on society, affecting people differently depending on their gender.

Before we continue, it is worth going into the background to NATO's decision making processes, particularly for those who are not familiar with the Alliance.

What is NATO?(3)

NATO is an alliance of 28 countries in North America and Europe committed to the objectives of the North Atlantic Treaty signed on 4 April 1949.

This Treaty establishes that NATO's fundamental role is to safeguard the freedom and security of its Member States by political and military means. NATO provides a forum in which Member States can discuss security issues and adopt joint measures to address them.

The Alliance is committed to the defence of its Member States from aggression or threats, and to the principle that an attack on one member is an attack on all members.

Decision making process

NATO's decision making process is very important, as it requires consensus at all levels of the Organisation.

The North Atlantic Council (NAC⁽⁴⁾) is the main political institution and decision making body, with effective political autonomy and significant decision-making powers.

 $^{^{(3)}\} http://www.nato.int/cps/en/SID-C4489535-9BA056B3/natolive/what_is_nato.htm$

⁽⁴⁾ http://www.nato.int/cps/en/natolive/topics_49763.htm

The Council meets at the level of ambassadors and permanent representatives at least once a week. It also meets twice a year at the Foreign Minister level, three times a year at the Defence Minister level and occasionally at summit level with ministers and heads of state or government. The Council's meetings are chaired by the NATO Secretary General.

The Council's work is prepared by a number of subordinate committees responsible for specific political areas. These subordinate committees are supported by the divisions and offices of the International Staff (civilian), whose function is to provide political recommendations to the Council.

The Military Committee⁽⁵⁾ is the highest military authority in NATO, under the political authority of the Council, to which it provides military advice. The Military Committee is also responsible for providing guidance to NATO's Strategic Commands, which I discuss below. The members of the Military Committee are national Military Representatives who meet in permanent session twice a week representing their Chiefs of Defence, who usually meet three times per year.

The Military Committee is supported by the International Military Staff, which provides an essential link between the Alliance's decision making bodies and the Strategic Commands, also maintaining close relations with the International Staff.

There are two Strategic Commands⁽⁶⁾: the Supreme Allied Commander Europe (SACEUR), based in Mons (Belgium) which is responsible for managing all NATO military operations, and the Supreme Allied Commander Transformation (SACT) based in Norfolk (USA), responsible for promoting and supervising the ongoing transformation of Alliance forces and capabilities. They both advise the Military Committee as to its command responsibilities.

However, NATO consists of more than just its 28 Member States, as it also has many *partners*⁽⁷⁾, which meet in different forums, such as:

 the Euro-Atlantic Partnership Council (EAPC), which includes 50 nations, 22 of which are NATO members. This is a multilateral discussion and consultation forum for political and security issues. It provides the global political framework for NATO's cooperation with partner countries in the Euro-Atlantic area, and for bilateral relations between NATO and each member country under the Partnership for Peace programme.

⁽⁵⁾ http://www.nato.int/cps/en/natolive/topics 49633.htm

⁽⁶⁾ http://www.manw.nato.int/page_structure.aspx

⁽⁷⁾ http://www.nato.int/cps/en/natolive/topics_50349.htm

- The Mediterranean Dialogue was launched in 1994 and currently includes seven NATO members: Algeria, Egypt, Israel, Jordan, Mauritania, Morocco and Tunisia.
- The Istanbul Cooperation Initiative, including Bahrain, Qatar, Kuwait and the United Arab Emirates.
- Other "global partners" also known as "contact countries" such as Australia, Japan, South Korea and New Zealand, which share the Alliance's strategic concerns and core values.

Gender in NATO. Stages

Gender issues and, more specifically, women became part of NATO's agenda as a logical result of social changes since the Second World War. In the mid-20th century, the dominant pattern of the sexual division of labour began to dissolve. This pattern had exclusively involved men working in factories, offices and other professional workplaces, and women being responsible for the family and the home. However, this pattern was becoming less representative as women began to formally join the labour market, giving them the economic and personal independence that is referred to theoretically as⁽⁸⁾ "the empowerment of women".

This change spread to all organisations, including the Armed Forces, as they were supported by and reflected the transformation and modernisation of society.

We can identify four stages in the integration of the gender perspective into NATO:

- The first stage began with debates concerning the role of women soldiers in the Alliance.
- The second began with approval of Resolution 1325 and recognition of gender considerations in all aspects of peacekeeping.
- The third stage coincided with the Strasbourg-Kehl NATO summit in 2009, which enhanced the application of Resolution 1325, particularly in peacekeeping operations.
- Finally, in November 2010, the Lisbon Summit confirmed NATO's commitment to improving the inclusion of gender issues in the Organisation's policies and missions.

Gender perspective

Before we go any further, I would like to clarify a concept that is repeatedly referred to in this document: the term "integration of the gender perspective".

⁽⁸⁾ http://www.beta.undp.org/content/undp/en/home/ourwork/womenempowerment/over view.html

The gender perspective is a tool that enables us to assess the effects of day-today decisions on men and women.

This perspective is based on feminist theories of difference and real equality. Gender enables us to identify the functions and behaviours that a society ascribes to men and women. It enables us to observe how the principle of equality is interpreted for males and for females. As we are all aware, the needs of men and women differ in various parts of the world. For this reason, the concept of equality cannot be conceived as a closed concept that can be assimilated by everyone; rather, it has different degrees as a consequence of the customs of different societies, creating more or less equal societies. The gender perspective takes on its full importance and meaning in the policies and actions that organisations implement to achieve real and authentic equality.

Therefore, we can say that incorporating the gender perspective is the process of assessing the consequences of a planned activity on men and women in all areas and at all levels. This strategy aims to make the concerns and experiences of women -and men- into an integral aspect of the conception, implementation, monitoring and assessment of strategies and programmes in all political, economic and social spheres, so that men and women benefit equally and inequality is not perpetuated.

It is important that the gender perspective should not focus exclusively on women, even though women are usually the main objectives and beneficiaries of integration efforts, due to their disadvantaged position in many areas. We could say that seeing issues through the gender perspective is a way of facilitating gender equality.

Men and women obviously often see things differently. This is no secret, but it can help us see a situation from different angles. This theory is known as "the gender perspective". For example, in Afghanistan, members of a Provincial Reconstruction Team (PRT) were trying to identify what a village needed for its development. Everyone they interviewed said that they needed access to water so that women would not have to walk many kilometres every day to collect it. However, they only interviewed men. If they had talked to the women, they would have discovered that for many of them collecting water enabled them to get out of the house for a while and talk with other women. The women's priorities were different. They were more interested in having health centres and schools for their children.

This means that it is important to involve both men and women in finding solutions to problems in order to include all perspectives and identify all potential solutions.

Gender in NATO before Resolution 1325

The adoption of Resolution 1325 on Women, Peace and Security was a watershed for the incorporation of the gender perspective into the NATO agenda.

The first official NATO Conference on Women took place in Copenhagen in 1961, with delegations from Denmark, Holland, Norway, the UK and the USA. It focused on issues relating to the *status*, organisation, employment conditions and career opportunities for women in Alliance armed forces. The delegates agreed to organise future conferences, unanimously expressing the hope that NATO and national authorities would consider incorporating a larger number of women into their armies.

Five years later, in 1966, NATO's Information Service organised the Directors' Conference of Senior Women Officers, which was attended by representatives of seven NATO countries.

These first two conferences were very important in terms of sharing experiences relating to women in the armed forces, helping to facilitate the transformation process in the allied forces.

An *ad hoc* Committee on Women in the NATO Forces (CWINF) was created in November 1973 at the NATO Conference of Women Officers held in Brussels. The delegates, representing some 100,000 female soldiers adopted a resolution agreeing that women should have the opportunity to serve in all types of employment, excepting those involving combat, as this was considered the competence of national politics. This committee was formally recognised by the Military Committee in July 1976.

The 1985 CWINF conference attracted 57 representatives from 13 NATO countries, with Spain attending for the first time.

In 1996, the chairwoman of the CWINF, in cooperation with the director of the International Military Staff, argued for the creation of a full-time Military Staff post dedicated to gender issues.

As a result, in 1998 the Office of Women in the NATO forces was created, to act as a link to the Military Representatives and their staff, and enabling the very necessary continuity of the CWINF's objectives.

At this time, NATO forces were involved in missions in the Balkans To a certain extent, this regional scenario developed into the first real test for assessing the roles of women soldiers in peacekeeping operations.

In summary, it could be said that, prior to Resolution 1325, the gender perspective focused on a debate on the incorporation and integration of women into the armed forces.

Gender in NATO following Resolution 1325

When the UN approved Resolution 1325 in 2000, the international community recognised that most of the people affected by armed conflicts are civilians, particularly women and children.

The effects of 1325 were immediately apparent in NATO's institutional structures and operations. Some of the competences of its committees were expanded, and new mechanisms were created to apply the Resolution. The first political guidelines and recommendations for including gender aspects in all military operations were also approved, in cooperation with all Alliance members and partners.

The CWINF following Resolution 1325

After the adoption of 1325, the CWINF celebrated its twenty-fifth anniversary at its meeting in Rome in May 2001.

Since 2002, it has cooperated actively with the Partnership for Peace nations, and since June 2003 it has invited the seven member countries of the Mediterranean Dialogue to attend its annual meetings.

There can be no doubt that one of the Committee's most important meetings was that held in Berlin in June 2007, when it approved the *Committee on Women in the NATO Forces guidance for NATO Gender Mainstreaming*⁽⁹⁾ report. This was the Alliance's first major contribution from a perspective of mainstreaming gender into military operations, particularly in three areas: operational planning, education and training and assessment.

In May 2009, the Committee and the Office changed their names to the "NATO Committee on Gender Perspectives"⁽¹⁰⁾ (NCGP) and the "NATO Office on Gender Perspectives"⁽¹¹⁾ (NOGP).

The Committee's main missions are:

• To advise and support NATO's Military Committee on gender issues.

⁽⁹⁾ Committee on Women in the NATO Forces Guidance for NATO Gender Mainstreaming. http://www.nato.int/issues/women_nato/cwinf_guidance.pdf

⁽¹⁰⁾ NATO Committee on Gender Perspectives. http://www.nato.int/issues/women_nato/2011/HANDBOOK_2011.pdf

⁽¹¹⁾ NATO Office on Gender Perspectives. http://www.nato.int/issues/women_nato/owinf.html

- To promote the gender perspective as a strategy involving the concerns and interests of both men and women, making these into a core element in the preparation, implementation, monitoring and assessment of policies, programmes and military operations.
- To facilitate the sharing of information on gender perspectives in policies among NATO countries in the command structure, particularly in NATO headquarters in Brussels.
- To act as a link with international bodies and other parties interested in the integration of gender perspective into military operations.
- To be a NATO contact point for the collection, analysis and distribution of information through the Office.

Special mention should be made of the 4th "Soldado Idoia Rodríguez, Mujer en las Fuerzas Armadas" award presented by the Spanish Defence Minister, Carme Chacón Piqueras, on 30 November 2011⁽¹²⁾ to NATO's Committee on Gender Perspectives, in recognition of its support for the incorporation and integration of women into the Spanish and allied armed forces. The award recognised the Committee's work in applying the various UN Security Council resolutions relating to Women, Peace and Security in the heart of the Alliance.

Organisation of the Gender Perspectives Committee and Office

The Committee consists of military officers and their civilian equivalents from every NATO nation, who are charged with ensuring familiarity with the latest gender-related developments in their country. This is managed by an Executive Committee and is supported by the Office.

The Executive Committee consists of a chairwoman, a chairwoman-elect and two vice-chairwomen. The chairwoman and chairwoman-elect are designated at national level and must be women officers on active service. This means that NATO's Committee on Gender Perspectives is the only International Military Staff committee to be chaired by a woman.

The Committee on Gender Perspectives meets at NATO's Brussels headquarters at least once a year, or when summoned by the chairwoman.

The Office on Gender Perspectives is a permanent focal point for the collection, supply and sharing of information on national programmes, policies and procedures relating to gender. The head of the Office is appointed from members of the Committee on Gender Perspectives, acting as a contact point within NATO headquarters.

Application of Resolution 1325. EAPC(13) 2007

The annual meetings of the Committee on Gender Perspectives have concluded that Resolution 1325 has been incorporated inconsistently by Member States over the last decade. Some states have developed plans and guidelines effectively, and have even organised training and education sessions prior to deployments and in the field, whilst other countries have hardly begun to consider the issue.

However, in 2007, the North Atlantic Council approved the NATO/EAPC policy on application of Resolution 1325 on Women, Peace and Security⁽¹⁴⁾, which it did openly and transparently with the support of all partner countries. This policy is a starting point for Alliance military authorities to comply with the objectives of 1325. According to this Resolution, military authorities should entrust Member States with the task of proposing measures to apply 1325, subject to constant review, and to monitor and report on work by the UN, the OSCE and the EU in incorporating gender issues into peacekeeping operations. The object, as far as possible, is to ensure the compatibility of efforts that could lead to the sharing of experiences and the development of best practices. The military authorities must consult with NGOs working on the ground to establish links to those with experience in areas where NATO is deploying its forces.

The North Atlantic Council and the Euro-Atlantic Partnership Council are charged with constantly monitoring and reviewing its application, reporting annually.

The Euro-Atlantic Partnership Council recognises that the complexity of NATO's missions and operations (with fifty thousand personnel deployed from the Balkans to Afghanistan) requires a consistent approach to incorporating gender issues, and underlines the need for the knowledge of all parties involved in areas of conflict, including civilians, of course. This is what is known as a comprensive approach within the Alliance.

One of the lessons learnt from the application of the document was the need to respect national politics. This effectively excludes the possibility of, for example, imposing a quota on the number of women in national armed forces.

Application of Resolution 1325. BI-SC Directive 40-1-2009

The April 2009 NATO summit in Strasbourg-Kehl, represented the start of a new era in the application of Resolution 1325. Paragraph 36 of the Declaration includes a firm commitment by heads of state and government, as follows: "We

⁽¹³⁾ The Euro-Atlantic Partnership Council

remain actively engaged with our Partners in supporting the implementation of UNSCR 1325 on women, peace and security, with the aim of having a comprehensive set of measures in place by autumn 2010".

Continuing with this policy, the director of the International Military Staff instructed the Strategic Commands to develop practical proposals and guidelines for the application of 1325. This led to Directive Bi-SC 40-1, of 2 September 2009, coordinated by both Strategic Commands (Operations and Transformation), entitled: *Integrating the 1325 and Gender Perspectives in the NATO Command Structure including measures for protection during armed conflicts*⁽¹⁵⁾.

This directive is now the core document for the incorporation of gender perspectives into NATO's organisations and military operations and is consistent with the policies of the UN and the EU and with National Action Plans. It provides a number of guidelines giving the Alliance and its operations the ability to include a gender perspective, paying particular attention to women. This promotes a gender policy and recognises an obligation on all NATO members and their partners to comply with UN resolutions protecting women and girls during armed conflicts. These resolutions include: 1261 and 1314 on children and armed conflicts, 1674 on protection of civilians in armed conflicts, and 1820 on Women, Peace and Security, as well as the 1949 Geneva Convention, relating to protection of civilians in wartime and Article 77 of the 1977 Additional Protocol, relating to the protection of the victims of international armed conflicts (Protocol I).

The document recognises that the complementary capabilities of men and women are essential for the efficiency of NATO operations. This issue is recognised as applying across its entire structure.

Directive Bi-SC 40-1 applies to all International Military HQs and every other organisation operating in Strategic Command chains of command.

The gender perspective should become routine through consistent application of this Directive, whilst always considering operational needs in order to improve operational effectiveness. In this context, the gender perspective represents the process of recognising and incorporating the role played by gender in a range of NATO operating missions. As we stated earlier, the gender perspective is not exclusively related to women. However, it is also the case that women are usually the objectives and beneficiaries, due to their disadvantaged position in so many communities. Women should also be seen as participants whose activity in all stages of the crisis or conflict guarantees a sustainable peace.

There are a number of new aspects to consider in the Directive:

- It aims to increase the functions of women at all levels of operations and missions and to increase their representation throughout NATO's command structure.
- Integration of the needs of women during planning (medical needs, supplies, accommodation etc.).
- Training of personnel before and during deployment in issues such as: the protection, rights and needs of women and girls, the importance of the participation of women in operations and missions and cultural communication to understand the specific gender context in the area of operations.
- It includes standards for behaviour during operations, missions and exercises, considering the diversity of Alliance nations, with personnel with differing educational and training levels.
- It analyses the measures available in operations to protect against sexual violence, particularly rape and other forms of sexual abuse and violence in situations of armed conflicts, promoting contacts between female NATO personnel and the local population.
- It created a post that is becoming key to the development of all aspects of gender in operations: *Gender Advisors*. These advisors are responsible for ensuring the integration of Resolution 1325 and can be assigned to NATO's fixed HQs and HQs in operation, mission or exercise zones. Their functions and responsibilities include:
 - a. Directly supporting the Command in planning, conducting and assessing operations through integration of the gender perspective and 1325 in operational processes and procedures.
 - b. Providing advice and information on guidelines related to Resolution 1325
 - c. Support for updating of information on the number of, and posts occupied by, women deployed on operations and missions.
 - d. Establishing and supervising an education and training system to raise awareness of gender issues (in garrisons and in deployments).
 - e. Establishing and maintaining permanent contact with the NATO Committee on Gender Perspectives and other organisations such as the UN, the OSCE, the EU, the International Committee of the Red Cross and NGOs, together with local and international women's groups, to promote the sharing of information in peacetime and during crisis operations and exercises.
 - f. Supporting the Command and the legal advisor with any investigation of breaches of NATO behavioural regulations.

The final declaration following the NATO Defence Ministers meeting in June 2010, approved the *Report on Mainstreaming UNSCR 1325 into NATO-led Operations and Missions*⁽¹⁶⁾. This report was prepared in consultation with

non-NATO countries belonging to ISAF (the International Security Assistance Force) and KFOR (the Kosovo Force). The idea was to: (1) provide the additional resources and capabilities for mission commands and to improve their chances of success, (2) help win local support, both in operations and internationally and (3) reach the half of the population that in some circumstances is practically inaccessible. The latter is particularly important when faced with counterinsurgency, as is the case with NATO in Afghanistan. Although some areas for improvement remained, including the need to incorporate these efforts into daily operational planning and into practice, the Report identified some areas in which NATO is achieving the objective of integrating 1325 into its operations and missions. These include:

- In pre-deployment training courses. Some nations organise specific training courses for gender advisors.
- The assignment of gender advisors in the Allied Command Transformation (ACT), KFOR, the ISAF General Command, ISAF Joint Command and the general commands in Operations, and in Provincial Reconstruction Teams (PRT) in Afghanistan.
- The establishment of a multifunctional working group led by the Supreme Allied Commander Europe to assess the resources being used in incorporating Resolution 1325 into operational planning and implementation.
- The creation, training and use of Female Engagement Teams (FETs) in the ISAF Operation. The objective of these female teams, directly supporting battalion and company commanders, is to build contacts with the local population, and to create confidence in the Afghans, particularly women living in rural areas. The FETs consist of approximately five soldiers, together with medical and linguistic personnel, all of whom are women and accompany the soldiers on patrols.

The report concluded with a recommendation to the North Atlantic Council to prepare an action plan for the Lisbon Summit (November 2010), detailing how Resolution 1325 should be integrated into NATO operations and missions.

Finally, among other decisions, the NATO/EAPC forum was opened to countries from the Mediterranean Dialogue countries, the Istanbul Cooperation Initiative and the Contact Countries in June 2010.

National Action Plans (NAPS)

Despite the comprehensive nature of Directive 40-1, in 2010 the NATO Gender Perspectives Committee found that there were some difficulties in its application. To deal with these difficulties, the Committee prepared *Recommendations on Implementation of UNSCR 1325*⁽¹⁷⁾. One of the most

important recommendations of this was that the countries should develop an action plan and guidelines for application of Resolution 1325. Countries without a national action plan were advised to improve their coordination mechanisms and to consult other parties, such as NATO's International Staff and international organisations and research bodies involved in gender issues. These plans must be reviewed and updated to ensure that they remain valid.

The main leaders and commands must be committed to the plan. Responsibilities should be assigned, in order to increase commitment to the plan. Commanders must be aware that gender multiplies the effects of efforts for success of the operation. Goodwill and support are not enough; active participation is required. Commitment at the highest level is a key factor in the effective application of UNSCR 1325.

It also stated that education and training are catalysts for improving awareness of gender issues and for the successful application of a gender perspective to operations. Nations were therefore recommended to develop their training programmes. NATO should provided "training for trainers" to meet standardisation and interoperability requirements.

A centralised database should also be created, together with a network of gender contact points for the exchange of best practise and to share experiences and lessons learnt from successes and failures.

Being an advisor, the gender advisor should be integrated into the military structure in order to support the Command.

Communication is another key factor. Communicating and sharing information on gender issues is an important way of raising gender awareness and improving education and training.

NATO and the nations must provide adequate financing, time and staff resources.

10 years of Resolution 1325

In January 2010, NATO joined in the celebrations of the tenth anniversary of the approval of Resolution 1325. To celebrate this event, the secretary general Anders Fogh Rasmussen addressed the European Commission on *Empowering women in peace and security*⁽¹⁸⁾. The Secretary General discussed the "ongoing victimisation of women in conflict situations and the marginalisation of women in matters of peace-building", issues with a deep impact on global security and one of the "key security issues of our time". He stated that "NATO has heard this call. Our military authorities have developed guidelines for the integration

of gender issues into all NATO planning and operations" and that "we have studied carefully the significance of gender issues to the success of our operation in Afghanistan". However, there are some areas of activity where the response to Resolution 1325 must be examined more closely. One of these is the number of female soldiers under NATO command. The Secretary General stated that the percentage of women in member state armed forces varied considerably, with some countries as low as just 3% and others as high as 18%. "I firmly believe that these figures are too low", he said. NATO's objective is to increase the proportion of women in the armed forces of its member countries.

In September 2010, NATO held a multimedia exhibition at its Brussels headquarters entitled *Women, Peace and Security: NATO's contribution to 10 years of UN Security Council Resolution 1325*⁽¹⁹⁾. At the opening ceremony, the Acting Assistant Secretary General for Public Diplomacy, Stefanie Babst, said "NATO's contribution to the implementation of UNSCR 1325 is a very good and important story - but one which has yet to be told". She also discussed "NATO's efforts to protect women and girls in conflict zones, its peace-keeping operations that have started to include gender perspectives, and its commitment to empowering women to play their rightful role in shaping peace and security" –she added that—"while the international community, including the Alliance, has made some progress in the past, we still have some way to go".

Deputy Secretary General Bisogniero then explained the specific steps taken by NATO to promote the participation of women in peace and security, including: developing guidelines to integrate gender issues into all levels of planning and operations, establishing a code of behaviour for all military personnel, deploying gender advisors at NATO headquarters in Kosovo and Kabul, and employing gender experts in several provincial reconstruction teams in Afghanistan.

He went on to say that "senior civilian and military leadership also have key roles to play in promoting the participation of women at all levels of decision-making" and that "We have already made some significant progress - but I hope that the 10th anniversary of this landmark resolution will provide an inspiration for all of us to contribute even more - as an organization, as Allies and as Partners"

The Lisbon Summit: a road map for the future

At the November 2010 Lisbon Summit, NATO leaders adopted a new Strategic Concept that will serve as a route map for the Alliance over the coming decade, reiterating the commitment to defend itself against attack from all modern threats in a changing world.

Although Resolution 1325 and gender commitments were not included in the new Strategic Concept, the gender perspective was on the agenda for the negotiations.

Point 7 of the Summit's Declaration⁽²⁰⁾, which lists all the issues dealt with and the decisions adopted by the heads of state and government, states⁽²¹⁾:

"We welcome the 10th Anniversary of UNSCR 1325 on Women, Peace and Security. Guided by the Policy that we developed together with our Partners in the Euro Atlantic Partnership Council, we have already taken significant steps to implement it and its related Resolutions. We have today endorsed an Action Plan to mainstream the provisions of UNSCR 1325 into our current and future crisis management and operational planning, into Alliance training and doctrine, and into all relevant aspects of the Alliance's task. We are committed to the implementation of this Policy and Action Plan as an integral part of our work to improve the Alliance's effectiveness, and today we endorsed recommendations to this end. We have tasked the Council to provide a progress report to our Foreign Ministers in December 2011 and at the next Summit".

This plan is entitled the "NATO Action Plan to mainstream UNSCR 1325 into NATO-led Operations and Missions" (22) will be updated every six months, and was approved by the nations contributing to the KFOR and ISAF operations. This Action Plan will provide a list of objectives and proposals for actions and the authorities that will lead them. It will also include a schedule to guide the implementation of these actions.

The Lisbon Summit also approved the *Comprehensive report on the NATO/EAPC policy on the implementation of UNSCR 1325 on WPS and Related Resolutions*⁽²³⁾. This details what had already been achieved and made practical recommendations for the future based on internal NATO and external resources. We can summarise it in five points:

 First, the gender perspective is considered essential in all policies, programmes and documentation, meaning that Resolution 1325 should

⁽²⁰⁾ http://www.nato.int/cps/en/natolive/official_texts_68828.htm

^{(21) &}quot;We welcome the 10th Anniversary of UNSCR 1325 on WPS. Guided by the Policy that we developed together with our Partners in the Euro Atlantic Partnership Council, we have already taken significant steps to implement it and its related Resolutions. We have today endorsed an Action Plan to mainstream the provisions of UNSCR 1325 into our current and future crisis management and operational planning, into Alliance training and doctrine, and into all relevant aspects of the Alliance's tasks. We are committed to the implementation of this Policy and Action Plan as an integral part of our work to improve the Alliance's effectiveness, and today we endorsed recommendations to this end. We have tasked the Council to provide a progress report to our Foreign Ministers in December 2011 and at the next Summit".

 ^{(22) &}quot;NATO Action Plan to mainstream UNSCR 1325 into NATO-led Operations and Missions"
 (23) Comprehensive report on the NATO/EAPC policy on the implementation of UNSCR 1325 on WPS and Related Resolutions.

- be incorporated into all of NATO's activities at all levels. It should slowly yield a change in mindsets and behaviours, and to that end decision-making bodies have been given responsibility to take forward implementation in their own domains of expertise.
- Second, cooperation with international organisations and civil society. Initiatives have been undertaken to identify synergies and areas for cooperation and exchange of best practices. NATO seeks to avoid duplicating efforts with bodies such as the UN, EU, OSCE, OECD (Organisation for Economic Cooperation and Development) and the International Committee of the Red Cross, as they often use the same resources.
- Third, education and training for civilian and military staff is an essential tool for raising awareness on UNSCR 1325 and for contributing to the effectiveness of operations and missions. This is a long-term investment that is not always visible. NATO has notably made use of its own institutions to support UNSCR 1325, such as the NATO Defence College and the NATO School in Oberammergau, in addition to NATO Headquarters itself, including the NATO Committee on Gender Perspectives.
- Fourth, Operations, the integration of which has demanded a comprehensive and robust policy. The application of Directive Bi-SC 40-1 has already yielded positive results, particularly through the introduction of behaviour guidelines and the deployment of gender advisors at the ISAF Central Command from October 2009. These efforts can be considered a great success in three areas: 1) full integration into ISAF HQ staff while simultaneously enhancing situational awareness, 2) establishment of a network with Regional Commands, Provincial Reconstruction Teams, NGOs and women's organizations, improving trust and rapport with the civilian population and 3) recognition that mainstreaming gender perspectives requires a continuous and shared effort until it becomes the norm. A Gender Perspective Working Group was created to carry out this work by the SHAPE (Supreme Headquarters Allied Powers Europe) Chief of Staff in May 2010, endeavouring to implement UNSCR recommendations and operational lessons identified in all aspects of NATO-led operations.
- And fifth, Public Diplomacy. Since 2010 NATO has adopted a dual approach, taking into account the strong influence of the media on the perception of the role of women in society, culture and the military life:
 1) communicating through the NATO TV Channel on the Internet and its website, and 2) engaging through direct exchanges, visits to NATO HQ, discussions and events.

The final section of the Report features a list of recommendations for the North Atlantic Council and the civilian and military authorities of NATO. One of the Secretary General's tasks is to prepare an annual report on the application of UNSCR 1325 in NATO.

Review of the 2007 "NATO/EAPC policy on the implementation of Resolution 1325 on Women, Peace and Security"

As previously mentioned, in 2007 the North Atlantic Council and the partner countries approved the NATO/EAPC policy on the implementation of Resolution 1325. This policy was updated in June 2011, taking into account the four pillars of the UN for Resolution 1325: prevention, protection, participation, and relief and recovery⁽²⁴⁾, in the context of a comprehensive strategy for application of the policy, to which a new element was added. This declared that national initiatives are essential for its success, particularly through the development and implementation of national action plans and other strategic national initiatives.

In the current version of the NATO/EAPC policy⁽²⁵⁾ it was decided to carry out a two-yearly review of the document through the Political and Partnerships Committee, approved by the North Atlantic Council. The new version is supported by an Implementation Plan, which provides the overall framework for practical implementation of UNSCR Resolutions. This identifies goals, concrete actions, action authorities, measurement of progress, timelines and status of work. This Plan is the tool for reporting on progress in the six tracks of the NATO/EAPC policy, to be reviewed on an annual basis in June.

Conference with international bodies and NGOs at NATO headquarters on "Lessons learnt from the implementation of la Resolution 1325"(26)

The debates attracted many leading speakers from a range of organisations from all over the world. More than 65 representatives from the United Nations, the European Union, the Organization for Security and Co-operation in Europe and NATO, as well as from the world of academia and a number of NGOs, discussed issues such as the mainstreaming of UNSCR 1325 into education and training programmes . They also considered the effectiveness of protection, prevention and participation in all phases of armed conflicts and reconstruction efforts and the role of women in international security reforms.

Through this conference, NATO reaffirmed its commitment to promoting the role of women in peace and security. The Conference's conclusions included the need for these bodies to cooperate to ensure that they do not produce contradictory results.

Furthermore, the international community is not adequately meeting its commitment to women and girls in terms of cooperation between international bodies, NGOs and civil society. Some international bodies have gender

⁽²⁴⁾ Prevention, protection, participation, and relief and recovery.

⁽²⁵⁾ http://www.nato.int/cps/en/natolive/official_texts_76395.htm?selectedLocale=en

⁽²⁶⁾ http://www.nato.int/cps/en/SID-E9B13D19-F6147EB1/natolive/news_81808. htm?selectedLocale=en

advisors who are not committed full-time, and where the gender perspective is still very scanty among military personnel.

At present, women are excluded from the highest levels of decision making, as well as from peace processes and reconstruction. However, we can state that there is a correlation between the participation of women, security in society and the reduction of sexual violence. There has been some progress at an institutional level, but this has not been mirrored in practice, as there is still a shortage of women in operating and tactical posts. The problem can be summarised as one of lack of commitment, knowledge, training, willingness and capacity.

Gender balance and diversity in NATO⁽²⁷⁾

We will now look at the representation of the sexes at NATO's Brussels headquarters. At the 2002 NATO Prague summit, the Member States agreed to carry out a study to improve the balance of the sexes in civilian staff. A Task Force was formed which worked closely with the national delegations, the International Staff and the International Military Staff to define a number of guiding principles: guaranteeing fairness in recruitment and promotion, ensuring the high quality of NATO personnel, and respecting the diversity of all Alliance members.

The Task Force agreed not to set quotas, as NATO recruitment is based on merit, whilst also proposing to increase the overall number of women employed.

To substantiate these decisions, NATO adopted an Equal Opportunities and Diversity Policy in 2003, applicable to its bodies and agencies. Since then, six annual reports and two monitoring reports have described achievements, trends and new recommendations on this issue.

At present, 37.1% of the approximately 1,200 International Staff and 43.7% of the International Military Staff are women.

Achievements, road map and conclusions

In addition to the decisions and significant documents adopted, there has been substantial progress in the application of Resolution 1325, particularly:

- Security Council Resolutions on Women, Peace and Security have been integrated into NATO activities as a priority, particularly in Afghanistan.
- Gender perspective reports are included in the periodic assessments of the ISAF mission, the Afghan government and the Provincial Reconstruction Teams. For example, we know from one of its most recent reports that women account for 9% of ISAF's overall personnel.

• We are also seeing an increased in the number of women in the armies of countries where there is more limited freedom. Afghanistan is a classic example - when the Taliban governed the country, women and girls were hardly permitted to step foot on educational premises. Today, there are over one thousand women in the Afghan army, with more than two and a half million girls enrolled in schools, whereas there were virtually none just ten years ago.

The road map for the future can be set out as follows:

- Improve cooperation with the UN, EU, OSCE and NGOs.
- Continue revision of NATO/EAPC policy and its applicability.
- Consolidate a high level of commitment, paying attention and reacting to the NATO Secretary General's annual report into implementation of Resolution 1325.

The most important conclusions are:

- NATO has adhered strictly to the UN's objectives for promoting gender, particularly in crisis situations. This commitment has been shown through the adoption of specific measures at all levels of the Organisation.
- Implementing this policy will always present great challenges, but inclusion
 of the principles of Resolution 1325 and its additional resolutions is essential
 to the success of NATO missions, as has been shown by NATO's experience
 in Afghanistan.
- There are not enough gender specialists –male or female– to meet all current and potential requirements for NATO operations. Some of these deficiencies arise from the military traditions of the member countries, and will only be overcome in the medium term.
- NATO and its partner countries have brought together a number of
 international bodies to contribute to the efforts of the international
 community in support of the principles of Resolution 1325. Palwasha Kakar,
 the Vice-Minister for Women's Issues in Afghanistan, recently declared that
 Afghan women can only serve their country and work effectively for peace
 and security with the committed backing of the international community.
- There is increasing recognition that women perform a crucial function in society, and that they have special skills for contributing successfully to 21st century security challenges.

WOMEN AND THE EUROPEAN UNION

"The European Union launched its first crisis management operation in 2003. Since then we have deployed over 20 military, police and rule-of-

law operations on three continents. The experience we have gained from earlier and ongoing operations feeds into those currently at the planning stage. For example we have learned that including Human Rights and Gender approaches in all of our missions makes our operations more effective "(28).

Javier Solana (2008), former Secretary General of the EU Council and High Representative for Common Foreign and Security Policy.

"Today's human rights violations are the causes of tomorrow's conflicts".

Mary Robinson, former High Commissioner for Human Rights.

"Working with a gender perspective inside a military force clearly supports the work and results of the operation. In particular, it improves collection and gathering of information and intelligence and supports the objective of gaining credibility among the local population. It is crucial to win the 'hearts and minds' of the local population so that they feel trust and credibility in us and our work. In this context, it is vital to work towards the local female population, which has not always been the case in previous missions"⁽²⁹⁾.

Former gender advisor for EUFOR, Democratic Republic of the Congo.

INTRODUCTION

In the previous chapter we examined the inclusion of the gender perspective in NATO's agenda and its importance. In this chapter we assess the progress that the European Union has made in this area. We take as our starting point that this is an international body involved in and committed to the principles of freedom, human rights and democracy, aspects which have been central to the EU since it was founded by the signing of the Maastricht Treaty in 1992. We have therefore included consideration of United Nations Security Council Resolution 1325 on Women, Peace and Security, in the Common Security and

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Defence Policy⁽³⁰⁾ (CSDP) (previously known as the European Security and Defence Policy, ESDP), developing the Lisbon Treaty, which has remained in force since 2009.

The EU has launched a wide-ranging Women, Peace and Security policy, covering humanitarian aspects, development, security and foreign relations, from crisis management to long-term reconstruction. This is financed by a range of bodies, such as the European Instrument for Democracy and Human Rights and the Instrument for Stability. The EU considers that its policy on women, peace and security must be pursued comprehensively, through multilateral action (particularly within the UN) and the local efforts of Member States.

We will now examine how the gender perspective has been included in CSDP operations and missions.

EU policy for the integration of human rights and gender in CSDP operations and missions

EU political commitments

The 2010 revised consolidated version of the Treaty on European Union⁽³¹⁾ states in Article 2 that:

"The Union is founded on the values of respect for human dignity, freedom, democracy, equality, the rule of law and respect for human rights, including the rights of persons belonging to minorities. These values are common to the Member States in a society in which pluralism, non-discrimination, tolerance, justice, solidarity and equality between women and men prevail".

Article 6 of the Treaty refers to the Charter of Fundamental Rights and the European Convention for the Protection of Human Rights and Fundamental Freedoms. Article 21 and Article 3.5 refer explicitly to human rights in relation to the EU's foreign policy.

The European Security Strategy⁽³²⁾, adopted in September 2003, identifies protection of human rights as one of the best ways of consolidating the

⁽³⁰⁾ The EU covers the full spectrum of possible missions and operations. The Common Security and Defence Policy (CSDP) in its current form is a recent EU policy. It was launched in 1999 as an integral part of the Common Foreign and Security Policy (CFSP). It was not until 2001 that the European Union declared its European Security and Defence Policy (ESDP). In 2003 The Cetherally Attainssand Exiteral Indiana Codecith (CASDR) Idealarced that the European Union declared its European Security and Defence Policy (ESDP). In 2003 The Cetherally Attainssand Exiteral European Security and Defence Policy (ESDP). In 2003 The Cetherally Attainssand Exiteral European Security and Defence Policy (ESDP). In 2003 The Cetherally Attainssand Exiteral European Security Geology (ESDP). In 2003 The Cetherally Attains and Exiteral European Security (ESDP). In 2003 The Cetheral European Security (ESDP) in the Exiteral European Security (ESDP) in the Exiteral European Security European Security Security In 2004 European Security Security In 2004 European Security Securit

international order⁽³³⁾. The 2008 Report on the application of this strategy (Providing Security in a Changing World) reiterates the importance of incorporating human rights into CSDP missions⁽³⁴⁾.

Furthermore, the EU's annual reports on human rights, together with numerous conclusions from the European Council and EU/CSDP policy documents have all focused on gender aspects.

• *Key commitments in the common security and defence policy*

In June 2001, two years prior to the EU launching its first CSDP operation, the Council of the European Union⁽³⁵⁾ (the main decision making body of the European Union, consisting of 27 national ministers) defined four core elements for democratisation and human rights in the Union: consistency between community action and its Common Foreign and Security Policy, opening of enhanced dialogue between the European Parliament and civil society, definition and periodic review of priority actions, and the incorporation of human rights and democratisation into the EU's policies.

With regard to these, since 2005 the EU has developed a set of political measures on the incorporation of human rights and gender issues into the CSDP⁽³⁶⁾. These included the need to include human rights and gender in all

- (33) "The quality of international society depends on the quality of the governments that are its foundation. The best protection for our security is a world of well-governed democratic states. Spreading good governance, supporting social and political reform, dealing with corruption and abuse of power, establishing the rule of law and protecting human rights are the best means of strengthening the international order".
- (34) "We need to continue mainstreaming human rights issues in all activities in this field, including ESDP missions, through a people-based approach coherent with the concept of human security. The EU has recognised the role of women in building peace. Effective implementation of UNSCR 1325 and UNSCR 1612 on Children and Armed Conflict is essential in this context".
- (35) http://europa.eu/about-eu/institutions-bodies/council-eu/index_en.htm
- (36) A. Mainstreaming Human Rights and Gender into ESDP, compilation of relevant documents (2008).
- B. Mainstreaming human rights into ESDP (doc 11936/4/06).
- C. Mainstreaming human rights across CFSP and other EU policies (doc 10076/06).
- D. Comprehensive approach to the EU implementation of the UNSCRs 1325 and 1820 on WPS (doc 15671/1/08).
- E. Implementation of UNSCR 1325 as reinforced by UNSCR 1820 in the context of ESDP (doc 15782/3/08).
- F. Check-list for transitional justice (contained in doc 10674/06).
- G. Draft General review of the Implementation of the Checklist for the Integration of the Protection of Children affected by Armed Conflict into ESDP Operations (9822/08).
- H. Update of the EU Guidelines on children and armed conflict (10019/08).
- I. EU guidelines on violence against women and girls and combating all forms of discrimination against them (16173/08).
- J. 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).

phases of CSDP operations and missions, ensuring availability of the technical know-how needed in terms of staff and training. This policy includes specific commitments in relation to the rights of children, whilst with regard to gender issues, emphasis is placed on applying Resolutions 1325 and 1820.

Based on these measures, the EU has decided to adopt questions of gender in the planning and implementation of its international crisis management missions under the CSDP.

The challenge is substantial, as it involves raising awareness and developing respect for the implications of gender in operations, in order that these can be put into practice and mainstreamed into day-to-day mission activities.

The objective of applying Resolution 1325 through the CSDP is to ensure that this policy is consistent with gender equality in the EU.

The need to integrate a gender perspective was set out explicitly by ministers responsible for gender equality⁽³⁷⁾ in February 2005. The General Affairs and External Relations Council later confirmed that the EU should develop measures to integrate Resolution 1325 into the CSDP. This formed the basis of a debate in 2005 on gender and security or, more precisely, on Resolution 1325 and the CSDP.

The first reference to the gender perspective was made by the Secretary General of the European Council in *EU Generic Standards of Behaviour for CSDP Operations*⁽³⁸⁾ (May 2005). These guidelines aim to set out an ethical code for the behaviour of the personnel involved in operations and missions. This document also specifies that "pre-deployment training of personnel, carried out nationally as well as by the EU, should include training and education on defined standards of behaviour. Particular attention should be given to international law, including international humanitarian law and human rights issues, gender issues and child rights issues".

The General Secretariat was subsequently tasked with preparing an operational document on the *Implementation of UNSCR 1325 in the context of ESDP*⁽³⁹⁾ (September 2005). When the Secretariat prepared this document, it was based on the structure of Resolution 1325 and contributions from some Member

K. Checklist for working with civil society (doc 10056/1/04).

L. Revised Guidelines on the Protection of Civilians in CSDP Missions and Operations (doc 15091/10).

 $^{^{(37)}}$ http://www.eu2005.lu/en/actualites/documents_travail/2005/02/04pekin-declmin/index. html

⁽³⁸⁾ EU Generic Standards of Behaviour for ESDP Operations. http://register.consilium.euro pa.eu/pdf/en/05/st08/st08373-re03.en05.pdf

⁽³⁹⁾ Implementation of UNSCR 1325 in the context of ESDP. http://www.eulex-kosovo.eu/training/hrgi/docs/170707implementationunscr_en.pdf

States. However, some Member States expressed there reticence as they did not understand why "the EU" should, for example, take an interest in questions relating to recruitment and training of men and women in national security forces, when this is a national competence. However, the general reaction was positive.

Given the different levels of application of Resolution 1325 by EU Member States, it would have seemed difficult to develop the ambitious action plan that some were seeking. Nevertheless, as the States were able to agree on a project including a number of non-binding measures, the document was approved by the Political and Security Committee and the European Council in November 2005.

The document addressed practical measures such as:

- Striving to improve the representation of women at all levels of decision making.
- Increasing dialogue with local and international women's groups.
- Protecting women and girls suffering in conflicts.
- Incorporating a gender perspective into CSDP operations.
- Ensuring gender training and awareness raising.
- Promoting cooperation, the sharing of knowledge and best practices among Member States and with other international organisations, such as the UN, the OSCE, NATO, the International Committee of the Red Cross and NGOs.
- Promoting gender issues in public information relating to the CSDP.

These measures cover all the planning and implementation processes from preconflict and through the conflict, representing a step forward towards more systematic integration of a gender perspective into the EU's foreign relations.

The activities carried out to date include, for example, voluntary sharing of best national practices between Member States. One key element in the analysis of this sharing (which took place in spring 2006) was that there was increasing awareness of the need to incorporate a gender perspective into security and defence, together with a clear interest in the measures some States were adopting. Although the structure of the EU might facilitate the process, compliance with the commitments of Resolution 1325 is a joint responsibility for all parties involved, i.e. all Member States individually.

Given the need to comply with the mandate, some of the national ministries involved created an inter-ministerial working group and other offices and units for issues related to gender. All of these activities were set out in the National Action Plans⁽⁴⁰⁾ developed by some Member States. In particular, it is crucial that Member States apply a gender perspective and Resolution 1325

to their national policies in CSDP missions. They are also responsible for predeployment personnel training.

To carry this out in practice, a checklist has been prepared for the aspects to be included relating to the gender perspective, such as definition of the mandate, training, lessons learnt, scenarios etc. The objective of this checklist is to facilitate inclusion of a gender perspective in initial CSDP operation planning. The idea of having a gender advisor or contact on each mission was also introduced.

The result of the sharing of best practices was *A check list to ensure gender mainstreaming and implementation of UNSCR 1325 in the planning and conduct of ESDP Operation*⁽⁴¹⁾, of July 2006, which is used in combination with the document *Implementation of UNSCR 1325 in the context of CSDP* by Member States' civilian and military planners, and the Secretariat of the Council.

The Council also tasked the EU's Institute for Security Studies with studying the incorporation of a gender perspective in the specific cases of the CSDP in Bosnia-Herzegovina, Operation Althea, the EU Police Mission (EUPM) and the EU Special Representation. The results of this study were included in the report *Gender mainstreaming: Implementing UNSCR 1325 in ESDP missions*⁽⁴²⁾, which was presented to the Political-Military Group in July 2006, with the following recommendations:

- Gender mainstreaming should start at the top. It requires the commitment of EU Member States at the highest level and should not merely be included in Operations at the last minute.
- Gender advisors in ESDP missions must be located in the Office of the EU Special Representative, with the level of Deputy Head of Mission.
- In November 2006, the Council adopted a ten point document prepared by the General Affairs and External Relations Council, *Council conclusions on promoting gender equality and gender mainstreaming in crisis management*⁽⁴³⁾ (doc. 14884/1/06).

This document recognises that being aware of the implications of the application of the gender perspective contributes to greater operating efficiency

⁽⁴¹⁾ http://www.eulex -kosovo.eu/training/hrgi/docs/Check_list_to_ensure_gender_mainstreaming_12068_06en.pdf

Check list to ensure gender mainstreaming and implementation of UNSCR 1325 in the planning and conduct of ESDP Operation.

⁽⁴²⁾ http://www.iss.europa.eu/uploads/media/analy152.pdf *Gender mainstreaming: Implementing UNSCR 1325 in ESDP missions*.

⁽⁴³⁾ http://www.consilium.europa.eu/ueDocs/cms_Data/docs/hr/news144.pdf *Council conclusions on promoting gender equality and gender mainstreaming in crisis management.*"The Council expresses its determination to put in practice the decisions taken to promote gender equality in the context of ESDP and the related checklist, which seek to ensure gender mainstreaming and implementation of UN Security Council Resolution 1325 (2000) from the early planning to the conduct and evaluation of ESDP missions and operations".

and stipulates that a gender advisor should be assigned to all EU missions and operations.

Furthermore, the Council establishes that gender equality training should extend to all levels. In particular, it emphasises a policy of zero tolerance to exploitation, sexual abuse, sexual violence and prostitution, and demands punishment for any breaches thereof (although as stated previously, this is the responsibility of Member States).

According to the *Final Report on Gender Work inside EUFOR RD Congo*⁽⁴⁴⁾ (December 2006), the Operation established a successful and important precedent with the first-ever deployment of a gender advisor in an EU operation. Moreover, extra time was dedicated to training and awareness of gender issues than in previous missions. The soldiers deployed carried a "soldier's card" setting out " best practices for soldiers", including a reference to gender perspectives and zero tolerance to any behaviour representing sexual violence in the EUFOR.

Also in this operation, native women had the opportunity to give their point of view on the situation in the Congo, and to receive information on situations that might affect them. This was considered to represent substantial progress in the idea of empowering local women, as indicated in Resolution 1325, and an excellent way to support and improve the credibility of the forces deployed in the eyes of the local female population.

However, according to the January 2009 document, *Note: European Parliament and Gender Mainstreaming as it relates to ESDP*⁽⁴⁵⁾,

"Whilst there is a veritable oasis of political reflection and practical recommendations on improving gender mainstreaming at the conceptual, decision-making, implementation, operational, and lessons learned levels; there remains however a serious problem in systematic implementation of these ideas and recommendations in ESDP operations and peace-building activities".

In this regard, we can state that, whilst it is true that ever more gender advisors are being appointed, this is not the result of an authentic gender policy, i.e. a policy designed to resolve security aspects. And, accordingly, there continues

(45) http://www.europarl.europa.eu/meetdocs/2004_2009/documents/dv/afet_21012009_esdp_gender_2008_/afet_21012009_ESDP_Gender_2008_EN.pdf *Note: European Parliament and Gender Mainstreaming as it relates to ESDP.*

⁽⁴⁴⁾ http://www.honvedelem.hu/files/9/8008/eu_operation_headquarters_final_gender_re port_eufor_rd_con.pdf "Working with a Gender perspective contributed to the achievement of the overall operation's objectives. Working with Gender improved the acceptance of EUFOR and also contributed to the effectiveness and success of the Operation. One example of this was information and intelligence brought to the Operation via the work on Gender".

to be a lack of proportional gender representation at all levels of missions. Faced with this situation, in 2008 it was concluded that until there was a general awareness of the gender perspective among all personnel, and how this applies on the ground in operations, it would never be possible to achieve or apply Resolution 1325 or other EU Council documents.

This resulted in April 2007 in the first training course on gender and the CSDP, organised by Hungary and supported by the German Presidency at the time.

The EU strategy on Resolution 1325

There has been significant progress on gender issues in the EU over the last three years.

On 8 December 2008, the Council adopted two very important, and mutually complementary documents: *Comprehensive Approach to the EU Implementation of UNSCR 1325 and 1820 on Women, Peace And Security*⁽⁴⁶⁾ (henceforth, the Comprehensive Approach) and Implementation of UNSCR 1325 as reinforced by 1820 in the context of ESDP⁽⁴⁷⁾.

On the same day, the Committee adopted *EU guidelines on violence against women and girls and combating all forms of discrimination against them*⁽⁴⁸⁾, in which the EU undertook a long-term political commitment relating to the rights of women. This action against gender violence had three interrelated objectives: to prevent violence, to protect and support victims and to put suspects on trial.

By focusing on violence against women and girls, the EU was taking effective measures against one of the worst breaches of human rights in today's world.

The Comprehensive Approach establishes a common European framework for application of Resolutions 1325 and 1820, complementing the existing situation set out in National Action Plans and strategies. The objective of this was to guarantee coordination of the Union's external actions with all parties involved or participating in the missions. This aimed to achieve a "comprehensive" approach combining civilian and military aspects, together with coordination of governmental and non-governmental organisations working on the ground.

This approach also makes it possible to assess the EU's existing policies and establish a set of definitions for challenges and basic principles, and to set out specific measures agreed and accepted by the European Commission and

 ⁽⁴⁶⁾ http://www.consilium.europa.eu/ueDocs/cms_Data/docs/hr/news187.pdf
 Comprehensive Approach to the EU Implementation of UNSCR 1325 and 1820 on WPS.
 (47) http://register.consilium.europa.eu/pdf/en/08/st15/st15782-re03.en08.pdf
 Implementation of UNSCR 1325 as reinforced by 1820 in the context of ESDP.
 (48) http://www.consilium.europa.eu/uedocs/cmsUpload/16173cor.en08.pdf EU guidelines on violence against women and girls and combating all forms of discrimination against them.

Council to be implemented by the EU as a whole and the parties involved in particular. These measures are:

- Political support for Resolutions 1325 and 1820⁽⁴⁹⁾.
- Training in issues related to women, peace and security.
- Sharing of information and best practices: the Comprehensive Approach establishes a working group on women, peace and security which we deal with in more detail below.
- Action at the national and regional level, including the commitment to mainstream gender into the programming and implementation of the EU's financial instruments for conflict prevention, crisis management and postconflict situations.
- Integration of issues relating to women, peace and security into all activity in the sector, including security, good governance and civil society, economic security, health, education and humanitarian aid.
- Cooperation with the UN and other international bodies.
- Monitoring and assessment, including the commitment of the recently created women, peace and security working group to developing indicators of progress in relation to the protection and empowerment of women in conflicts.

As we have already mentioned, the Comprehensive Approach is complemented by the document *Implementation of UNSCR 1325 as reinforced by 1820 in the context of CSDP* which can be seen as the main Community political tool relating to gender in the CSDP, the objective of which is specifically to ensure that a gender perspective is included and that Resolutions 1325 and 1820 are applied at all stages of missions and operations, both strategically and operationally. This contains a revised version of the previous operational document on the "Application of UNSCR 1325 in the context of CSDP" and the 2006 list, and on the gender perspective and the application of Resolution 1325 to the planning and performance of ESDP operations. It includes the need to increase female representation at all levels of decision making and the subsequent application of Resolution 1325 in a more general context (forward planning, operational planning, force generation, etc.).

Having said this, the Comprehensive Approach, as with most of the National Action Plans, sometimes lacks the key elements needed to help ensure the

⁽⁴⁹⁾ "The EU considers peace processes to be opportunities to promote the empowerment of women and gender equality, and to incorporate gender perspectives and respect for women's rights into resulting peace accords. In its actions, it aims to ensure that these issues are integrated into and prioritised in subsequent peace building and post-conflict reconstruction. The EU will seek to support the participation of women in peace processes, through both diplomacy and financial support. The EU shall strive to achieve a larger number of women as lead negotiators and mediators, recognising that women's efforts for peace at local and national level are also valuable resources for conflict resolution and peace building. The EU will support these organisations in their participation in peace processes, whilst involving women in all levels of decision making".

application of the Resolution on Women, Peace and Security, such as a clear timetable and resources. In general, greater attention is paid to the progress of processes than to changing the reality for women in areas affected by conflicts. Other problems that arise are: considering the gender approach a magic formula, the relatively small number of personnel that the EU has designated to work full time on gender issues in the European External Action Service, the lack of specific resources for implementation of the gender perspective and the small number of women in high-level positions in the EU, as only one of the ten Special Representative appointments so far has been a woman (Rosalind Marsden was appointed EU Special Representative for Sudan and South Sudan on 11 August 2010).

EU task force on Women, Peace and Security⁽⁵⁰⁾

Building on the Comprehensive Approach, an EU Task Force on Women, Peace and Security was created in Brussels to increase inter-institutional coordination and to promote a coherent approach to gender issues, encouraging sharing of information among the parties involved without prejudice to the chain of command. The Task Force consists of personnel working in the Gender Equality and Security Issues Section of the General Secretariat of the Council and the Commission, and is open to participation from all EU Member States. It is also in ongoing contact with organisations in civil society.

Over the last three years, Task Force meetings and coordination with NGOs in Brussels have resulted in this becoming the main driver in the application, exchange, development and compilation of indicators and best practices relating to the application of Resolution 1325. The Task Force is led by the Human Rights Unit of the European External Action Service⁽⁵¹⁾ which is made up of of ten people. Despite being small in size, the Task Force works in close cooperation with the Commission and the European External Action Service, and other bodies such as the UN, representatives of civil society, NGOs, researchers and NATO. However, its capacity has been seriously limited by a lack of human resources.

The Task Force is an informal body but has been meeting on a regular basis since early-2009.

One of its responsibilities, under Article 43 of the Comprehensive Approach, is to develop indicators of progress on protecting and empowering women in

⁽⁵⁰⁾ http://www.eplo.org/assets/files/2.%20Activities/Working%20Groups/GPS/FO LLOW_UP_TO_10_POINTS_IN_10_YEARS_UNSCR_1325.pdf and http://www.eplo.org/assets/files/2.%20Activities/CSDN/Policy%20Meetings/Women%20Peace%20 and%20Security%20in%20CSDP%20Missions/EPLO_Background_Paper_CSDN_Meeting_WPS_in_CSDP.pdf http://www.consilium.europa.eu/uedocs/cms_data/librairie/PDF/WPSnew032011_EN.pdf (51) http://eeas.europa.eu/

conflict and post-conflict situations. The July 2010 document *Indicators for the Comprehensive Approach to the EU Implementation of UNSCR 1325 and 1820 on Women, Peace and Security* (52) facilitates monitoring and assessment of the Comprehensive Approach.

In its deliberations, the Task Force aims to produce a set of key indicators that are achievable, directly quantifiable, specific and relevant, and that can be used by EU institutions and Member States.

EU policy since 2008. Training, a key instrument in incorporating the gender perspective

In September 2009, the Council recognised the need to consolidate training as a key tool for applying UNSCR 1325. To this end it approved *Implementation* of UNSCR 1325 and UNSCR 1820 in the context of training for ESDP missions and operations: recommendations on the way forward⁽⁵³⁾. The objectives of this are:

- Implementation. Improving the quality and consistency of training through standardised courses (as promoted by the Foreign Affairs and Defence Ministries of Spain and Holland, which organised the first two pilot courses on "A Comprehensive Approach to Gender in Operations" (54), certified by the European Security and Defence College (ESDC), in June and December 2011). Experts and experienced organisations provide their support in preparing and delivering the training. Such personnel must be thoroughly familiar with Resolutions 1325 and 1820, and EU policy. Member States will include pre-deployment training activities in their action plans. These courses aim to develop capabilities related to all aspects of the gender perspective, and to integrate the common and shared efforts of both civilian and military personnel into the operations in which they are to participate. This creates indirect links between the organisations that are subsequently involved on the ground (EU, NATO) through course participants, creating a collaborative culture that is very desirable in such missions.
- Availability and access. States must demonstrate their availability for training and to receive training through the means offered: online gender courses, Internet-based distance learning and EU websites as a source of training information, links and news.
- Strengthening links between awareness-raising, training and deployment
 is of fundamental importance: this includes incorporating gender into
 Civilian Response Teams and reform of the security sector, updating of EU
 documents on training requirements, ESDC training, EU training guides,
 post profiles and selection processes.

⁽⁵⁴⁾ A Comprehensive Approach to Gender in Operations.

 And finally, improving knowledge of the gender perspective to promote operational efficiency, improving gender training from top to bottom through heads of mission and operational command conferences.

Gender advisors

The document has been used as a reference source for gender advisors and the General Secretariat of the Council. This document binds the Comprehensive Approach to the EU's mechanisms and raises awareness in heads of mission⁽⁵⁵⁾.

The Council Secretariat organised the first meeting of gender advisors and CSDP contacts in Brussels in November 2009. The objective of this was to create links and to share experiences, best practices and knowledge acquired in missions and operations, and to identify new requirements for action on the ground. The most interesting relations were created around international and regional bodies (the UN, OSCE, NATO and the African Union took part as experts). Since then, gender advisors for CSDP missions have met annually in Brussels. At the second meeting, the report into *Lessons and best practices of mainstreaming human rights and gender into CSDP military operations and civilian missions* (56), approved by the Council in December 2010 was presented, resulting in:

- Active participation by women at the peace negotiating table and in democratisation processes and the work of political parties and elections, which, according to Resolution 1325, is of vital importance for reconstruction of social and political structures. CSDP operations and missions have to meet groups of women to hear their concerns, complaints and demands, so as to incorporate these issues, as appropriate and relevant, into mission planning.
- It also deals with sexual violence as an illegal warfare tactic, with profound social implications. Among its efforts to combat this, the EU may try to reform the security sector and pursue the trial of criminals, working with local police, prosecutors, courts and prisons, and with international courts. The main role of local security forces should be based on protecting the population. Training is therefore essential at all levels of the security services. Impunity for sexual offences must be brought to an end, and

^{(55) &}quot;Comprehensive Approach documents determine that the gender perspective should be incorporated into the training at the European Security and Defence College (ESDC), and that pre-deployment training should be continued through training during the mission. And, as stated in paragraph 1 of document No 15782/3/08 REV 3, in general, in addition to basic training, the commanding head of mission/operation must be informed by the Commission's services of the EU's policies and approach to application of Resolutions 1325 and 1820 prior to taking command".

⁽⁵⁶⁾ https://www.civcap.info/fileadmin/user_upload/Working_Group/CIVCOM_LessonsLear ned.pdf Lessons and best practices of mainstreaming human rights and gender into CSDP military operations and civilian missions.

the responsibility of Governments for preventing people trafficking and mistreatment must be made clear.

- The responsibility of command and operation personnel for perspective must be emphasised. It must be ensured that the operation or mission is consistent with the objectives of EU foreign policy and it must be clear how this integration increases operational effectiveness.
- The gender advisors and contact points must be close to the command of the operation, and must be able to participate in strategic meetings.

Furthermore, in an attempt to coordinate short and longer-term policies and actions, the Commission's Directorate Generals, in consultation with the Council, prepared the "EU Action Plan on Gender Equality and Women's Empowerment in Development for the period 2010-2015⁽⁵⁷⁾" in March 2010, incorporating elements relating to armed conflicts.

The objective of this plan is to accelerate compliance with the Millennium Development Goals, particularly with regard to gender equality and maternal health, and to contribute to international development objectives related to gender equality. The Plan proposes actions in areas such as organisation of periodic political meetings to assess progress on the issue, the creation of gender databases and increased participation by civil society.

The Action Plan seeks to be an operating document focusing on a select number of objectives, proposing a series of activities to be carried out by EU Member States from 2010 to 2015. Other improvements have included increased sharing of information and best practices, and improved structures and coordination, particularly through the EU Task Force on Women, Peace and Security.

CSDP Missions and operations. Practical examples

Although the majority of CSDP operations now include a gender advisor or contact point, they are still not dedicated on a full-time basis, particularly in smaller operations. However, gender units have been set up in larger missions (EULEX in the Kosovo mission and EUPOL in Afghanistan). The indicators report shows that only four out of thirteen missions have at least one full-time gender advisor.

One major advance is that planning documents for all CSDP missions now have a series of applications to the gender perspective, ranging from a general mention of the gender perspective to more detailed aspects of gender equality: the Operation Plan (Bosnia and Herzegovina Police Mission), police training in the struggle against sexual violence (EUPOL Democratic Republic of the Congo) and local ownership (EUPOL COPPS for the Palestinian territories).

However, the CSDP has made the most progress in training. In 2010, a report for the European Parliament found that "in general efforts and training are efficient; however, more extensive standardised regulations are needed that include obligatory training". This observation remains valid, particularly due to the low level of gender training for heads of mission and personnel in general. However, in 2011, the Swedish "Folke Bernadotte" Academy created a standard gender module for use by Member States and the European Union in internal training and training subsequent to deployment in missions.

CSDP missions and operations are supporting local NGO initiatives related to implementation of UNSCR 1325 and gender in general, as made clear at the *Gender Awareness in Peace Support Operations*⁽⁵⁸⁾, Conference held at Camp Butmir (Sarajevo) in May 2010. This was attended by delegates from the Defence Ministries of nations participating in Operation Althea, the General Secretariat of the Council, the Diplomatic Corps, the EU Policing Missing, the UN Fund for Women, the International Criminal Court for the former-Yugoslavia, the Office of the NATO High Representative in Bosnia and Herzegovina, the Armed Forces of Bosnia and Herzegovina, NGOs and EUFOR personnel.

However, NGOs with experience of CSDP missions state that there is not yet any joint or periodic participation with the personnel deployed in these missions. They do say however that there are some occasional collaborations, highlighting the need to work with local organisations involved in the gender perspective.

The EUFOR Operation is helping the troops of EU Member States by sending gender advisors to provide pre-deployment training.

CSDP missions are also managing to maintain better relations with local and international NGOs involved in domestic violence and/or people trafficking, in order to be kept informed and to be ready to react appropriately to individual cases.

Some missions advertise their commitment to the gender perspective in magazines and on websites. In this regard, the EU Police Mission in Bosnia and Herzegovina has produced a detailed study into women in the local police, and has undertaken a joint project with a local NGO and the UN Fund for Women. The results of this were compiled in *Participation of Public in Peace Processes. UNSCR 1325*⁽⁵⁹⁾. This includes recommendations on how to raise awareness of this issue among the local police, including:

⁽⁵⁹⁾ http://www.euforbih.org/index.php?option=com_content&view=article&id=1298:comeufor-opened-the-gender-awareness-in-peace-support-operations-pso&catid=183:hq-eufor<emid=150 *Gender Awareness in Peace Support Operations*.

⁽⁵⁹⁾ http://www.euforbih.org/index.php?option=com_content&view=article&id=1037: workshop-for-participation-of-public-in-peace-processes&catid=182:local-community

"Progress has been made in the application of 1325, with determined gender-awareness raising for those responsible for action in cases of violence against women and girls (the police, media, civil society). There has also been progress in reforming the security sector, with punishment for those guilty of violence, and greater female participation in peacekeeping, humanitarian and reconstruction processes".

However, the Report identifies a need to "continue to defend, provide financial and technical assistance and political and legal advice for, and promote the acceptance of, gender equality in international, national and local structures". It also highlights a need to increase international participation and the role of funds guaranteeing human rights for women.

In the CSDP EUFOR Chad/Central African Republic military operation, the gender advisor has been involved in gender training, establishing a network of contact points at all levels, and developing information notes and FAQs on integrating gender issues.

The EULEX Kosovo mission has set up a full-time Human Rights and Gender Office, ensuring that the mission complies with human rights standards, as well as establishing an Internal Research Unit to receive external complaints concerning breaches of the code of conduct. The Office is also giving training in gender perspectives to all personnel who have recently joined the mission.

The EUSEC and EUPOL missions in the Democratic Republic of the Congo share a gender advisor and an expert in Human Rights and children and armed conflicts. EUPOL has a team of experts in sexual violence in the city of Goma, supporting the training of the Congolese police.

In the EUPOL Afghanistan mission, the gender advisor provides advice on gender policy to the Afghan National Police.

Assessment of implementation at the national level. National Action Plans⁽⁶⁰⁾

Europe provides an interesting example for anyone interested in the efforts being made to apply UNSCR 1325. This is a result of the Action Plans that are being developed to implement it on the old continent. Currently, twenty countries have National Action Plan (Austria, Belgium, Bosnia Herzegovina, Croatia, Denmark, Estonia, Finland, France, Iceland, Ireland, Italy, Holland, Norway, Portugal, Serbia, Slovenia, Spain, Sweden, Switzerland and the UK), fourteen of which are EU members.

A recent publication by the European Peace-building Liaison Office⁽⁶¹⁾ entitled *UNSCR 1325 in Europe: 21 Case Studies of Implementation* reaches some important conclusions:

In many European countries that already have a National Action Plan, progress on implementation is based on a combination of factors, including Government commitment, international social pressure (for example, Belgium launched its plan whilst it was a member of the Security Council and France began to develop its plan following an exchange between EU Member States on the application of Resolution 1325, in October 2009), developments in neighbouring countries, the approach of the tenth anniversary of Resolution 1325 and continuing pressure from civil society.

In general, civil servants and/or the people of European countries that do not yet have a plan show little acceptance, priority and/or understanding of gender issues. For example, Germany does not have a specific plan. Its civil servants argue that the gender perspective is already implemented through its gender Action Plan, and that UNSCR 1325 is covered by two other specific plans, one dealing with civil crisis management and the other with the struggle against gender violence.

In general, Action Plans are prepared by an inter-ministerial team led by the Foreign Ministry, and usually including the Defence, Cooperation and Development, Home Office and Justice Departments. Representatives of civil society are sometimes invited to participate in meetings and to contribute to drafts of the document. For example, in Holland, civil society bodies are an integral part of the Plan drafting process. However, people from countries affected by conflicts are seldom directly involved.

Action Plans have only been prepared over the last few years. It is too early to say whether they have led to changes on the ground. However, gender training modules have recently been launched, with intensive efforts to recruit female personnel for crisis management activities, peace building and conflict prevention, with increased financing for civil society bodies involved in issues affecting women, peace and security in countries involved in conflicts and in Europe.

Most of the plans lack some of the key elements needed for effective application of commitments related to UNSCR 1325. For example, they do not have: specific and realistic objectives and a plan of priority actions, a timetable, budgets, indicators, goals and objectives, clear reporting lines (indicating which unit from which ministry is responsible for each specific commitment) and transparent monitoring of results and assessment mechanisms (with suitable resource assignments).

EU institutions and Resolution 1325

• The European Parliament and Resolution 1325

Since approval of Resolution 1325, the Parliament has been active through its reports and recommendations. The Parliament issued a Resolution on "Participation of women in peaceful conflict resolution" (2000/2025) prior to UNSCR 1325, the main recommendations of which anticipated that of the Resolution. The most significant areas of this included: I. Protection of populations affected by war, II. International efforts to prevent and resolve armed conflicts and III. Participation based on prevention and resolution of armed conflicts.

Over the last ten years, the Parliament has issued a further four resolutions⁽⁶³⁾, the latest of which, dated 25 November 2010, is the "Resolution on the 10th anniversary of UN Security Council Resolution 1325 (2000) on Women, Peace and Security"⁽⁶⁴⁾ (2010/2968). This urges the High Representative of the European Union, Catherine Ashton, to strengthen the EU Task Force on this issue, and to entrust a group of experts to review approval and application of National Action Plans. Furthermore, it seeks an increase in the number of women in missions, with at least one gender advisor in each mission and the assignment of specific and significant financial, human and organisational resources for the participation of women in foreign policy and security.

Regulation 1922 of the European Parliament and Council created the European Institute for Gender Equality on 20 December 2006⁽⁶⁵⁾, which is responsible for collecting and analysing information and raising awareness of gender equality issues among the public in the EU. There are some interesting possibilities for collaboration between the Institute, the Council of European Municipalities and Regions and national associations belonging to the Council of European Municipalities and Regions to support application of the European Charter for Equality of Women and Men, through data collection and analysis relating to the assessment of local equality actions.

• The EU Presidency, Member States and Resolution 1325

⁽⁶²⁾ http://www.europarl.europa.eu/sides/getDoc.do?pubRef=-//EP//TEXT+TA+P5-TA-2000-0541+0+DOC+XML+V0//EN "Participation of women in peaceful conflict resolution". (63) 1 Jun 2006: Resolution on "Women in armed conflicts and their role in post-conflict reconstruction" (2005/2215). 16 Nov 2006: Resolution on "Women in International Politics" (2006/2057). 7 May 2009: Resolution on gender mainstreaming in EU external relations and peace-building/nation-building (2008/2198).

⁽⁶⁴⁾ http://www.europarl.europa.eu/sides/getDoc.do?type=TA&reference=P7-TA-2010-0439&language=EN "Resolution on the 10th anniversary of UN Security Council Resolution 1325 (2000) on Women, Peace and Security".

⁽⁶⁵⁾ http://eige.europa.eu/ European Institute for Gender Equality

The various EU Presidencies and Member States have promoted Resolution 1325. The German, Portuguese and Slovenian (2007-2008) Presidencies produced a handbook on incorporating gender and human rights into the CSDP⁽⁶⁶⁾. In 2009, the French Presidency focused on gender-based sexual violence, whilst the Swedish and Spanish Presidencies in 2010 and the Hungarian Presidency in 2011 addressed training and preparation for CSDP missions. In 2010 the Belgian Presidency prepared to celebrate the anniversary of UNSCR 1325 and creation of the indicators. Of these, the French Presidency focused more specifically on recommendations for the CSDP and produced two reports examining progress on gender issues in the Kosovo and Democratic Republic of the Congo missions.

The Lisbon Treaty set out that Member States no longer had a leading role during EU Presidencies, thus losing the ability to encourage application of Security Council Resolutions through inclusion on the agenda for their Presidency and the incorporation of human resources through the representative staff of the Member States. However, the 2010 transition Presidencies (Spain and Belgium) had a certain catalyst effect. The work of States therefore now falls within the bilateral remit, with some States working closely with the External Action Service.

At the celebration of International Women's Day in Brussels in 2010, Andris Piebalgs, the European Commissioner for Development, stated "Improving the lives of women around the world will be one of my priorities" and "The EU is the world's biggest aid donor so we have to show leadership in putting gender equality on the top of the EU political agenda. This is extremely urgent, as two of the Millennium Development Goals are dedicated to women and maternal health, and these objectives are lagging behind. We must improve our capacity to help countries to meet their gender commitments and support the efforts of women's groups and networks in the struggle for greater equality".

• Events to mark the 10th anniversary of Resolution 1325

The tenth anniversary of UNSCR 1325 called for high visibility and political support. These were the effects of the event organised by NATO and the EU held in Brussels on 27 January 2010, on *Women, Peace and Security. Empowering women in peace and conflict*⁽⁶⁷⁾. The conference was a unique event as it was the first time that the EU and NATO had combined their efforts on this issue. The event was attended by the former European Commission Vice-President, Margot Wallström, the former US Secretary of State, Madeleine Albright, NATO Secretary General Anders Fogh Rasmussen and the former First Vice-President of the Spanish Government, María Teresa Fernández de la Vega. The event approved a number of recommendations with

⁽⁶⁶⁾ http://www.consilium.europa.eu/ueDocs/cms_Data/docs/hr/news144.pdf (67) http://consilium.europa.eu/uedocs/cmsUpload/Women_Peace_Security_outcomes_ENG. pdf *Women, Peace and Security. Empowering Women in Peace and Conflict.*

the participation of NGOs and political, civilian and military witnesses. The conference attracted a large media presence, successfully raising awareness of the issues in question.

The EU and the Belgian Presidency also organised a high-level meeting in Brussels on 9 September on *The 10th anniversary of UN Security Council Resolution 1325: Ensuring Women's Participation in Peace and Security*⁽⁶⁸⁾. The meeting was attended by the EU High Representative for Foreign Affairs and Security Policy, Catherine Ashton, and the Belgian Foreign Minister, Steven Vanackere, and was addressed by speakers including the UN Special Advisor on Gender Issues, Rachel Mayanja and the recently appointed (February 2010) UN Special Representative of the Secretary-General on Sexual Violence in Conflict, Margot Wallström, together with other leading figures such as Alain Leroy, Head of the UN Department for Peace Keeping Operations, Admiral Giampaolo Di Paola, president of NATO's Military Committee and 2003 Nobel Peace Prize Winner Shirin Ebadi.

Recommendations

The EU has a great deal of documentation, and has developed a range of indicators used by personnel involved in gender issues and by gender advisors on the ground. The EU's main deficiency is a shortage of staff resources in Brussels. There are many reports and recommendations stating that the European External Action Service has to further improve its activities. There is no need for new comprehensive policies or more guidelines. Nevertheless, more human and financial resources are needed to further application of EU documents and to continue the monitoring and assessment of indicators.

Despite the hard work and enthusiasm of the gender advisors resulting in substantial progress, their support must be increased and improved, eliminating dual dependence and ensuring that they are embedded close to the head of mission.

It is also important for the Member States, particularly if they are part of the United Nations Security Council, to continue their support and to strengthen the UN's sanctions and the international justice system to remove the impunity of perpetrators of sexual abuse and violence.

CONCLUSIONS

The European Union has made decisive efforts to incorporate Security Council Resolutions into its Common Security and Defence Policy and to improve respect for human rights and gender in the security context.

The EU has also taken decisions to incorporate gender policies into the CSDP. However, whilst the framework for gender policies has been well developed, the application of this to the context of civilian and military crisis management operations remains a real challenge.

The gender perspective policy can only be successful if its is implemented rigorously and systematically from the operation planning stage through to the lessons learnt stage, and not just at the EU level, but also in all Member States.

Operation mandates must be given specific gender objectives in order to improve the gender perspective of operations in the short-term. Gender experts must have direct access to operation commanders and heads of mission with responsibility for their implementation. This should be set out in the guidelines relating to gender advisors.

Even so, there has been a substantial change in the understanding of the relationship between Gender and Security, and the advantages and benefits of this for missions.

The EU has a collective responsibility to ensure that available tools and knowledge are used more effectively and efficiently. Developing political documents is not enough. There is an on-going need to monitor application of Resolution 1325 and ensure that the personnel involved in a crisis have the deepest possible knowledge.

Part of the problem with the limited knowledge of the gender perspective is that the EU can only issue guidelines for gender training and awareness raising, but training as such is the responsibility of Member States.

It is also important to combat prejudice and ignorance relating to these issues, and to highlight the importance of realising that gender is not a "women's issue", and that gender problems include experiences, challenges and perspectives that affect men, women, boys and girls equally.

Following the Lisbon Treaty, the EU has undergone significant structural and personnel changes. It is therefore not possible to fully assess the implementation and impact of the Comprehensive Approach to date. Nevertheless, the fact that the EU is now developing and promoting indicators for Resolutions 1325 and 1820 and collecting data is in itself a success. We can also say that meetings of the Task Force for Women, Peace and Security have been consolidated, improving the meetings of Member States and gender advisors and improving training.

The holding of a session for EU heads of mission in Brussels focusing on gender, including discussion of the application of EU documents on gender and debates on procedures for the work of gender advisors has been an important development. In general, this meeting was positive, highlighting the EUTM Somalia, EUPOL Afghanistan and EUSEC/POL Democratic Republic of the Congo missions as good examples of the application of gender in missions, whilst also highlighting personnel limitations.

CLOSING WORDS

It is obvious that real application of Resolution 1325 at the national level in Europe has not yet been achieved. Europe is at the forefront for actions plans and strategies. However, many of the key elements needed to ensure real application, such as clearly defined objectives, timescales, budgets, responsibilities and monitoring and assessment, are not included in the plans or strategies for implementing Resolution 1325. When considering its application in the EU, we need to recognise the leading role of Member States, as they are responsible for deciding on the candidates to present for high level EU postings, mission mandates, troop training, etc.

Twelve years of Resolution 1325 have only resulted in limited application. Sexual and gender violence as weapons of war continues to increase. There are still very few women involved in peace talks as official negotiators, mediators or observers; likewise, few women are involved in disarmament, demobilisation and reintegration processes and other post-conflict processes. And the funds assigned to women's associations working on the ground remain very precarious.

Finally, we should underline the importance of cooperation between the EU and NATO in the short term, if we wish to see Resolution 1325 implemented fully. These two organisations provide an ideal combination of civil capabilities from the EU and military capabilities from NATO. This civilian and military cooperation will result in a truly *comprehensive approach*to international operations.

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ACRONYM LIST

Bi-SC Both Strategic Commands (SACEUR and SACT)

CSDP Common Security and Defence Policy
CWINF Committee on Women in the NATO Forces

EAPC Euro-Atlantic Partnership Council
ESDC European Security and Defence College
ESDP European Security and Defence Policy

EU European Union EUFOR An EU force

FET Female Engagement Teams

GA Gender Advisors HQ Headquarters

ICRC International Committee of the Red Cross
IMS The International Military Staff of NATO
IS The International Staff (civilian) of NATO
ISAF International Security Assistance Force

KFOR Kosovo Force

MA The Alliance Military Authorities
MC NATO's Military Committee
NAC North Atlantic Council
NAP National Action Plans

NATO The North Atlantic Treaty Organisation NCGP NATO Committee on Gender Perspectives

NCS NATO Command Structure
NGO Non-Governmental Organisation
NOGP NATO Office on Gender Perspectives

OECD Organisation for Economic Cooperation and Development OSCE Organisation for Security and Cooperation in Europe

PfP Partnership for Peace

PRT Provincial Reconstruction Team

SACEUR NATO Supreme Allied Commander Europe

SACT NATO Supreme Allied Commander Transformation

SG NATO Secretary General

SHAPE Supreme Headquarters Allied Powers Europe

UN United Nations

UNSCR United Nations Security Council Resolution

WPS Women, Peace and Security